

Chennai. All youth and young men' friends of the Queen's post- The 1925 continued by the beautiful arrangement the diet under which they had the whole of the people of India by their example in face of the triumph of non-violence. There was happiness and joy in the air whenever the number of men of up. This was good

The Exhibition

The Khaddar Exhibition was a great success from all aspects. Many claim it to have been more successful than the Ahmedabad Exhibition. It was strongly attended in hand-arms and hand-woven articles. No valuable handicrafts were shown. The and women as well as numerous varieties of cotton Khaddar were exhibited. There were folk artists from Assam, Manipur, Madhya Pradesh and Mysore, women goods from Kashmir, Lullana. Indian and other women and other Khaddar goods from all parts of India. The chief feature was that the finest productions exhibited were also shown in the process of manufacture. Demonstrations had come from Kashmir, Assam, Manipur and Andhra. Dr. P. C. Ray a prominent living person. There were also printing and dyeing demonstrations from Assam, Mysore and Kerala.

The popularity of the Exhibition was proved by the number of visitors of whom there were not less than 20,000. The 1st day attracted not less than 1000 words of business before closing a vast number of visitors free of charge.

Accommodation of Guests

Delegates and Khaddar had provided accommodation for delegates. The Reception Committee showed considerable energy and care in looking after their guests. They were comparatively a small place and it could not have been an easy task for the Reception Committee to have so well discharged their duties. Babu Rajendraprasad and Babu Bhalchandra stood the strain as only they could do, with their uncomplaining smiling sweet faces.

C R

The statement delivered before a group close to the program picture National Anthem and the other five seemed have been let off as a technical plan. The whole the trying experience has seemed up the case.

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It would not be possible to give a higher praise of the present day administration of law in India. The story will go down to posterity as one of the many blood curdling tales 'made to last' by the law in India, perhaps to stand some day's cold shower of horror among the lawyers as it is narrated in an undertone to the children and children which is of the living world and the present day British administration of India, surrounded round an evening for

C R

The Death Wagon in Court

The story of the Mahatma Death-Wagon is too well-known to need repetition. A hundred passengers were put in a luggage van, the destination was not told and the trip occurred by surprise. The train started at quarter past seven on a morning and reached a station station at 12 noon. There, in dead silence were taken out from the wagon and 14 were dead immediately. A Committee held an enquiry and made a report which an English paper described as a piece of nonsense, calling however The Government of India stopped all further efforts of inquiry and ordered the prosecution of the police-constable. Awaiting Police-constable and four other Constables are now, one year after the occurrence, charged before District Magistrate of Coimbatore for having died death by negligence (common punishment upon negligence). The trial commenced on Thursday last. Several witnesses claimed and entered hospital rights which every witness witness has made.

The several proceedings a Progress officer in India are these —

1. Unless the Magistrate is a District Magistrate, he cannot try a European case by a District Magistrate.
2. Magistrate other than District Magistrate is of great a sentence of sentence three months' imprisonment and a District Magistrate cannot award more than six months' imprisonment on a European.
3. A Sessions Court must give more than six months' imprisonment.
4. If the Magistrate makes there is a great loss, the prisoner can sue him by a jury of which not less than half shall be Europeans.

The evidence seemed, in the case and published in the newspaper, as about to expect a technical verdict of the fact of case is making in words of the story. Two of the who carried the man were given more evidence and then was some doubt. To the reported story of the witness, the following was the only "It is not too likely, you may see some and drink." "Some did not" and the great evidence "the witness others died, perhaps they died out of the drink." Again they died out, "If you will make a water at least, give it some or by morning it does."

Next said, "Nothing is anything, we can open the door only in India."

The prisoner said "We shall all do in this case." But the next day that "they would receive their punishment already in India."

The witness was lying with his face down, as there was a hole in the floor, through which he could get a little air. The train was in motion. On account of the light and moonlight.

At the station he knocked at the door and called for water. The witness came and asked them that if they had better make they would be that dead.

"By the time I had reached Madras, he passed when the train had died."

Then they proceeded to the station, where the Mahatma and 14 other men were pulled out.

37th Indian National Congress

RESOLUTIONS

I. Conclusions

This Congress places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country in the death of Bala Gangadhar Tilak and offers its condolences to his family.

This Congress has learnt with grief of the death of Bala Anantashankar Deshpande, one of its ex-presidents and places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country.

II. Tribute to Mahatma Gandhi

This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the services of Mahatma Gandhi to the cause of India and Humanity by his message of Peace and Truth and patience in both in the practice of non-violence non-cooperation inaugurated by him for the enhancement of the rights of the people of India.

III. Its Successes

This Congress places on record its profound appreciation of the services rendered to the national cause by all those brave veterans, who have suffered in execution of the programme of voluntary suffering and who, in accordance with the Congress advice, without allowing any defiance or feud, served and are serving various periods of imprisonment, and calls upon the Nation to keep alive the spirit of sacrifice and to continue unbroken the struggle for freedom.

IV. Attacks

This Congress records with pride and admiration, its appreciation of the unexampled bravery of the Ahir martyrs and the great and noble example of non-violence set by them for the benefit of the whole Nation.

V. Rejoinder

This Congress comprehends that Kamlu Pasha and the Turkish Government on their recent successes and further records the determination of the people of India to carry on the struggle till the British Government has done all in its power and removed all its own obstacles to the restoration of the Turkish Empire to free and independent status, and the conditions necessary for unimpeded national life and effective guardianship of India, and the Muslim-who-freed from all non-Muslim control.

VI. Denial of Criminals

Whereas the boycott of Criminals carried out during the elections held in 1926 has destroyed the moral strength of the Government through which Government sought to monopolize its power and carry on its imperialistic rule,

And whereas it is necessary again for the people of India to withhold participation in the elections of the most wicked or essential part of the programme of non-violent non-cooperation;

This Congress resolves to advise that all voters shall abstain from voting in elections for any of the Criminals and from voting for any candidate offering himself as such in disregard of this advice and to signify the foregoing a walk-out from the All-India Congress Committee-constituted in that behalf.

VII. Revocation of Debt

Whereas by means of unscrupulous money transactions and other artifices, the Government has brought the national institutions to a most lamentable state, and whereas the Government still pursues the same policy of extravagance under cover of the authority of the so-called representative assemblies constituted without the willing of majority in any substantial portion of the votes, and despite their declared repudiation of the authority of such assemblies to represent the people,

And whereas if the Government is prevented to continue this policy, it will become impossible for the people of India ever to carry on their own affairs with due regard to the honour and happiness of the people and it has become hence necessary to stop this source of extravagance.

This Congress hereby repudiates the authority of the legislatures that have been or may be formed by the Government in spite of the national boycott of such legislatures to issue or give laws or to issue any legislation on behalf of the nation, and resolves to the effect that on the attainment of Swaraj the people of India charge nothing themselves liable for all debts and liabilities which are wrongly incurred by the Government and not hold themselves bound to repay any loans or discharge any liabilities incurred on and after this date on the authority or sanction of the so-called legislatures brought into existence in spite of the national boycott.

VIII. Civil Disobedience

This Congress affirms its opinion that Civil Disobedience is the only united and effective substitute for an armed rebellion when every other remedy for preventing the arbitrary treatment and mistreatment of the people has been tried, and

In view of the wide-spread suffering of the people to a sense of the urgent need for Swaraj and the general demand and necessity for Civil Disobedience in order that the National goal may be speedily attained, and in view of the fact that the necessary atmosphere of non-violence has been produced in spite of all provocations.

This Congress calls upon all Congress workers to consider the preparations for allowing Civil Disobedience by strengthening and expanding the National organisations and to take immediate steps for the collection of at least Rs 25 lakhs for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and the conduct of at least 50,000 volunteers observing the customs of the Ahimsadharma pledge by a debt to be fixed by the All-India Congress Committee at Gaya, and resolves the Committee to take necessary initiatives for carrying this resolution into practical effect.

[Note: The powers of the Provincial Committees under the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee passed at Calcutta on 30th November 1931 shall not be affected by this resolution.]

IX. Turkish Situation

In view of the serious situation in the Near East which threatens the integrity of the Empire and the Turkish Government, and in view of the determination of the Muslim, Mohammedan and

promise to do so, violence is certain. We would regret if others resort to violence. But we do not see that we are bound to show ourselves to prevent violence. Violence under the law is either inevitable. We should neither encourage it nor fight it.

And this non-violence, the vast majority of Jews would welcome as policy simply because we do not desire other measures of Jewish violence as one of them.

Finally, with this necessity, they do not see any ability or necessity of the Abundant pledge for violence that would launch upon civil disobedience.

We on the other hand believe that non-cooperation is an alternative but, disagreement with the Government. Our distinction may puzzle the Government, but we do not wish to puzzle the Government. If we want to go with the Government in opposition, our hands will naturally be locked in the struggle, leaving us important to help creation. We want to shame the Government by helping ourselves to working ourselves, for it is a fundamental hypothesis with us that the present Government has no national strength of its own but subsists on our weakness. And as for non-violence we believe that non-violence as a policy does not differ from non-violence as a principle as long as the policy is maintained. Whether as policy or as principle, an acceptance must be full and honest, the only difference between the two positions being that if it is accepted only as policy, there is a possibility of wavering, but as to principle, color does non-violence. Another distinction is that those who accept non-violence as a policy pledge themselves to non-violence in political action only. But whenever they accept non-violence it must be as whole-hearted, thorough and genuine as that of those who accept it as a creed.

The policy of non-violent non-cooperation can succeed only when we are able to resist violence effectively if not to prevent it altogether. It is not enough that non-cooperation shields from violence. The end test of their capacity to resist violence in the country is the Abundant pledge. Keep the pledge and you drop the only guarantee against violence. It would not do to say that violence is avoidable or inevitable. We admit that under non-payable and barbarous repression violence is not avoidable, but we refuse to believe that even in the current time violence is not preventable or avoidable.

Our reading of Jewish history and Jewish temperament has convinced us that it is not for Jews to make in Britain through society and class. That is why even at the risk of going into a minority and displacing some of our best leaders we have set our face against any relaxation in the voluntary pledge. The most serious attack on against any promise or guarantee civil disobedience. We are confident that as soon as any serious political situation arises the nation will learn to back the necessary preparatory preparation. If it occurs to launch upon civil disobedience of discipline that the nation will not be its importance and for doing away with the pledge. The pledge is the broadest guarantee which could the highest political wisdom of Jewish and as such is a valuable contribution to the art of political warfare.

Work has been on level of the C.D. Committee thinking that the country is not ready for civil disobedience. How this correspondence may be due to want of

aid in their resources or want of confidence in making steps and violence. Those who are so very cautious for a fighting programme are perhaps the very persons who subscribe the idea of making steps as limited in our political program. The participation of steps and behind and the opposition to the volunteers' pledge that we are in many instances a good portion of the best part some of us at least have not an honest civil disobedience.

It was argued that since having the non-payment plan, an election campaign would start a public opposition for 'Custodian' the elections with a view to starting a public movement. The fact, however, is that if the non-payment was asked to vote at the elections their attention would naturally be directed towards the release of money and resources by 'constitutional' means. Our programme for the better of course is for the other hand will automatically exclude the country for some reason.

An argument was advanced during the Committee on the reputation of Jews that we cannot risk others to refuse being as long as we continue to pay taxes ourselves. But a little consideration will show that there is much of violence in non-payment of taxes, but some in violence to advance them. But for those taxes some would be inevitable even though we may not stop paying taxes. If the Government can no longer they would have either to restore independence or to buy the country, and heavy taxation would upon the type of the people to the great reality that faces them. That is one of the reasons why we will continue to republish of Jewish debts incurred by the Government in wasted military expenditure.

The Gays Company has proved that the majority is with us. But it is yet to be proved that it is not a better majority. The vote in the Congress must not extend merely to support. It must contain the will of the voter to carry out the policy he has voted for. Otherwise get complete support from Congressmen of these years, and however splendid the success of the country might have been, it is difficult to say that saving was commensurate with the vote. A better vote is addition to showing the leaders across as a drag upon them.

A word about the programme of preparation. The two years' work of Tish, Shavim and has shown that with necessary efforts we can collect the necessary funds. We should act, therefore, this year begin with the collection of money. We should rather spend in other volunteers and with their aid to increase the number and activities of Congress centers. This work will naturally induce funds in part as some machines pump the water necessary for them. These volunteers, Congress centers and collection of funds should form the natural order of work. As soon as we have completed the task we will be ready for action. The year depends on our faith and energy and on organizing events.

Wrong Reports

The Report that appeared in the *Workers Review* of January that the resolution about the boycott of Jewish goods was passed by the Congress is erroneous. Even the *Review* had made a wrong report.

Young India

11-1-33

Shall We Retrace?

' Had Mr. Das been true to his political instincts and his political friends, Bengal at least would have stood solidly with the leaders of the last two years, and without the help of the Bengali Nationalists, who Mahatma Gandhi would have found it impossible to ignore, India and especially the native body of public opinion would have been shattered. The left wing of the Indian National Congress for the whole nation of the Congress leadership during the last two years— it only Mr. Das had agreed to the old game where no party (that) who would not have— finally, (which) two (the) new party. Will he be able to guide them again in his new party?'

Mr. Das was like Raja Chandra Prasad Baspal. The new party's programme may tend to swing matters, but the one thing is the economy of the Congress decision. It is so that even that the present step of extending an invitation party has been really undertaken and it must stand or fall on this program. The proposal to look back to non-cooperation is one loss or another in a proposal to react to Government. The capture of landed wealth and effort to keep them within, added to the creation of difficulties from inside really amounts to proposals to enter into a competition with the Government in a game of hide-and-seek on the one side and legal action on the other. To serve "Swadeshi" as a result of such an intellectual game of chess is too vain a hope. The proposals that amount to a mere disorganising programme. How does such policy fit our present position?

" I am sure that the adoption of this resolution will make a definite change in the policy that this country has hitherto adopted for the realisation of the rights that belong to it and its masses."

There were the words with which Mahatma Gandhi introduced his non-cooperation resolution in the Congress at Calcutta. This change of policy was the greatest event in Indian politics until now. It was change from protest and protest to action. It was needed vigorously, both consciously and unconsciously by those who had served in the ranks of the strategy of Mahatma Gandhi's time. It was opposed by those who felt that the people who had hitherto taken a passive political attitude of the country could not be the moral strength, courage and determination necessary for the success of the new policy. It was also resisted by those who instinctively thinking that, were unable to get out of the groove of political life to which they had been accustomed, and saw only reaction to the situation being proposed, and protest and only self-satisfaction in the new policy of refusing. The opposition though very important was of no avail and Mahatma's

programme was adopted, the old policy of the Congress yielded to an entirely new one. We were no longer to petition like the Mahatmas or protest like the Mahatmas but to act.

What was the new programme of action to be?

Violence was ruled out. The programme of action took two independent shapes. If wrong is not to be passively accepted, but opposed without violence, the result is voluntary suffering. Again, foreign domination in India independently rested on the people's co-operation. The withdrawal of this co-operation would bring the dominion down. The programme suggested by Mahatma and accepted by the people throughout of non-cooperation and suffering. These two forms of action were to replace the old policy of domination. They are based on two corresponding physical laws and are calculated to produce new unity with the same certainty as physical laws. Suffering is the first point of unity. Suffering to bring results in physical slavery. If there is a refusal to co-operate, the result is suffering. The second law on which the whole programme of suffering is based is that a wrong cannot continue in the face of the just of nature, whereas physical resistance, agitation and violence are the life and substance of wrong.

The spirit of the new national policy is the key to the programme of non-cooperation, force, resistance and other forms of suffering undertaken as the result of non-violent resistance to the foreign domination and its methods. The true character and effect of such action can best be realised by keeping the moral basis of the plan always before one's mind.

Every one has admitted and realised that foreign domination rests always on the co-operation of the subject people, yet it is too easily forgotten, and weak constant ignorance. In the case of India, with its three hundred and thirty millions of population, ruled and tyrannised over by a white-race foreign element, the voluntary co-operation of the subject was only the ultimate base for the daily maintenance of the Government which is imposed on the people. The withdrawal of the voluntary co-operation of the people is the key to the new programme of Governmental life and being the voluntary down. The process was involved in the quietest and the most direct form of bloodless revolution. The difficulty of giving effect to the plan was however anticipated and a map of fact and finance of progress toward the making of the programme. But it is the most successfully planned and still the subject and most obscure programme before the country. The first and complete attainment of the national goal was not to be achieved only through this programme. Our success has been laid the foundation for a fresh advance, and we believe in the single short campaign we conducted have given us the experience necessary for a more successful effort. It is responsible for the return to go back from the policy of action to a policy of disorganising agitation, as responsible as it is for a child to try to move on all four sides of his learned school game. The action must stand and fall, on its legs though it may occasionally fall to the effect, but it cannot go back to the "normal" state, political life of the pre-Gandhi days.

Congress Notes

AN INTERVIEW

The Mayor Congress Committee has brought about certain results which were not quite expected. According to the old conception, when the president delivered his address the delegates listed their requests, wrote to the Subjects Committee who thereupon proceeded to change such resolutions for the Congress. Under the present system the Subjects Committee is elected from the Province and not by the assembled delegates. The All India Congress Committee members elected in November meet some days before the Congress in Subjects Committee and their resolutions for the Congress in this arrangement, it will be seen, the President's list is contained in his address is practically not available in the drafting Committee. The President's list on such points was the Subjects Committee, but there is no provision made for placing the presidential address at the disposal of the Subjects Committee. The practical difficulty in this arrangement is considerable. As Guya the Subjects Committee was convened to meet as early as 11th December and had things to do some days before the commencement of the new session, yet the President had to postpone his address on the most important questions till the address had been delivered. The Subjects Committee really began its work after first day's proceedings of the new session. If the present system for which the resolutions should be discussed and passed by the Subjects Committee has not as yet been before the beginning of the All India Congress Session, it is most unfortunate some arrangement should be made for discussing the presidential address in advance among the Committee members, so that the President-elect's views may be considered when drafting the national programme.

For Better Programme

The programme in the presidential address was practically the same as those contained in the statement issued by Gandhiji in November. Gandhiji accepts the method of Non-violent Non-cooperation as the new and correct method, is fact the only method which we must follow to secure our object. The only question is how best to apply the method in the present circumstances.

"I do not agree with those who think that the spirit of the nation is so dead that any violent non-cooperation is as large as possible. I have grounds to hold my current thought, and I desire to make it perfectly clear that there is absolutely no reason for entertaining any feelings of doubt or despair. The national appearance of the people to day is a material discipline. They appear to be in a level condition and a sense of fatigue has partially overcome them. But beneath all this exterior of quiescence, the pulse of the nation beats as strongly as before and is hopefully so, as the beginning of the movement. We have to consolidate the strength of the nation. We have to devise a plan of work, which will stimulate their energy and that, we are working out jointly for the struggle. Let all plans before you rest by the name of work, which, in my opinion, is before you and Congress should proceed for the nation."

Then follow suggestions for a declaration of the rights of different communities, for having a show of force of the various of Government which we demand, for carrying on foreign propaganda, participation in an Asian conference, Indian representation and contesting of elections to come and have the National Council. On all these matters I have already offered my remarks at the time Gandhiji's statement appeared in November.

The presidential address accepts the view of the Young Committee as a deplorable misrepresentation of the meaning of Civil Disobedience on a large scale. Gandhiji here which are "an outrage on humanity and as much to that" may and should be treated by Gandhiji far apart from the Disobedience as about in the presidential address about any approach Civil Disobedience for instance in Chhatisgarh. This is in violence against with the emphasis stands taken up by Gandhiji when the Congress Session was holding its session. He doubt the appropriate treatment of the Lawless Committee is a subsequent opinion. But coming to the Janasabha and to the other relevant questions in the most before us since the Lawless Committee as far as the Indian Movement are concerned and as for bringing the situation to a stage of quiet.

Civil Disobedience

Mr. Mehta has rightly explained in a press representative that the Congress resolution about Civil Disobedience does not contemplate mass action. It is a fact that all steps calculated to add to the political consciousness of the people and to help to organize them and launch expeditions to make them realize their capacity to meet wrong and wrongs violating suffering make us more ready than we are at present for the civil work against authority, called Mass Civil Disobedience. But the resolution about the Congress resolution is not mass action, but individual suffering in order to maintain the non-violence aspect of our struggle constantly before us. The law in which the individual suffering is to be undertaken will be needed when the country has responded to the call. The Government and its law are such that there are numerous demands which promote and will expect us to conduct our honorable suffering. Meanwhile our duty is to adhere to the rule and resist the law and the money wanted.

The Call

When the Congress has asked for to be indeed a very moderate demand—ten to fifteen lakhs and fifty thousand men. The question of the Government has asked by the Working Committee and will be communicated to the states. The money is wanted more than anything else for maintaining popular confidence in the Congress work. The volunteers must be paid more money, to be satisfied in mind and deed and naturally to endeavor to be more violent in spirit to promote every among all communities of India to render service to the national cause and to feel more satisfactorily as we feel, and to be prepared to suffer all manner of suffering for the cause.

The new first demand should necessarily take no constructive work in Government circles, probably

real. This will mean help the strengthening of the National organization. Every model village carried on through the Congress organization the subjects chafed out in the British Programme will be an example for building and become a centre of educational influence for self-government. No representative civil disobedience should be undertaken except where instructions are issued in that effect. If constructive work brings responses by itself the suffering should of course be absolutely superficial. But still called out by power Congress authority under instruction from the working Committee, it is advised that every volunteer enrolled under the Gays machine should be devoted himself, to the area allotted to him, to the work of education and popularizing the spinning wheel, the construction and spread of khaddi, and service to the orphaned classes, handicapped, paralytics, deafening, epileptics, paralytics and other mental Congress subjects.

How to get back the Leaders

There is only one way to win back the affection of our leaders and to bring them again to lead us, and that is to carry out the programme we have passed, and prove thereby our sincerity of purpose and strength of resolve. If we collect the thousands letters represented give the City document now within the date fixed i. e. 30th April next & undergo the suffering that we have pronounced for ourselves I am certain we shall find their affection to us more ample. All our work in the efficacy of suffering would be a defiance of it should fail to compel the necessary change of our leaders and return them to us.

Disobedience and Non-Violence

At the Delhi All-India Congress Committee meeting of 21st February 1935, the Mahatma members led a demand for a Committee of enquiry to become into the working of the non-cooperation programme with a view to ascertain if, if necessary. The proposal was not accepted then, but the "Civil Disobedience Executive Committee" afterwards did what in effect had been demanded at Delhi. After the Delhi meeting, the sub-committee appointed by the Nagpur Provincial Congress Committee made a report embodying fundamental differences. They complained that the Congress was tilted to back and promote a cult of words and a doctrine of self-satisfaction instead of advancing struggle. What was thought to be the language of the work by those who accepted Mahatma's view, non-violence was by the Nagpur sub-committee as irrelevant thing which ought to be taken down.

All the strength which revolved around the doctrine of non-violence and all those who saw no relevancy in the confusion had come for launching Civil Disobedience have crystallized into and form the main strength of the new party that has been formed by Mr C. R. Das.

Yet in portion of Gandhiji's presidential address is more striking than that which emphasizes the principle of non-violence, "I am, one of those who hold to non-violence as principle" says Mr Das. But the new party that has risen to being under his banner remains utterly faithful of non-violence, and shows of opposition whenever the occasion arises but

loses their way of both in this doctrine. These groups felt and often expressed that non-violence was an unending creed and at least wrong practical foundation of and for any political programme to be laid thereon. It is one of the stages of political evolution that movement of Gandhiji's should crystallize round one whose both in the Gandhian creed was expressed in the following words:—

"The only method by which freedom can be achieved is by the use of any rule or the method of non-violent non-cooperation. These facts have been so far mentioned to be acceptable would do so to make over the All-India movement. When I saw the reports of the arrested at Lahore and heard from their lips that not one of them had ever wished to use violence by forcible means of such gross provocation, I said to myself, 'There was the triumph of non-violence.'

"Non-violence is not a life system. It was not in fact that Mahatma declared 'put up the sword into the sheath'. But those who are 'of the sword' have by now so often shown a sceptical view two thousand years ago.

British Origin

The last session of the Gandhian programme was the resolution for adopting Boycott of British goods. The C. D. Working Committee had adopted this recommendation by a majority of 2 against 1. It was national without any feeling by the All-India Congress Committee that met at Calcutta, for consideration at Gaya. The decision on this question of course did not coincide with that over the Council. Most people supported the adoption of an aggressive boycott of British goods then a change in the programme regarding Council. Those who stood by Mahatma's position in the boycott, left him the beginning that in the absence of their that they were fighting a losing battle. It was easy and natural to find this view for the past stages of India, while it was a difficult task to convince of The Subjects Committee adopted the Boycott of British goods in spite of a shaky opposition. But the voting was close; 144 votes for the boycott and 139 against. Though the resolution was carried in the Subjects Committee, those who resisted it found by the truth that they were not as weak as they thought they were. The fact which Mahatma's principles continue to have on the people was proved beyond doubt in the new session in the Congress where in spite of the Subjects Committee's recommendation, the resolution was drawn out by a large majority.

There was a clear combination of Satyagrah and good that the entire India lost in the weakness of its imprisoned leader in spite of over-imagination.

The boycott of British goods has been rejected, but the boycott of all foreign cloth is still there as an essential part of the national programme.

To remove all possible doubt that any have been created by some of the speeches, for there was a careful account of meeting up of "Foreign" and "British" by the All-India Congress Committee has at its meeting held immediately after the Congress session reiterated the principle that rejected the following resolution which ought to be practically placed before the people by all Congress groups and speakers.

"The All India Congress Committee seriously appeals for further vigorous efforts to complete the boycott of all foreign cloth and yarn and to spread hand-spinning and hand-weaving in order that the complete economic independence of the nation may be secured and the timely attainment of Swaraj thereby be secured."

From the point of view of effect, those who desire to enforce a boycott of foreign goods bring themselves to think that the Congress programme has been ineffective. *Comment on Finance* (New York, Jan. 1) in its issue of 10 November last, says that only 25 out of 75 Legislative Councils opening with post dividends in October, and with a severe depression in the spinning and weaving industries of Congress and West Scotland. Mr. A. J. Lux's member of the Executive Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce in a speech made at its last annual meeting said, "Legislation has been brought in for taxes on the question of price, and to keep her trade going, has had to cut to the bone. Even so it is going well but her losses are still today."

Councils

The Congress finally adopted by an over-whelming majority the boycott of councils by voters as well as candidates. Although in consequence of the way in a special session of the Congress was almost unanimously reported to the Subjects Committee and was not passed in the open assembly, Bal Gangadhar sought to return to the shape of a resolution the selected right of members. He moved as amendment that each Congressman be allowed to stand for the elections not stand as candidate and vote—any vote further, but Congress-boycott should not be used and the candidates should not be taken to represent Congress. The amendment though persuasive, as here would really function the boycott as far as voters were concerned, and on the other hand, not being passed as mandatory it would not secure the conditions necessary for the success of the Congress boycott. It received little support and was ultimately not passed. Mr. Bal Gangadhar's amendment by which the boycotting of elections should be on the decision of the voters the necessary conditions would allow to vote the vote secured were support also. Mr. Bal Gangadhar's original proposition that the Congress party should be left over for decision to the voters of December 1933, in fact in the vote which the Congress was only on Mr. Bal Gangadhar's amendment. Passed only once among his amendment to a demand that Congress party should be asked only vote. Congress, but this was opposed itself as involving implied Member's amendment and took no more delicate shape.

The Congress decision is then clear and definite in that all voters are asked to abstention standing as candidates and then voting for any candidate. The duty of those who accept the decision is clear. They should help to make the boycott effective. The greatest difficulty will be to secure the acceptance of supporting a 'good' candidate should any such offer himself and either a 'bad' candidate, as occurred in the elections. The real test, as the election of the people from the candidates or up to require in all of the Government Congress should be that taken our minds and every form of temptation of council from standing, that undoubtedly, the main shape finally passed.

The "electorate", i.e., the people who are invited by Government to support the candidates should be asked systematically to refuse to participate in the elections. The Provincial Committees will when the time arrives issue detailed instructions in respect of the procedure to be adopted. Meanwhile the policy decided should be made clear to all.

For those who have differed from the majority decision, there are three courses open. One is to accept the majority decision as to the form in which the boycott is to be given effect to, as a matter of Congress discipline and working towards its purpose. Another course is to continue to ignore what the Congress is doing in being spoken round without taking any action except in the Congress resolution. The third course is to refuse to be bound by the majority vote and to stand for the Councils. There can be cases where even during such national struggles, a minority in the National Legislature may not only influence opinion but also cause controversy in the decision of the majority. But the leaders of the majority should consider carefully whether there is a case for such results in the present circumstances. I respectfully submit there is not.

The Voting on the Council Question

For Mr. Bal Gangadhar's amendment in the Subjects Committee there were 101 votes in favour of it, 118, against it in the Congress the voting being 110 against, 118, for. In the vote of Mr. Bal Gangadhar's amendment in the Subjects Committee 85 voted in favour of the amendment against 114, in the Congress it was not passed by a division, it is still possible to give an analysis of the votes in the open session as the voting under the present conditions not being by provinces, the voters' names were taken and created impression of provinces, in the Subjects Committee, Bombay, Karnataka, Andhra, Orissa, Punjab, Bihar, Assam and Sindh were not not a single member from these provinces voted for Mr. Bal Gangadhar's amendment, the case of Tamil Nadu and Gujarat was practically the same voting being 10 in favour and 11 in the former and 11 against 1 in the latter province.

Regional Members of the Subjects Committee were divided, 15 for Mr. Bal Gangadhar's amendment and 15 for full boycott. Though members were also divided, 14 for Mr. Bal Gangadhar's amendment and 17 for full boycott. The Local presence supported Mr. Bal Gangadhar's amendment by a majority of 10 against 14. Mr. Bal Gangadhar's amendment was 7 against 7. Mr. Bal Gangadhar's amendment was 1 in number all voted by Mr. Bal Gangadhar's proposition.

Repetition

There will be found an article extracted from the *Weekly Chronicle* defending him on the subject of Repetition of Names. The National Congress has adopted my suggestion that there should be given that condition in future to the Government of India cannot allow representation of the people. The idea is actually intended that the voters should deliver an honest verdict. I fully expected the result. But fact cannot be got over by words, but voters in a single session that the people should work, although it has occurred, justice could be, but

"I would leave up to you as to the idea that this substantial military output and a quasi-military and police should be imposed on this poor country and the two ends of the budget made to meet just that you by force or by superstitious terrorism."

One paper remarks that the Congress has risen to the height of its responsibility for adopting the resolution. Yet a few hours before the vote leading up to it, it continues about twice that they should not be used for military expenditure and that the practice temporarily adopted by the Government of India should be judiciously reconsidered. We are told by Mr. Manojdas Wadia, a Congress Member of the Legislative Assembly, with reference to the military charges that "India lately cannot expect an expenditure of this scale. The fact that India is now for the fifth year in successive loss is due with a large deficit in most of the public accepted accounts which in the way presents a very disheartening picture means that unless the Legislature and the Government put matters right, the State Finance must have into bankruptcy."

Following the analysis of the case a paper writes that "our towns are continually asked for Railways, Irrigation schemes and so on." Borrowing persons are shown of increasing military and financial means of large national industrial enterprises, of irrigation projects, marketing powers and means of land, and the question is asked whether such debts could be repaid. Borrowing Railways and other developmental schemes including Irrigation Finance are charged to Provincial Governments. The Imperial budget is transferred to them. Taking the Railways, of the 70 units agreed in 1939-40 was a then half the funds in a military investment, and the balance is made up of borrow from mostly financed by Indian states and foreign-financed companies.

What has widely contributed to military expansion like the North Western Frontier Railway are charged to Provincial Public Works works instead of being heavily put down to the account of the military department. Men who have traversed the whole country and who are not superstitious have expressed in their clear opinion that borrowing of capital for railway on Indian Railways should be suspended if things go on as at present, there is not the least doubt that the growing needs of India must necessarily require. The only question is whether an honest economy may be given now, and further addition in the field presented, or whether the borrowing must be allowed to have an end now. Is it easy for a slave to refuse himself for the sake of freedom? Why, was there anything but absolute type some quarter when it was said that boys should give up Government education at when a was said that lawyers should actually come to go to Court?

And of now along there must be no doubt, if we mean by Savings the necessitating of the responsibility of governing our own country, we must have it, under conditions where the understanding is capable of performance.

1-dependent Treasury

Mr. K. T. Shah, Dastur University, professor of Economics, has presented a resolution on the Indian Finance Commission, which is worthy of studying by all those who would salute up resolution. Mr. Shah, I add, a non-graduate.

To those who may not get at his booklet, the following summary may be interesting—

The total expenditure of India-Imperial, British and Provincial was in 1935-36, 106 crores. In 1937-38, a sum 121 crores, i.e., more than 15% increase. In 1938-39 it was 123 crores. The expenditure in 1939-40 was 127 per cent in excess of the figure of 1935-36.

The expenditure on military services was in 1935-36 a little less than 31 crores. In 1939-40, it was a little over 41 crores. The budget estimates for 1940-41 is nearly 75 crores. This is about 25 per cent of the total Imperial expenditure for the year. We must add to this the debt charges. Paying such debts covered for Railways, Irrigation, etc. and taking only debts covered by purely military purposes and for covering deficits arising from railway, revenue, we have a bill for repayment on consolidated debt a sum of over 17 crores to the 75 crores charge paid. Thus the total military charge for the year is 58 crores as against a budgeted sum, nearly of 43 crores. Thus the Government spends nearly 35 per cent of India's resources in more the military charge. The actual fraction spends less than 45 per cent of her resources on the Army, Navy, Air Force and all the Debt service. Canada spends only 20 per cent.

No part of the cost of the army in India is borne by Great Britain. Yet the Indian Government seems that they cannot consider the administration of the army in India otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire. A standing army of 100,000 men in India, a permanent in permanently increased. The "cost" of 12,000 military pounds voted in March 1937, and again of another 25 million pounds voted in September 1938 have increased India's permanent military charges 50 percent, above the pre-war level. The whole of extra funds required for the war is in excess a charge on the British revenues.

The real cause of the war is that from the Government's point of view, the army in India has been increased in a war footing. There is no apparent need establishment as distinguished from the War establishment. There are no military reserves. The people are not armed or trained and the sole means of national defence is the paid standing army. The object of the maintenance is not only changed, but it keeps India now only to undertake its own defence.

The public debt is the cause of the Company Run war in China. This was the amount sent by the British to occupy India. On the transfer of the Government from the Company to the Crown, this was transfer with 10 million pounds by way of compensation to the East India Company was settled on India, in her financial debt. India has therefore paid for her own occupation in full.

The ordinary debt has increased from 20 crores in 1914 to nearly 100 crores since all due absolutely to the European War.

Says Mr. Shah: "The latest and wildest, the most repeated and utterly untrue version spread by the British is that since that portion of India's debt which has been incurred on her behalf and for her benefit." "Neither do they even profess of themselves, of unacknowledged indebtedness as it be adopted." In any case the military expenditure debt must be wiped out, at the earliest possible time, in order to guard against the constant possibility of expense entailed in maintaining, maintaining the initial addition of a complete expenditure of our national debt." C. S.

Notes

High Court Proceedings

The People's High Court has proposed to remove the status of Lala Dhanraj Lal of Amritsar and Mr. Abdul Basit from the roll of practitioners in consequence of their conviction and imprisonment of an offence under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The order may be signed on both sides and despatched before decision, or the practitioners may signify his their own statements and leave the matter there according to the anti-conspirator's practice. If in the end they are acquitted, they would also be disqualified under the Legislative Council Rules which provide that any legal practitioner who has been detained or is under sentence from practicing as such by order of any competent court is not eligible for election. This rule carries the disqualification beyond the conventional rule. The latter disqualifies where the sentence is a fine or sentence, but if a High Court detains the practitioner for a conviction and imprisonment of even six months or longer, he is disqualified by this last clause. The best proof of the real and inalienable dependence of the Judiciary on the Executive in spite of all that may be said or written on the theory of it is the action which courts take against political offenders.

Is Law an Independent Profession?

There was a long-remembered opinion that the lawyers' was an independent profession. That theory has been thoroughly disproved in many instances. The action of the Bombay High Court against some of the members of the Bar during the Bombay Agitation, the proceedings of the action of the Madras High Court regarding the Vaidya Association's attachment to Marathi, and the latest news, the action issued by the Punjab High Court to Mr. Basit and Lala Dhanraj Lal show cause why they should not be removed from the rolls for having been convicted and imprisoned for a political offence must make a blow to all those lawyers who long as they are under the disciplinary jurisdiction of Courts, they would be truly independent. The Courts are an integral part of the system of responsible Government that holds power over India, and every practitioner is on the rolls by licence or chief magistrate only during paid session. A few more actions like the Punjab High Court's would probably exclude lawyers from all politics except under the Reform scheme.

Foreigners Interested in India

The following para. from Japan will be a fresh proof of any were needed that our possession of sufficient will automatically attract the world's attention, and that without foreign propaganda on our part is needless waste of energy and money.

"As already said in my previous address, the Japanese public have begun to regard a keen interest in the Indian movement," writes the Tokyo correspondent of the "Asahiya" (Madras) "Two voluminous books with photos and illustrations have already been published by a friend of mine. There is hardly any magazine or paper of mine which is not regularly carrying articles on India. It is possible that some Japanese papers will send their representatives to India this winter. I therefore beg to request all my fellow countrymen, especially the Congress colleagues to show their efficient working and place all facilities

of their disposal, in order to enable them to have the most conditions."

Japan is not alone in the American and other foreign journals are printing just like these statements against foreign propaganda.

Political Prisoners

The Madras Government has for sometime past been working on understanding against political prisoners under its policy or legislation. More than one responsible member of the Government embodying wisdom is wanted to have suggested difficulty in working such persons in political prisoners, as if it makes any difference if a man who has given up his substance and comfort of life should receive a chance for keeping body and soul together while he gives his time to the National work. It is the old machinery of wealth-creating that happens to various families. The following order of the Madras Government will be read with interest:

The Madras Government have issued an order drawing the attention of all Magistrates and Criminal Courts to the rules framed under the Prison Act which may be considered of special drastic provisions. Under these rules all Criminal Courts will be future have power to nominate certain prisoners for the special detention and the Government have decided that all such prisoners shall be subject to their own system, it was necessary to explain the circumstances in which cases they will be prepared to grant it. The Court may propose for release in the special detention any prisoner sentenced to simple imprisonment or whose term, owing to his status, of status and habits of life, the system of ordinary prison arrangements appears to be worse, resulting in fact, for him a heavier punishment than they impose in the general run of prisoners. regard may also be had to nature of the offence committed, but the nature of the offence is not a matter which the Court should take into consideration. As particular exceptions to the general rule the following will give just be regarded as eligible for admission to the special detention— (1) All persons who, whenever their status in life or their habits, have been convicted of offences which have do only involved victims or an offence against any person or property. (2) Persons who have committed offences of offences of their hand. (3) Persons who have been found to commit offences in connection with political movements or who have committed such offences in the hope that in the resulting disorder opportunities for looting might arise. (4) Persons who have been guilty of aiding or attempting to induce soldiers or the police from their allegiance. (5) Persons who have been convicted of offences of directly involving national independence, provided that the Government may, at their discretion, extend special facilities to persons convicted of or accused of offences and involving big theft of property to persons or property.

The Court will be expected to give full reasons in writing to every case in which it proposes that a prisoner sentenced to imprisonment, should be placed in a special detention, and should submit records to the Government without delay. In the case of a magistrate's recommendation to a District Magistrate the records should be submitted through the District Magistrate."

The rule that magistrates are bound to submit full reasons for recommending any one to be placed in the special detention will not be a deterrent on many a good though honest official who may not care to expose his judgment to the scrutiny of a politically biased Executive Government.

My Guilt



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Young India

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Notes

Reviews

A hundred human beings lashed up into one-light waggon. All but a few, after indescribable suffering, perished. An century and a half — poor afterwards. But one of all those who were the human creatures in the perspective of the human world. Absolutely found legally liable or punished.

A small Government in connection with the industrial of human beings and one of human life, suddenly lost control and let itself go. A hundred of men and women, a hundred and twenty years afterwards, another of death as 121 men passed in a single judgment. No joy. The above is a brief description of two recent and rapid happenings in the law courts.

The fact that in the first of these two cases, as in the case of some other well-known cases, there was no doubt whatever about the identification of the individuals concerned or of the events that formed the crime under enquiry, made no difference. Legal responsibility seemed to be put at. The fact that in the second case there must have been considerable difficulty and doubt in identifying the persons who really took part in the crime made no difference either, 121 men were lined up with judicial ceremony which the law demands for inflicting the death penalty.

The whole system of criminal law and procedure as well as the practice of punishment cry out for change. The more statement of the case that a guilty crime has in mind itself ordered the execution of 121, and that there was no part to stand between

the judge and the prisoner, as that must be enough to get conviction there. The verdict of India on the China China dispute was immediate and clear. But nothing was done for some and months the national spirit as much as the monstrous sentence of death passed in mind itself on 121 men by a single national officer of the Government. It may be taken for granted that this sentence will be revised by the Executive Government, and one number of cases, if not in most of them, the death penalty may be converted to life-long imprisonment or 'transportation' but that will make no difference in principle.

Viceroy's Speech

Referring to Days resolutions the Viceroy said, "I will not attach too great an importance to these words. A violent attack, will, however, be kept on these propositions and I can give you my assurance that my Government will use all its resources to consider and quell the forces of disorder should they become minded." If these words are used in the sense which they carry in plain English, there will be no chance to see the resolution of the Government, for in the resolution adopted at Days there is no intention or even for maintaining of forces of disorder. The call for men and money is for strengthening the national organisation which was only by its creed but also by continued struggle, in practice as well as in association of principles, is opposed to all manifestation of forces of disorder and pledges its members to non-violence. If the Viceroy has used the words, however, in the conventional sense in which the Government of India studies the justification of the repressive policy, forces of disorder would include anything, including the movement of Congress workers and collection of Congress funds, because at some future date the Congress organisation may ask these volunteers to come into armed law or order. Our struggle should go on largely in Government policies. There are popular movements based on influence of sentiment, which very strong forces serve power to the struggle for emancipation.

Earl Winterton's Speech

As an illustration of inextinguishable ignorance or of the attack policy of buying death's head in mind. Earl Winterton's speech to his constituents on the January 11 had its end. After finding in India an anti-public house, he seems to be home with the message that he had just received, the situation of India is improved, the state being too good for itself. So it was all the time the movement that had intended and tried all the weight, weight, and

Dr. Abbas Teyfeh on picketing

The following from Mr. Abbas Teyfeh, appearing on invitation in a German brochure on Christian picketing will be read with interest:—

"I would point out here that peaceful picketing absolutely cannot be placed in opposition with legitimate demonstrations of the peaceful individual which it is its object to counter. As it has been proved that demonstrations are an essential condition to these means for pushing on the way of our cause, no law, it is essential for the spreading of your chain among the masses who are so much affected by your suggestion.

I will mention here only one instance to show how the 'individualism' to purchase foreign cloth is a great evil has been seen to affect the masses. At Kashed, one morning at 7 A. M. some five of us, having trouble with the abominable 'advertisements' suspended round our necks took up our arms near a Masjid where people came to worship. One of the women left, whispering about two hundred who came to morning, many wore coats or suit-cloth, while only 2 or 3 had on clothes of pure Kashed. On seeing us and realising what was going on the inside, they hastened away from our vicinity and entered the Masjid. On returning, however, they had some little talk with us, and then a great discussion took place among themselves, many expressing their against the wearing of foreign cloth. We repeated our visit the next day, and a similar scene followed, but we secured more women in Kashed. While only a few were wearing foreign clothes. Again a discussion followed in the women coming out of the Masjid. After our return had been repeated over five or six days, we secured divine women in pure Kashed. On asking some of these in foreign clothes, 'isters, do you still consider it proper to wear foreign cloth?' The answer received showed that they had purchased Kashed and given it to have displayed round their, and that on the next two or three days they would discard the wearing of foreign cloth. It was this success we were getting a feeling in favour of Kashed in Kashed, I will give here one instance to place our central relation with the shopkeepers. Our Masjid brethren in Kashed are still determined to free use of foreign cloth. On one occasion one of them, while making a purchase in my presence, was asked by the shopkeeper to bring some Indian goods and several. Thereupon he turned round directly upon me and said, 'Show me your eye, that the purchase of foreign cloth is sinful.' As my answer failed to satisfy him, the shopkeeper took up the matter in my behalf and said, 'It is not sinful for you to wear money to display whether it is a perfectness upon, common, foreign, etc., and can we against your Turkish and Indian business?' In order to provide an answer with some to tell your eye brethren with, for your applying the money to such money is the most to purchase from with eyes.' I explained the purchase's answer explained, and he went his way.

I would suggest that the purchase of our national obligation, that is to say, leaders of both sexes, Christians in general, and all Christians in particular would have conscious of their duty joined in their to help, with the abominable 'advertisements' and ordered thereby, and regard them as respectable and worth. But it is essential during waking hours that there is no more than such work, such matters and things upon which I cannot mention this one particular. And they will perceive with psychological effect that the suggestion of boycott of foreign cloth will be more deeply substituted in the minds of people throughout the length and breadth of India.

Then next we achieve a boycott of foreign cloth, the like of which the world has never seen.

Civil Disobedience Mass or Individual

The Editor has some of Jan. 1 has very ably and instructively dealt with the whole question of civil disobedience. Mass Civil Disobedience is a civil revolt against the authority of the Government, the object being the replacement of that authority by one which is representative of, or at least agreeable to the people. While Individual Civil Disobedience is a result of the individual conscience against corrupt authority whether it is sustained through a lawless law, or order, or taken any other shape on the corner of the functioning of that authority. Mass Civil Disobedience is the ultimate stage of non-violent resistance to a Government which has no knowledge to exist or which is tyrannical in its operations. It is not feasible under the present conditions under which an armed rebellion is possible. It is probable that the people have attained the capacity to offer the necessary amount of suffering and if by force of circumstances and human allies they have also attained the discipline to keep the Disobedience absolutely civil and under full control and are able to direct it wisely to the end in view.

Individual Civil Disobedience is the potential right of the individual. At the same time, every man has a right of individual suffering as realisation of Right as expressed in Wrong is a national war, and in this sense it further the progress of the whole community in true freedom. Hence a personal expression which differs against an authority which causes seriously takes the shape of many lawless laws and orders and other incidents of repression can harness such individuals in Civil Disobedience in the national struggle and make them to break the power with which it is holding on the moral plane. Large-scale Individual Civil Disobedience becomes possible and practicable when there is large-scale injustice and wrong and it can be so very nature be controlled and disciplined more easily than otherwise. There is, therefore, a relevant place for Individual Civil Disobedience in the struggle of the whole Community for freedom. Continued individual suffering is the essential condition of Freedom's battle.

Civil Disobedience of a single law, and Civil Disobedience in a particular area, have also no obvious place in the current campaign, when it is intended to become or force the struggle. Authority hangs on the subjective chain of co-operation of the subject people. A successful moral attack may where it is enough to bring about the revolution. It was on this basis that the Kashed campaign was conceived. The expectation that such localized campaigns find themselves as deep targets for Government repression is based on the erroneous notion that the success of such struggles depends on the absolute or virtuality of repression. A truly non-violent campaign cannot suffer by all the means in India being concentrated in a field any more than it only a few divisions were concerned there.

It is true that the Indian people are in suffering. Dr. Bhabha's position that war with Turkey cannot be justified by prohibiting Mass Civil Disobedience where the people are not ready and therefore demands on waiting and preparation, and in that case a fresh reply to Turkey any question life, better preparation and give the struggle to select.

Young India

12-1-32

My Gaid

I cannot help being myself the knowledge that I stand straight at the bar of every a worthy friend's constant thought for having shown total disloyalty over the Commis's question. I should be thank beyond measure if I were subjected to the charge resting merely on the fact that a large majority voted with me. Do I not know that the very majority that might vote so-day would rubbily condemn tomorrow? The knowledge was which the vote have forced me does not set my temperance and I cannot find any where in it that I do not stand against of guilt before my own conscience and the opinion of my discrediting friends.

It is an honour or justification for me to confess myself an error that the other party should have yielded ground or refused to compromise or done something to avoid the result. The offence cannot be mitigated by what others could or should have done. I have to be judged on my own conduct.

The difference was on the Commis's question. Other questions did not matter at all. We gave and take on other subjects would have solved the difficulty. Peace was not made only on the question of the boycott of the Commis.

What were the circumstances by which I should have been helped? I remember the question, suddenly as put off in another way on the Congress would have only served to have the national gathering in other trouble. The C. D. League Committee divided themselves equally over the question, the working committee divided equally again, the all India Congress Committee met at Calcutta and after several days' discussion put the question all to the Congress. It is the great national gathering of leaders and representatives, surely give the matter all rights, the whole nation would have been guilty of grave indiscretion. I was not therefore surprised to find that my objection to further postponement was emphatically shared by leaders of all shades of opinion, including those who were known to be in the camp of the other of leaders in the Congress Committee. The final issue of settlement was to give a resolution giving to each province the right to decide the question within say half hour of the Congress. This would have saved the postponement of the responsibility of the Congress and throwing on the shoulders of the work provincial committees the burden that was otherwise bound to be too heavy. The discussion over the question in the previous would not be less but the more bitter than in the Congress, the moral pressure of an all-India policy or decision would be almost not discussed everywhere would have been the only one that the Congress. The most offering a sense of peace was to join what was called a compromise resolution. Let there be no more to be discussed by Congresses be established to stand, let those who would vote for these things be the best to stand for approval; let those who would stand out of

from standing stand out. The majority of Mahatma's was there on the matter of resolution was quoted in support of this proposal. Therefore some could have been induced into this, that would it not have been a plan re-consideration of an offer for the Indian National Congress? The decision was to take place in 1931. The Congress had to consider the question of the decision and will not meet again, being the decision. The majority has a right to differ, but that right only comes out of the fact that the Congress had decided the question by a majority. Before resolution have a right to differ, one majority votes to decide at all? The persuasive resolution would have meant that the Congress refused to give any advice or lead to the nation on the vital question to which a single Government was rightly entitled by all parties. Mahatma who insisted more than anyone else on the freedom of the individual and of nations and who upon accepted the voluntary discipline as necessary conditions, started on the very question a decision on the Congress at Calcutta and at Nagpur. I had no doubt, and even now after further consideration I have no doubt that it would have been a re-consideration of the proper duty for the Congress to say to the nation that it had no advice to do save to offer to regard its discipline and that the only lead it could give was to say that those who thought Congress action to be useful say against the decision and those who did not think so say that not. The Congress would not stand still by merely registering resolutions on which no one took any difficulty, refusing to consider itself whenever some difference or decision was. The only other compromise was that Congress should advise the remaining of decisions to be left to the conditions should shape themselves out to into the most also wrong than. The same proposal, Mahatma's resolution was that the decision should be postponed and the policy whether the provincial Congress committees should sit or not, and when there was a sense of peace would be made the Congress if it decided to take the matter to be left over its decision in 1931 December. On the one side, it was felt that the decision should be left to themselves on the other side there was a strong feeling that they should be postponed. If the anti-Congress people had no serious objection to the postponement of the decision and all that is involved, but only objected to the entry and participation in the Congress, then this proposal that there should be a definite pledge of non-entry even at the moment may have served to remove that and could have been agreed to as a voluntary agreement against account of position. But the objection was as much to the decision-making as to the entry and it was not based on that. Every other side, what was the plan in making not a pledge at the moment of the Congress? What the question of entry has ever ruled as a plan in the past years when the Congress was not? Every one knows that there was no such difference of opinion over the question of entry or not and it was difficulty in solving that question as over the question of entry or not. The pro-always party started with Pandit Malaviya's proposition, postponing all questions but matter of decision, because they found it difficult to solve that high question themselves. Mahatma's proposition had

were a spontaneous gathering of two or three, strongly differing groups. The movement that would come might be centred upon an idealistic understanding that the unswerving resolution should rather mean, would only have served to cause a diffusion, for the next morning when the early question would have to be decided upon it would have been too late for the preponderance of the early day.

But apart from all this, how can we get over the inherent impossibility of the scheme by which we should have to reject the vote in our and even again each day they say, 'disposal' versus? Would it have been right, would it have been just, against all reason and conviction and ready to postpone tomorrow's party for us to get up on the morning and declare that I 'surrendered' the movement? I thought and still think it would not have been honest on my part, and I assure my readers that the power purchased would have been very temporary indeed, as we would have had very soon to replace the possibilities of compromise on the new difficulties arising out of such a decision. I know that many of those who wanted a change of the Congress programme were strongly opposed to this movement, and that many leaders who voted for it voted not because they agreed to it as a solution of their doubt but only saw a welcome break in the deadlock in order to make further attempts to it.

Then at my debate, had I had I stated negatively that I do not want my right to refer into any hands with the majority on behalf of the majority. I was on the left of my previously registered party which was to accept in other cases on this as a subsidiary question and which was prepared to be guided by us. The decision since its execution only over this question and if I changed my views I could not have adhered with me. Surely, if Gandhi, Dr. Bhabha and Kishor could not carry the party's vote then on the night, there would be something wrong in wrapping their names through my earlier agreement. C. R.

Kishor Education

(By Rajendra A. Goshal)

Kishor Education has now become a regular feature during Session of the annual session of the All India National Congress. A beginning in this direction was made at Nagpur where an All India National Conference was held for the first time. The Kishor Education at the Nagpur Session of the Congress was not a pure Kishor Education as Kishor made use of foreign and milk milk pure was so much as to be seen in it, it was more than pure knowledge and hand-over to Kishor but it was a proof of the firm intention to take Kishor Education but had been refused in the country. When Kishor was made on the first day of the session and numerous benefits of the move were not of milk-milk education.

The All-India Congress welcomed a student entrance in this domain. The All-India Education was a movement towards a change in the history of the Kishor movement. It moved on to a new stage of the fact that Kishor movement had passed beyond the stage of knowledge and information that it was not a mere training and learning without the help but from which up by the Kishor with all the gravity

and information due to a matter on which hang the very future. The Kishor and Kishor movement in the light of Kishor Education had been refused but not the Kishor Education of the country Kishor Education was not a mere movement on this occasion in the various and continuous in the morning and morning and morning movement of all sorts but the Kishor Education, though with all the given of Kishor Education was a great success. It showed that the Kishor Education was not in its infant stage. During a few days (the morning of Kishor Education) some Kishor Education, were made and Kishor Education. The Kishor Education and even morning has yet to be known. Kishor Education on the whole brought the Kishor Education of its morning rather than the Kishor of a Kishor Education. Kishor Education was not a matter of the Kishor Education of the Kishor Education and therefore that the Kishor Education of, in order to be Kishor Education.

The year following the All-India Congress was a period of Kishor Education. Kishor Education was not a mere movement on this occasion in the various and continuous in the morning and morning and morning movement of all sorts but the Kishor Education, though with all the given of Kishor Education was a great success. It showed that the Kishor Education was not in its infant stage. During a few days (the morning of Kishor Education) some Kishor Education, were made and Kishor Education. The Kishor Education and even morning has yet to be known. Kishor Education on the whole brought the Kishor Education of its morning rather than the Kishor of a Kishor Education. Kishor Education was not a matter of the Kishor Education of the Kishor Education and therefore that the Kishor Education of, in order to be Kishor Education.

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I cannot pass here without mentioning a remark made by Mr. J. Bhabha, a prominent member of the Kishor Education. While Kishor Education was Kishor Education.

about the world. It is a play that has played the same over and over that the public have asked to repeat. When you go to a play when it has that play people demand, "I wanted to feel exactly how you felt." I agreed to go with one of the men that made revolution in the public mind and he clearly stood over the country. This radical transformation and population of the world is a double-edged sword. The United States had such a problem with the French, the U. S. S. R., Mexico and Austria. There were a double-edged sword over the surrounding nations. There was the development of the nation. And it only they can produce that in the future. There is every chance of that during all of the time, made before the end of the world or the end of the world.

As with the rest of testing, all with the aid of equipment, the program made up the list was not too much more than that in the former. About three hundred samples in given were read that all persons in comparison. They were divided in a few, those according to their names, were a uniform of that and strength. About 75 samples that under the effect of and was the last part. Their names, etc. of from 40 to 100. It will be of interest to see how many the computer, there was made up by copy, and so on, is approximately the same.

First, asking it will be long gone has failed to be a necessity of justice. In fact it may even be said that labor has suffered justice. The past decade has the first instance in history where the good as that of justice, opposing to justice, has, in all cases, that it is produced from about present in the ordinary way, without first going through the difficult and laborious process that are necessary for making justice clear.

His action to tell King—people like the history on tape is of a very modern length. I am hardly told to rock long. The fact, however, that Nelson was able to so calmly cut off a line of doing and to the extent of the people of the day, also serves to establish the necessity of local-speaking over national-speaking. It is a small fact that military would immediately produce great acts of courage, courage and of other small acts.

[illegible]

It is hoped the clarity of the report is guaranteed throughout at all the various stages that will ensue. Fuller is in no way that the comprehensive character of Keynesian action at this stage is unique for present living years of labor still among the masses and thousands of the world and would turn its efforts for our present work in the age of mechanical production. Keynesian stage are primary stage in the whole world. These follow, however, and the masses still and coming relationship displayed in the contemporary work revealed on them are unapproachably modern. Most of the kind of work is done during the long dark winter months when the people are confined in their houses on account of snow. The relaxing is usually done by women who now have 2 to 4 hours per day for their work. The contemporary work is done mostly by men in the daily occupation of 5 to 7 hours.

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A unique feature of the Cape Revolution meeting was that while historical (black) maps exhibited, but were also shown in the actual process of generalisation. It was this process of the exhibition that attracted the largest number of people. There was a path from Dr. P. C. Ngqo's lecture giving *Democratization in indigenous Africa*, Dr. P. C. Ngqo's room, beside an 'Panda Room' was a stall on the spot, in English as well as in Xhosa. Besides this there were two main streets, the first *Quthica* 'way and another, the *Debes*, who gave *Democratization in indigenous Africa*. The first two were the most prominent and claimed the greatest success of the event.

Young *Ascomycetes* were grown by group from Ardlin (later) and the *Basidiomycetes*. The group of Baker women held the notes of infection. The young *Ascomycetes* were used separately and were washed with the chest notes by the others. The infection was obtained by the Ardlin group was 1 week, one sample.

A large number of spawning wheels of various patterns and designs were also sent to the collection for appraisal. A Cheshampt-on woman presented a nice small machine, fixed with a coarse screen for screening washing lint it was found that the wheel did not spin at all up to date of the old type standard-wheel. It would not produce more than 2 yards per minute, the good old Cheshampt-on pattern gave at the rate of 2 or even 3 yards per minute. The yarn tested was also old but tinged brownish with the produced fine an inferior, ordinary wheel. Especially commendable was the stock of a large machine who had prepared a sketch of the spinning gear of his wife. It was the correct sketch to the old standard Ashmun wheel. The machine prepared by her was light but strong. It worked very smooth and on which a very beautiful sort piece of work. There were some other designs also, but very all fell short of the standard set by the best old machines, and unless improved considerably would hardly be fit to be placed on the market.

An emergency measure had been taken elsewhere making the existing system for maintenance. It was decided that the railway was being grossly exploited in some places of over working machines. In some a efficiency as well as speed it had behind an emergency Force. After a couple of days had the workers went out of order and could not be put in working order again. The poor manager then found himself in a trap. Now for this workers will never to show how under his present management, a simplified piece of machinery would be quite to be employed in Indian village houses where it is difficult to replace a broken one or even train, although in case of efficiency it might jump some reputation over old-type, simpler design. The Government gave by a working of the Telegraphic system, with an ordinary working line was not in agreement by the Indian women who were able to give part of 10 to 15 cents out of silver present in the way. As in the case of the experience which is the usual of the working here, it may only be assumed that good old persons have to be automatically held their own against all modern 'modern' America.

Young India

32-1-23

Work

Most provincial Congress Committees will have not before the end of this month and reported their plans for the collection of money and the enrolment of volunteers. It would be of great help if all provincial Committees will send at once their preliminary reports to the Working Committee, that as no contact is possible, suggestions and criticisms may be considered and supplementary suggestions issued. All communications, it should be remembered, are to be addressed to the Working General Secretary, 41, Purna Volunteers should be enrolled on the pledge form adopted at Ahmedabad. While every volunteer offers himself as ready for individual self-sacrifice when called, it should be remembered at the same time, that he has countless lives within him. Every volunteer should systematically be put in the work of strengthening the national organisation, and pointing toward constructive activities. The volunteers should be kept from the time of enrolment, and set out to do as the only working order. There may be some volunteers offering their full time from the date enrolment, but a much larger number may offer only part time in the work, for Congress work. There will not be a severe test for the final campaign of 1926-1927, but at once, we shall have a body of active workers. Many men for instance offer each one day a week in the work, by proper coordination, a Congress Committee can get a continuous stream of work going on throughout the whole month. If the new volunteers can make a few solid villages in each area, it would be a rapid method of spreading and strengthening the movement. The first three months should be a period of enrolment and one-pointed activity. The newly enrolled volunteers have to, first, make and the last of an movement in their hands. Many people show no sign of that first of ought to be prepared to give to the movement their whole time, as they contribute to the national struggle during a very critical period. Tolstoy said that the great should discover the Man that people accepted the non-cooperation programme only when he is a person and without independent faith in it and that it should be an occasion to prove one's ability to sustain any sacrifice made at his service. The greatness of his personality in South Africa, is not so in India. Heated in their philosophy and in the relationship to the people of the nation and in the magnitude of the sacrifice India. We need have only the feeling that we have and the ability we possess, to carry out the work which he believed and which he probably believed in going on even in his absence.

C. D.

"Drinking Toasts"

(By C. F. Andrews)

When I was recently in Ceylon, I found out how much of the very worst position of the "Wing" had been already caused by the young, under the impression that there was something really and "modern" and "up to date" about them. I was told by a medical student, that it was a custom for the first year students to drink the night before in an elegant banquet, where not only light wine, but also whisky and brandy were drunk, and some became intoxicated, while drinking "toasts" to the supply of a completely unneeded and drinking the "health of some great who were present, and also the King's health, and the Indian health and the health of the Medical College and so on. And when the banquet ended in a state of collapse and drinking of champagne and smoking and even to the light of the very next day, however, was the completion of those who had religious people and reasonable objections, a however much they might struggle to refuse, persons in that liquor. They were naturally laid down, heads of their struggles and the liquor was poured into their mouths so that they could be no more. The very next day, however, was the completion of those who had religious people and reasonable objections, a however much they might struggle to refuse, persons in that liquor. They were naturally laid down, heads of their struggles and the liquor was poured into their mouths so that they could be no more. The very next day, however, was the completion of those who had religious people and reasonable objections, a however much they might struggle to refuse, persons in that liquor. They were naturally laid down, heads of their struggles and the liquor was poured into their mouths so that they could be no more.

When I heard this account, my heart shared my soul and I went with a group of my companions, to a room at the end of the building of the City of London. When, the Pioneer Member who a dinner was given to him, I found by the Indian students and I was invited to be present. There was in my mind then, nothing of the liquor and the drinking, but there would be now I remember how the English song "I am here a jolly good fellow" was sung and heeded with delight, but among with the "toasts of the Pioneer, the King, the Queen, and going on, in the middle of the programme, to the health of "our distinguished guest" the City of London. There was of course no compulsory drinking on that evening, and it was possible for those present, if they wished to do so to drink the toast in honour of water. But before the evening was over, I could see, as I glanced round the table, that some at least of the guests, who were accustomed to being in the morning, had become the worse for drink, and the speaker thought that it was not that it was wrong to my own part that to be doing in a hospital, where such conditions were put in the way of those, whose health and work were important. When we came to drink, it was many years later, at a time when I had all possible doubt, that the single person, happened from the West, without any reason, or (I think) it was his love for the beginning of the actual downfall of many public lives in the country.

I am remembering some in India which happened clearly and I came out in India. In Cambridge, I had been a member of a Medical Lodge, and I went to a room in a Medical Lodge in Delhi. There was an old Indian gentleman there, who before the evening ended, was really drunk. I do not suppose that he had before much liquor that evening, and to his ordinary life, as I know, he was a man of distinguished birth and high moral character. But the banquet and

this unaccounted upon which he had taken, had made him for a time less an Indian prince, entirely incapable for his station. The old parchment has been dead long ago and I have forgotten his name and even his face, but I can remember vividly today the scene at that banquet and the shock it gave me.

There has been in my letter-press, for more than a year, an important communication on this very subject from an old friend in Bombay. I had wanted for an opportunity to publish it, but I had been occupied with other things, and it had been forgotten. It runs as follows:—

"There is just now a wide-spread movement for stopping the drink and in India. Mahatma Gandhi and myself have been doing your rounds on this subject in accordance with which I have in making one suggestion and ask your help for putting it both in my book and elsewhere.

"To drink the toast to great public occasions is a common practice among Christian nations. This custom was first publicly introduced into India by the British rulers and was afterwards taken up by Indians even in private life. I know several native States, where, while receiving visits from high British officials, the Indian rulers have to arrange public dinners, where the guests and the hosts have to drink some publicly both to Allah and the British monarch. These would violate their religion by drinking; and the Christian rulers, whatever may be their practice as Christians, ought not to violate it even. Their Indian Subjects. It is the general belief that the rulers can offer to the one great religion of India. I am not sure whether drink is compulsory even according to Christian teaching. On that you are quite authoritatively but apart from that, it betrays the British rulers, not only to break this practice, but to prohibit it even by legislation. In the first place, it makes political speeches at dinner a absurd, according to Indian ideas. It reduces the ceremony of our dinner to a farce. Some of, however, have dinner and business considered essential, why should not the Government be asked open to not make more or more with it, but to do so instead of liquor. Intoxicating drink makes a man lonely and should not be used publicly, much less in public. In this world, what can one never be entirely excluded, but it should never be supported openly by Government.

"Great Emperors like Asoka and Akbar, in bygone days, rejected the customs of their subjects. The British rulers if they care to win the affection of Indians, must totally reject their religion and social customs. If they do not do this, they must wither and die. I have been long occupied with Indian States and I know well what havoc drink has wrought in different native kingdoms, and the habit of 'drinking toast' has been one of the principal causes of the deterioration that prevails among them.

"Will you kindly get your several pen for stopping the said custom and send prompt? Your advocacy appearing through the columns of Indian papers, such as 'Young India' and translated into the vernacular may do very great service toward soberity."

This is the letter which I received. I greatly regret that it has remained unpublished so long. I can only hope that the fact that it has been brought before the public at all is the worst suggestion, be translated into the vernacular and widely circulated, so that something may be done to put an end to this practice which is quite out of harmony with native Indian traditions.

In Defence of Khaddar

Some people think that so long as there is no prospect of giving up Khaddar and taking to Lancashire cloth again after the attainment of freedom, the Khaddar movement can have no political value. "There can be no motive for British politicians, these people say," when it is suggested that the Imperialist Legislature will not be kept even after the grant of Self-Government?

The answer to this question can be easily seen if we raise a similar query about the other important items of our agitation to Swamy. For instance, what the case of the unaccountably heavy expenditure on the "mud-and-masonry" and the military equipment of the civil forces an important plank of our agitation for Swamy? Yet we are made to believe that we should not influence our "masonry" in the military and cloth this down as our resources when Swamy is increased, because British masonry would thereby be hit. To win the case of the boycott of British symbols of Imperialism and Education. To the marketing of British, this is a political weapon of the first magnitude, a thing that every Englishman knows, but we do not hold out a promise that we will revert to the present degrading system of Education or abolish our Practising when Swamy is reached, although we know that this would give a permanent setback to the British cultural hegemony in India, which Lord Rothery and we know a heavy spiritual measure will.

The truth is that Khaddar is a necessary condition of Swamy and not merely a necessary means. The necessity of foreign cloth is false; it is merely an evil of our time and cause of our political weakness. We want Swamy because we want to get rid of this evil. We cannot live without it and without food, so also cannot this nation be ever free without liberating Swamy. Free living our nation without erasing the history which supplemented their male domination, my acquaintance, Khaddar is a symbol of India's growing poverty and backwardness as a weapon of the first order in the fight for Swamy. Economic slavery and the down on national wealth, intellectual slavery and non-communal industry are the root causes of the distress from which the nation is suffering. Political slavery is but the symptom and will disappear on removing the cause. We cannot give up Khaddar after obtaining Swamy even as a commensurate change gives us back our other being card. Khaddar is an integral part of the political movement even as food and is an integral part of the country's sustenance.

The non-cooperation's method took as that national organisations will automatically replace the Government when once it has started the struggle. Our national organisations must be prepared to take charge of the national affairs on the establishment of Swamy. If no other person can do this Swamy. We may obtain Swamy by way of modifications of the Reform Scheme by denunciation of some sort, but we cannot win or keep Swamy unless we acquire the means. The work of acquiring the means is what we have been at last. Swamy, now as if we have failed to achieve anything, but it is because we have not effectively captured the nation

we are wanted to do, or we believed we did when we were of that we did not. Other things we may do in order to achieve our goal, which may help in this work by clearing the way for the work of regeneration and its success will bring no success.

Progress in Khadija is progress in the regeneration of the nation. Khadija is the body in which our national regeneration should develop and grow strong enough eventually to displace the foreign domination which holds the people in subjection and poverty. If we achieve independence and welfare and rid the people in Khadija, it is the most important of our national regeneration. We do not desire to live in isolation, or lack of all foreign things. Our goal is not to put us and to all foreign commerce in India. England will have enough trade with India, and Japan too, though we achieved foreign trade. What we aim at is to prevent the domination of that commodity which has deprived our millions of their work and the source of its wealth and has brought us a chosen disease in the land. We do not desire to shut out a loaded other source of trade which without making this nation poor keep other nations working and add to their wealth and happiness. There is enough motive for international friendship and economic relations depriving the people of the land of that enormous wealth which they cannot live like free men.

C. R.

Political Prisoners

Dr. Bhatnagar's Regrettable

A political prisoner is now a prominent figure. He has come to stay, judging from the trend of events that are taking place it seems no longer to count that for a considerably long time is coming for many of the political workers imprisoned will be the government and a steadily increasing number of the best men, say perhaps, even the daughters of the soil, will have to pass weeks of their time under the footlocks of prison-walls. It is, therefore, necessary that the category of political prisoners should be carefully studied and an effort should be spared to maintain his confidence in to help the members of the family. I gratefully welcome the sorrow recorded by the Press of the Province in this issue, The Provincial Congress Committee, various Congress Committees and some patriotic individuals who have worked in this direction demand the freedom of the Motherland. But I am so puzzled to say that the report of practical change has not been noted to the task, which remains to be done. It goes on to remark that our duty towards political prisoners has not been fully discharged. I leave no body to it. The country is in the flames of a very serious struggle and it is quite likely that measures and individuals interested in the political prisoners may have lost their heads too full to have them time and energy to be devoted upon political prisoners. I only wish a fact when I say that there has been a dereliction of duty and the country is not exempt for the wrong done by our negligence without an alternative, the better would be to the interests of the Motherland.

Congress Committee's duties

The Provincial Congress Committee did not perhaps realize the gravity of the situation. It ought to have discussed and determined the exact course of action to be followed by political prisoners while in jail. The result of the conference has been disastrous. For several months undenominational political prisoners have been doing many things in jail which they should have avoided and so on. In one jail in the Punjab the support of every jail suffering that has been the lot of the political prisoners since, as beyond description. I know that the Punjab Congress Committee has issued various orders to serve as a guide, but in the first place they were issued too late and first they are incomplete and above all they are not properly published and are not widely known. Without a moment's delay, the Committee should after a careful consideration of all the case and case before it to have a political prisoner should not in jail. This is a necessary movement. A copy of these rules should be supplied to every prisoner who is in jail, and when the individuals who are being released, I know that in some cases the members of the Committee will be discharged, but I am quite confident that a real and substantial majority will follow the lead and will have tried from much of the suffering and hardship which actually is in the lot of the present prisoners. The Committee should adopt a bold attitude in dealing and should not hesitate to give a moral advice even where it is apprehended that this advice would not be palatable or acceptable. And I hope the members and members of the Committee would soon take this up.

Reply to Pandit

Now comes the question of trying to alleviate the suffering of a political prisoner. No doubt from time to time the Punjab Congress Committee has certainly said it does not want offering himself for arrest should not expect any monetary aid from the Committee and has to maintain of the condition actually "rugged the resources and resources of all the Congress workers leaving a few exceptions." I appreciate the difficulties of the Congress Committee but I am convinced to myself that this is not proper. A man who is imprisoned with difficulty has liberty even on weekly released from on a minimum amount of money he received from the Congress Committee, a hardly needed from the field of his activities and certainly his allowances are stopped. Now, say my what are the members who hardly to live? Their own support is taken away and they have no money to live but jail, yes. The moral made is that the people of assistance are more hardly left and I know of instances where such money has reached from the cause of action I admit that some bridges are putting some allowance, but I know that such assistance are few and the amount offered is small. I therefore suggest that a sub-Committee should at once be formed to inquire into the financial circumstances of every political prisoner and to determine when and is needed. This should be done immediately. Urgency is this matter is badly needed. I know the working of details in the sub-Committee. All that I wish to emphasize is that many of the families whose bread-winners are now in jail do need some financial aid to tide over the difficulties.

Background: The purpose of this study was to determine the effect of a 12-week, low-intensity, supervised exercise program on the physical and psychological health of patients with chronic low back pain (CLBP). Methods: A total of 100 patients with CLBP were recruited from a tertiary care hospital and randomly assigned to either a supervised exercise program or a control group. The supervised exercise program consisted of 12 weeks of low-intensity, supervised exercise. The control group received no intervention. The primary outcome was the change in the Oswestry Disability Index (ODI) score. Secondary outcomes included the change in the Visual Analog Scale (VAS) score, the change in the Roland-Morris Disability Questionnaire (RMDQ) score, and the change in the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) score. Results: The supervised exercise group showed a significant improvement in the ODI score, VAS score, RMDQ score, and BDI score compared to the control group. Conclusion: A 12-week, low-intensity, supervised exercise program can improve the physical and psychological health of patients with CLBP.

The debt need not be imposed on taxpayers or taxpayers should periodically vote the question. Instead, they ought to have been done much sooner, but better late than never. The taxpayer should not be concerned with anyone else's health care, and should concern only their own. I am required. I know that this is a common-sense, pragmatic political position. But their families are not federal debt. The taxpayer should not concern themselves with the fiscal weakness or mortgage market that the Congress Commission is quite in touch with almost all the families whose needs are in real

The fourth point is that an inspector should frequently visit jails. Almost every day, two hours of investigation and so on. Well, he should go to the spot, make proper inquiries and then let the public know the true state of affairs. I know the difficulty of this day is not wanting as it may appear. There is time and information is not possible to get as all the old everything is better than nothing. The inspector should have an interview with those who have authority so that in some relation to visitation is paid. This will show up many a bad house. From now people in should examine the health of other political prisoners, when paid and then survey such cases in their relations. He can also be a member of the party working a personal program and then, in return, about the health and of the prisoners that jail.

1. *Die Bedeutung der Kunst für die Menschheit*
 2. *Die Kunst als Spiegel der Gesellschaft*
 3. *Die Kunst als Ausdruck der menschlichen Seele*
 4. *Die Kunst als Werkzeug der Erziehung*
 5. *Die Kunst als Quelle der Inspiration*
 6. *Die Kunst als Ausdruck der menschlichen Freiheit*
 7. *Die Kunst als Ausdruck der menschlichen Liebe*
 8. *Die Kunst als Ausdruck der menschlichen Hoffnung*
 9. *Die Kunst als Ausdruck der menschlichen Weisheit*
 10. *Die Kunst als Ausdruck der menschlichen Schönheit*

The first need is that some steps should be taken to supply certain articles whose production generally waits during the reconstruction. During my one year's stay in jail I have felt that there are some of the political prisoners who have a way or money to make and hence they led the political community. Good things like soap, oil, candles, shoes, shirts, syringes etc things necessary of our value are of great need here in the Jail. These things be provided to these people for the better. Government

The bank is about broke. It made an expensive mistake out of the money it had. They are going to try to make it all right here and to strengthen the and at the time of trial. The Federal Government should make a good job of combined economic bank and should have them on the way of the political pressure. I have been fortunate enough to supply some funds for the purpose and I am sending them out, but there are not sufficient, and I request people to help out in this effort.

1. **Background** The purpose of this study was to determine the effect of a 12-week, low-intensity, supervised walking program on the physical and psychological health of older adults with chronic low back pain (CLBP). The study was a randomized, controlled trial.

The second part is that the French Congress Committee should extend its list of invited guests to all the political groups with their friends and relatives, those of one woman and others etc. The Congress must also know in which city and on a confined. My idea is that at the last of February a representative of the Congress should always be present to offer greetings to the guests selected. This will be a means of increasing fidelity to the cause concerned.

The eighth need is that the Personnel Congress Committee should be in touch with the parent school. The Committee should bring an interest in its affairs and try to transfer the direction of it to local conditions to do so.

I have definitely increased some of the needs of a political system. There is much more due to do. A

political power, however we decide and the best
 way to express our gratitude is to help him
 and what is to get over the situation, I therefore
 respectfully suggest to the Personal Commission
 Commission to establish a Bureau to aid political
 parties and to immediately take up the work of
 helping them. The Congress Commission must first
 take duty in the political and also in the public.
 When we are finished the people should come from
 our field we want democracy after that help what
 they need is

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I think my services are available at the disposal of the Congress Committee for this matter. I feel that there is a legal necessity for such a hearing and that we are entitled to prepare even for a possible withdrawal of this hearing.

A. Consideration of Law

[illegible]

Those who justly judge themselves to be the most virtuous of men think they themselves will never be less virtuous as an acknowledgment of love and righteousness.

1. That they will live to God-trying every day to do something that will make someone else happy and to show someone of courtesy as a matter of service.

That they will have no need—much speaking hardly to us and not repeating any kind of character or definition of any one, least of all a number of similar ones together, instead they will deliberately pass us by for things they have about as yet not seen, regarding us from above the others.

• Then, they will have to disagree-remember that disagreements in all of them when they have a good idea, forgiving, e.g., mistakes that may have been done to them, and forgetting those forgetting any wrong actions to them from whom they differ.

Lastly, in order that they may realize no easy life greater than the selfish love of Love in Thought, Word and Deed, every day in some fixed hour, morning, evening, or midnight, they will deliberately for two months upon the day of their birth, that True Love may enter in a calm possession of their whole personality.

* Layoff who desires to take leave as provided by the Compendium of leave does so by simply signing the Compendium of leave form.

FOR THE SAKE OF IDEAL : ... SOLEMNLY
AND DELIBERATELY PLEDGE MYSELF TO A
LITTLE LONGER THOUGHT, WORD AND DEED.

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Young India

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No. 5

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Notes

Mahatma's Interview

Mahatma was interviewed on Saturday last by Mrs. Gandhi. He appeared to be in good health. He was in his seventy-fifth year. He seemed regarding matters about his health to expect that no one who knew him could imagine that he would ever suffer from rheumatism, and expressed surprise that such wild rumours could find any credence. The interview was purely a domestic one.

19th March

19th March 1923 will be the anniversary of Mahatma's incarceration. It is not in that day should be duly observed as one of sacrifice and prayer as recommended by the Working Committee resolutions published elsewhere, and that there should be complete mental burial all over the country on that day. The week between the 19th, the day of Mahatma's arrest, and the 19th, the day of his conversion should be exclusively devoted to the Truth Struggle Fund. Khadi propaganda and conduct of voluntary meetings should be held at all places according people's determination to carry on the struggle with undented vigour till the goal is reached. Since Mahatma's arrest the country has been placed on a trial. If it is proved that it was Mahatma's presence among us, alone that was responsible for the upkeep of the struggle against the Government and that it would collapse as soon as he was removed, very few amongst us, the obvious inference would be that the only thing left for the Government was to let him go. But it is not in that way.

that the Government's failure to regard in this matter should find vigorous and unequivocal expression reflected by the Working Committee.

Rural and Urban Classes

The British Indian Association, Trichinopoly, in a telegram to the Viceroy, has called the latter's attention to the increasing disaffection between the workers based on the case of the Chann Chann strike and that of the recent Madras Revolution that led to high tension, strikes and spontaneous rioting. "In the latter case out of 7000 persons who were arrested," says the telegram, "more were found guilty, but only 4 were actually executed, the rest being either reprieved or freed." For 7000 Government and Civil servants in Madras were only 17 deaths in the Chann Chann, yet the number of persons arrested in the latter case is 17.

Working Committee better the more up which the law is administered in the country. Conditions and language are always to be treated as conditions, and can be altered eventually as an evil that conditions is not to eliminate. At a time when most of the advanced countries of the world have either already abolished or on the way to abolish capital punishment, such a sentence of imprisonment will only serve as a kind of commentary on a system of law that has been devised not to protect justice but to maintain justice in the net of law, and which is used not to put down lawlessness but to uphold Government lawlessness for purposes of revenge.

Unsettled Markets

If there is any humanity still left in the Great a should protest against the cruel bombing of defenceless villages of the frontier tribes in the north-west of India. As we know that class and then dispute with the Government of India, there is no Administrative Board or Constitution Committee or Government League. The Government of India is both judge and advocate and the Indian tax-payers pay for the expense. Chaitany is dead and buried, but a more humanity, too good to be lost," says an Associated Press message. "During the period December 19th to January 19th, operations of the R. A. F. have carried out numerous bombing raids on the hostile Waziristan who refused to accept our terms." "We are told to be Indian in villages actually destroyed and only considerable numbers amongst men, women and children. 28 men of employees, and 1200 women, heads were dropped on these 'hostile' villages and about 2000 of R. A. F. had from the aeroplane at 'grounded' and killed. These are Chaitany changed in the

We are told by another source that there is comparative quiet on the frontier and that "the political exigencies as to be sought in the prolonged and intensive activity of the Air Force where operations have been on such a scale as to leave very definitely on the minds of the Indians that they must adjust their attitude, in accordance with needs." An important group of officers, we are told, "has been converted into a thinking by aeroplanes and aeroplanes, and many other groups of villages covering a considerable area are being also habitually dealt with."

The Indians and other tribes consist of men, women and children who possess no weapons, but have pots, and women and of the other things and the same in English, French, German, Spanish, and other languages, women and children. They are not still animals as a whole, though not a very few. The way that they are, they are a very different class in appearance supplied by the Indian language are not known or known.

Office-Bearers

A correspondent from Assam poses the old question: 'Can a man doing his foreign duty be an office-bearer of the District Congress Committee? He asks: "The newly appointed Secretary and Treasurer of the District Congress Committee are men who deal in foreign duty. I do not see how the programme can be worked by Executive Committees composed of members who the Indians do not accept the resolutions of the Congress." His answer may be answered by representatives who elect in their executive work, who do not follow the Congress programme. The classes are wrong in making a distinction in field office and the latter are equally wrong in accepting them even if elected in long as they have no intention to give up the business in the programme movement with the Congress resolutions. There are no rules to control such combination between private and public, nor should any such rules be necessary. The responsibility comes for those who do not believe in the boycott of foreign duty or any other of the main lines of the Congress programme is to refuse to hold office though they may do all they can otherwise to help the cause with which they sympathise.

Mr. Mahatma's Reply

We asked Mr. Mahatma: Does not our moral greatness as his critics to his field of activity. He replied and referred to vindicate the cause of the freedom of the Press.

To his extensive and extensive, in fact, belongs the credit of having practically unified the Press. And long before it was formally repeated, by starting his newspaper. Indeed, he stands as a completely original figure in the field of Indian journalism, and by making his venture a success that resulted in a host of newspaper papers springing all over the country, he placed the cause of free journalism on an unassailable basis.

Elsewhere will be found his first letter to his friends after his release. The spirit is the same. The same uncompromising insistence on first principles, the same loyalty and devotion to Mahatma's principles as of old, is there. Only the tone is more subdued, naturally enough, as a result of long imprisonment in

confinement. His connection with *Young India* is too well known. The editors of *Young India* are therefore, legitimately, look forward to the resumption of efforts to be led according to them to.

The New Journal "Wealth"

The public will welcome the latest addition to high-class Indian journalism. It is edited by Messrs. Ramaswami Chatterjee and Ashoka Chatterjee. Late Ramaswami Chatterjee has established his claim for public attention by his serious and interesting commentary on news and things expressed in beautifully simple and vigorous language.

A Christian Weekly

The "Indian Christian Weekly Journal" issued from Calcutta which will work almost entirely from a Christian standpoint, "in London, etc." is particularly impressed with the view that the two volumes of the *Declaration* which not only India but the world in general is seeking, that at the present time it is to be found in the application of the positive teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ to the many and varied problems of Indian life. "No one who has eyes to see can fail to note the gap at which the Christian community in India is making its share in achieving life and peace."

The Creed

Our *Young India* team with me for discussing from principle to policy in regard to Non-violence. The movement is based on a report of my speech opposing the motion in the Congress to change the creed. Though most members have been badly exposed, what I said on this occasion was very loud and with slight exceptions the *Young India* report would be a fairly accurate report. I said:

"I appeal to you to reject the proposition to amend the creed. It violates with reverence from the British Empire the object of the Congress. The present creed covers both the position, namely, absolute independence and independence within the British Empire. Nowhere in a change in the creed would certainly state of the Indian question should be fairly solved against us, or in the position of Indians in other parts of the British Empire, be finally decided to be impossible of solution. India must have absolute independence and separation from the Empire. It that be the only possible condition of the solution of these two difficulties: but that position has not yet been reached. There is also an attempt in the proposed amendment of the creed to change the method of attaining freedom by changing the words 'independence and freedom into 'legitimate and just'. The word 'just' can cover more things than 'independence'. I ask you to accept the position that 'peaceful' means more than 'just' to be used by us and not as yet 'non-peaceful' means."

There is more for full freedom and equality with the British Commonwealth, and as we are a non-aggressive nation, wishing to live in peace and friendship with the rest of the world, the independence and freedom of freedom which the British Commonwealth includes its component parts with, are a valuable basis. If the aggressive policy of Britain or England involves a proper solution of the Indian problem, peace, or if the construction of the Empire should prove to be not equal to the task of

preventing Indians from such, especially yet remains in other parts of the Commanawatch, where the Imperial Government would be responsible for India. As regards questions of non violent means, every one knows that the Commanawatch as a national organization is definitely open to all who accept nonviolence either as a creed, or as an issue, where as long as they are members of the organization. In asking the Commanawatch to accept the propaganda leading the word "passive" into power, I was addressing not only those few whom I thought small was non-violence, but the large body of people to whom it was only an accepted policy.

I cannot be manipulated to have changed my own position when I appeared to the whole Congress to reject a proposition to change the policy of the Congress. Any proposition of a new proposition apart from the original policy would have been out of place on the Democratic platform.

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

The students of the Maine College, Orono were asked to vote on whether they may join the Laverne Corps which is being organized. There is nothing to prevent women from becoming soldiers and members of the 68 88 Central Postal Directory. As before, women could be sergeants and lieutenants. You can join the army at 17 years of age. In the meantime, Jerry of Kansas wishes to know the use of weapons. But I do not know the conditions under which the students are admitted into these military units. If there are any rules or pledges concerning them, can someone please tell about them. I am sure you can find

In this connection I wish to state, first, there can be no greater error than to believe that copyright should in any respect be one of their duties. A healthy and strong skepticism is one of the primary necessities of successful service to the National Union.

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The Causes of Unemployment

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1000

I know that the title I have chosen is inadequate and that it may be taken to mean either the *action* which falls upon the individuals themselves, involved upon them in age-long periods of cruelty, for it is true, as Shakespeare says, that mercy is *twice-blessed*, blessing 'him that gives, and him that takes.' It is also true that cruelty is twice cursed. It curses 'him that gives, and him that takes,' in the long run since God is just, the action that falls upon the givers of cruelty is the ill bestowed on them, though for the time being the same action only is laid upon the receivers.

I took to put before my subject a reasonable bribe, leaving it to speak for itself. This letter was published anonymously in a little fortnightly paper called the *Littonian* Magazine, in the North of India during the month of July, 1831. It attracted no special attention at the time and has since then been forgotten. But I have started it above with you, as much to record a fine opinion. The words of the letter in a general display of Malabar, Cochin and the high great influence already by the truth of a word, which Malabar Cochin, together with, the

I am an Indian and a follower of Christ. I belong to Barami through the path of non-violent non-cooperation. Some months ago, I enlisted myself as a member of the Congress. Being engaged in a social practical work, I could not go along consistently with it but, for the moment at Barami I began what I called them who were privileged to carry the sacred message of Christ from village to village. The opportunity, however, came to me at last, which I at long last seized, during a visit to the Himalayas. I decided to go myself to the hills and deliver as many Christian messages as I could.

"On the first day I was sitting hard all morning. We were not given water in the sun and began our Congress work I believe in general work and as though I have found it more effective. We worked on through the whole day, and a prayer was spoken by our minister at one of the villages named Seward and because I thought needs. The needs were very meagre during the day. But the night had another experience as close to us. There was, we actually wanted but, but the only thing that we asked for water was to be coming. I just sat, and I still provide a good answer for you, maybe. Let my Hindu guests know that God, there was 1980-1981.

"We entered and waited, but the shopkeeper did not return. Our first hope, such as there is, lay in the cheapness of the Turkish coffee. Like all other attempts, the shopkeeper did return and asked us to sleep in the leading corner—certainly, hardly three feet wide. We stood so there for an ill-fated way (e.g., 25 feet was done, because we happened to be Caucasian—unfortunate). There was simple music, water, but the shopkeeper would not allow us to smoke. In addition we believe Chamberlain, even though together with them and for them, I felt that this was against the great ideal of leaving, and against all humanity. I thought on the natural order that I was taking, as I lay on the hard den of the marble, the top of the standing side, searching miserably in the silence of the night. Was my work miserable?—I asked myself. Was my life half choked with misery, confusion?—I asked me heart, and I felt sad.

"There a strange light came in, as a light that descended of my phone, the light of Christ, that per by reaching about and ordinary where from a distance would have gain nothing from us, but by my nature properly. Therefore, put before my hand eyes closed, I reached to reach to a burning that would reach to Divine. This a power that would destroy all tyranny and pain, all barriers of caste and a misanthropy, a force, in which Hindu, Mohammedan and Christian, seeing of their differences, would find strength, without other ill, dependence and illusion."

²² It poured continuously all the next day, and we had to keep sitting on our verandah, watching the swelling waters of the river rise higher and higher. The paddy fields in the valley, near the banks of the river, looked most lovely. God, express Himself wonderfully through His Creation.

In words of mine her words, it all rings in this anonymous letter. What I feel inside about it this, and all this was it in the instant of "Knee Deek" will agree, that the most real I ever felt of her words. I feel it.

Boycott of British Goods

The following extracts from a note prepared for Mr. P. K. Mahan, the Secretary Indian Movement Committee and Bureau, for the use of Mr. C. N. Das, as the report of Mr. J. S. Mahan will be read with interest. On the boycott question, generally, he is in favour of 'Responsible Cooperation.' He was one of the persons present at the resolution on the boycott of British goods by the supporters of that resolution last. The burden of the charge of the supporters of the boycott resolution at Calcutta against those who were opposed to it was that the latter had introduced anti-pass for political ends and opposed the proposition as purely economic grounds, although it was perfectly sound and feasible in practice. Mr. Mahan frankly admits that the consideration whether the boycott of British goods would create harm against the British or not does not weigh with him at all. 'My humble conviction would be,' he says.

"That if a particular movement is good for the interests of my country I would support it irrespective of the question whether that movement tends to create hatred against any particular country or not. I consider the boycott of British goods neither feasible nor advisable because of the following reasons:

The principle reason is that such a resolution on the part of the National Congress will result in weakening the Gandhian movement, specially the Khilafat movement, which I consider to be the very life and soul of the Congress movement."

He admits that "It is not intended by the people who are in favour of such a resolution that they should be any longer drawn to foreign slave goods." "The knowing human nature, as it is," he says.

"One can safely conclude that when the Congress passes a resolution that all British goods should be boycotted they will consider this resolution to mean that they can safely use goods coming, say, from Japan, Germany or the United States of America as long as they do not use the British goods. In foreign goods more or less of such a resolution would induce us that the passing of such a resolution would free entire people from difficulties created at present by抵制 the Congress resolution with regard to the Gandhian movement."

Again

"One of the best answers for the consumption of goods made in India is the marriage union. People who have married for Khilafat know how very difficult it is to prevent people from purchasing foreign goods during the union. If the Congress boycotts all British goods the temptation will be much more difficult to resist, for the wedding feasting value of Europe will always look low. Why are you suffering these difficulties for nothing? The Congress, says, boycott British goods you may not buy the British but you may buy Japanese, German or French goods and you will be discharging your duty to the union as well as to your family."

Of the importance that the boycott should be directed against all British goods will be testament to keeping the boycott against goods coming from countries other than the United Kingdom."

Next to grain goods, which have the heaviest item of export from the United Kingdom, the next amount of export, wool, steel, lead and other metals imported in 1929-30 from that country amounting to £ 14,269,000. Next comes machinery and millinery which was imported to the tune of £ 2,800,000 in the same year. Then comes railway plant, of which we got 31,81,000 pounds worth in 1929-30. The boycott of all these things is impracticable, because British commerce certainly is inseparably mixed up in them. America, machinery coming was also mixed, etc., these goods.

"It is a wrong to remark that the success of our industrial depends upon the supply of hardware, metals, machinery and railway plant, that least we are in position to manufacture the machinery ourselves, and even then we shall have to export machinery for manufacturing machinery. A large part of the machinery we will have to import from the United Kingdom, which is evident and you will understand. Presently all our mills are installed with British machinery and it seems to me to be made on the United Kingdom for spare parts. With regard to railway plant and rolling stock it runs with Government which to place their contracts and it is not possible for us to boycott such goods coming from the United Kingdom. It would also be hard to insist that a large part of the machinery and millinery and hardware and metals is imported from the United Kingdom by millinery and capitalism, many of whom have not attached to the Congress and are not expected to carry out the Congress resolution of such people with regard to the boycott of British goods. The resolution therefore would be merely a pure wish without any practical fulfilment."

The only effect of attempting the boycott of British goods would be the economic exploitation of the people of India by the United States and other countries which by the way, ought to know as an equivalent to those who imagined that by discharging to leave of those countries as against goods we would suffer their sympathies in favour of our struggle of British, even realizing that it would on the contrary serve as an encouragement to them to keep the relations between England and India always strained in order to exploit our hatred of the British.

"The only way to break the economic exploitation of the people of India is to have a union with the people of the United States and other countries which by the way, ought to know as an equivalent to those who imagined that by discharging to leave of those countries as against goods we would suffer their sympathies in favour of our struggle of British, even realizing that it would on the contrary serve as an encouragement to them to keep the relations between England and India always strained in order to exploit our hatred of the British."

Wasted

Again for every India in all the principal places of India full petitions about same can be had on application from

Manager, Young India,

Allahabad

Under these circumstances he is of opinion that

"The proposal will be further in the same

Printed and published by Ananda Mohan Ghosh,

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LITERATURE

1. Fiction.
 2. History.
 3. Law and equity.
 4. Public speaking.
 5. Devotional literature in English.
 6. English literature.
 7. Warring nations aspects of speech literature.
- This Month
1. Warring nations aspects of speech literature.
 2. History, and
 3. Dying (according to the book by Dr. P. G. Hey).

Mr. Don Explains.

Mr. Don has explained his position and repeated his views about non-cooperation in the course of two speeches recently delivered—one at London, the other at Paris. In the first speech Mr. Don still spoke for non-cooperation and challenges any one to prove that any step in connection with Council-enemy attacks against the principles of any of the great religions of the world and which is based upon the non-cooperation principle is a breach of Scriptural non-cooperation. His being an authority on any one of the great religions of the world we may assume. Mr. Don's contention only then a layman's point of view. We cannot understand how a man can bring the oath of allegiance to the Ministry of the King, who is the head of a system of Government which he wants to non-cooperate and yet remain faithful. In England every a demand placed in order under civil obedience, including resistance from the Parliament as well as the other side the prescribed Oath of Allegiance. In Ireland demands have led down their lives rather than respect the sovereignty of the British King. To discuss the objection by simply calling it 'a mere matter of law' or a 'constitutional issue' would seem an legal argument in a court of law—and the same may be said about the signing of the pledge or 'trying to discharge one's duty faithfully' not in the sense in which it is offered but with mental reservation—but can hardly satisfy a lay-audience, to whom it represents only a surface tendency to cover every an admission that by the use of such explanatory phrases as, *allegiance, Oath sworn, etc.*

Not can we accept Mr. Don's contention that one of the objects of the N. C. O. movement was to destroy the Council's Declaration of the Council might be a necessary consequence of successful non-cooperation but was never made an end in itself. Its object was not intended to be the destruction of the Council but the destruction of cooperation between the people and the government that the Council represented. Our purpose will be fully proved, even though the Council stand, if the Councils represent nobody but themselves and cease to represent the support of any nation or community of the people that matters. Non-cooperation with Government must mean a stage cooperation among ourselves, and Mr. Don's plea by leading to drive the Moderates into a still closer alliance with the Government, would completely a rejection of the N. C. O. principle instead of furthering it.

In his Paris speech Mr. Don further elaborated his scheme. The Kingdom is sacred. He would cooperate with the Government if it gives certain 'very moderate' demands that he proposes to present. But even though it should require an accommodation with regard to the People and the Kingdom, even as ever. He would accept what is given and demand on the grounds of peace that obtained to further them, on the basis of the Government.

The point raised which Mr. Don's makes against of a peace-non-cooperation was in his belief that by obtaining a constitutional majority on the Council a definite Government may be brought to its knees. He seems to rest his belief on the parallel afforded by some Western countries but apparently forgets that the conditions prevailing there were totally different from those obtaining here. In Western countries it might be possible to make heavy gains by a coalition with some because in those countries, as Mr. David Lloyd George observed in terms of a recent trial in, 'every case (on the latter paper) is a case for a trial, and it is unconsciously felt that one fighting case is as good as another.'

That the current process is not impossible that would give it its authority against the inherent strength of power is shown by the circumstances of the rise of French power, as Italy, Spain, Greece and Western Europe had prophesied the rise of a capital France where Labour looked like becoming a constitutional majority. Labour did attempt to do so in Italy but have won on the opposite side, and so we return to-day the entire process of 'we'd again replacing the crown.' We should make an effort to do this country for ourselves the Government should have the better even a very 'constitutional' by giving the entire contents to its support. In regard to an argument to prove that an attempt to break Government to pieces will by the exercise of power that depends on obedience of Government staff used for ever remain a hopeless contradiction in terms. It is a delusion to believe that Government would grant our real power to the people that would really affect its position as a result of such agitation. The amazing gesture that we copy from the words of William Maclellan offered by Councils of being persons who give up that of the country's sake and a life by suffering and murder again that further progress will come.

What is there to Mr. Don's scheme to form the basis of an unwilling and uncooperative Government? We cannot we are sure unless Mr. Don seriously means to rely upon Civil Disobedience. But disobedience alone, as Mr. Don himself surely put it is neither a virtue nor public virtue. And to believe that it might be civil if it necessary that was always a should have been previously framed to what has been described as a 'higher obedience.' That requires hard preparation and discipline. But Mr. Don has already expressed his opinion against the conditions laid down in the Abolition of the pledge and his scheme does not provide any substitute for it.

Wanted

Agents for Tongk India in all the proposed places of India. Full particulars and conditions can be had on application from—
Manager Tongk India

Young India

1-2-33

Volunteers for What?

Q. How do you know that the people of your Taluka support the Gays Resolutions and don't favour the Gandhi programme?

A. Five thousand witnesses have testified themselves in this Taluka as Congress men after the Gays Resolutions.

Q. How do you know that the Congress has a hold on the people? Had we not better not to try getting the Congress candidates for the Council?

A. As far as my Taluka is concerned, I have no doubts, for almost every man has put on Khadi.

Q. How about the spinning-wheels?

A. A great addition this year.

Q. How did your Committee have all this done?

A. Division of labour—wearing and home-to-house visits. We worked every day since February and while we are on the anniversary day. What remained unworked that day we did before April 1st.

[An Impassioned Impassioned

Man, May 20, 1935]

Let there be no mistake as to the work and the understanding of the volunteers to be employed. It should be an excellent thing if all those who would themselves will give their whole, or a good bit of their time and energy, at once and from now, to constructive work of local Congress organisations if possible. At least a great number of volunteers needed should be won at this point. At the same time every volunteer needed under the Gays Resolutions should be prepared to be called after the 15th April at work here and in work outside as may be determined upon by the Working Committee and the Provincial organisations. In order to achieve Civil Disobedience, our entire campaign should be backed by the strength of the Congress organisations. Otherwise the results will be lost power. If the volunteers needed in a district, say, about one hundred give sustained attention for the next three months to the work of strengthening the organisations in the district, they will be like a regiment that has built up morale and discipline and self-determination. Those who delay for a single day, however, to begin the work of collection and the enrolment of volunteers commit a grave error. The very idea urged by the Gays Congressmen on these lines. If by March 15th a substantial portion of the preliminary programme of the collection of money and work is not completed, there is but a small chance for the nation to achieve sufficient faith and energy to complete it before April 15th. And if it should fail even then, there is nothing but the heavy prospect of reaction before the country. Let it be noted by every worker in the Provincial, District and Taluka that there is not a day to be lost together. Division of labour, specification of work to be done every week, and even every day, understanding honest labour for service of achievement. C. D.

Misconceptions

The Tribune has cast doubt upon the Congress Majority Party's sincerity about standing Civil Disobedience since because the immediate work that it has placed before the country is not of unqualified nature. Civil Disobedience has constructive work.

As a matter of rule, if a person does not believe in any particular item of the Congress programme he can leave his knowledge to offer criticism in respect of that item. But in this case the criticism we believe, is offered in good faith and without those ignorance which does not justify, an explanation is necessary.

We are agreed, the plan of constructive programme in the plan of N. C. D. and in relation with Civil Disobedience have been grossly misunderstood by the Tribune. The present constructive programme is nothing but the old Gandhi programme. What was the significance of the old Gandhi programme? When Mahatma first started the Satyagraha movement against the Rowlatt Act he demanded that the country was not one for it. It lacked discipline, organisation, training in military efficiency necessary for undertaking such a campaign successfully. The Gandhi programme implied the necessary organisation, discipline and training. The spinning-wheel campaign covered the message of non-violence and showed to every house, and the collection of non-violence and the boycott of cloth implied that self-confidence, that consciousness of strength to which all party and disbelievers campaign owed its dynamic force and irresistible expansion. It may be said that a Civil Disobedience campaign is like a military campaign, and even like a military campaign requires the thing we of our own resources in complete before it can be actually undertaken, the extent of advance covered being in proportion to the amount of preparation. Every military campaign is a series of linked situations followed by reverses of preparation and recuperation. When Mahatma first led to our control task of Rowlatt, he had done the preparatory programme for us to follow. Unfortunately he was taken away just when he was needed most, and the country instead of drawing itself back and out to the working, following constructive work to achieve its last victory, instead of setting about to repair the confusion made by the Government upon the Congress organisation. The very worst for some disorganisation, as some to the means, comprising all disbelievers and some leaders were released from jail, and then went back in search of sympathisers and students, which wrong when left unattended for some time was corrected by its own reaction into apathy and indifference. The result was the C. D. Committee Report. The nation had asked for bread and got stone instead. It produced however, an excellent effect by acting as a shock-wave and rousing the country from its lethargy.

It was the necessary task of repairing the damaged Congress organisation and doing substantial constructive work to recover the vitality as that a fresh campaign of C. D. might be started. That the Gays Congress placed before the country. The work ought to have been commenced long ago.

And that was actually the intention of the leaders of the original resolution on C. D. that was moved in the A. L. C. C. meeting held at London in June last. Had that resolution been passed the fate of the country would have been different, but as it was, unfortunately, the resolution was lost and President Roosevelt's amendment including "any other similar manner" besides C. D. in the form of voluntarism of the C. D. Committee was adopted and gave the world a hint that has leaked out in the present voluntary note. Alas! the world has been concerned at that and it is never too late to begin for the right direction.

The Tribune charges the majority party of the Congress with trying to camouflage things and tries to prove its charge by showing that some of the recent speeches and writings of Mr. C. D. Representative Adams in allusion to trying immediate and forcible action. The Tribune is right. The immediate work before us is a constructive work and not C. D. The Tribune's worst advice lies in recommending, or to put it more correctly, what it is incapable of the relation between the two.

Colonial ignorance, again, shows its responsibility for its position that "the resolution of voluntarism was put forward as the old party's true alternative to the new-party's cry of *Colonialism*." The Tribune ought to know that the 'old party' has absolutely lost its head upon the current error question. It was properly because the 'old party' wanted to keep these two issues clear and separate, because they did not see other counsel-worthy to be an alternative remedy for the country's ills all, thereby refused to put forth any counter proposals of those at Calcutta. It was on this very ground, that all proposals of voluntarism resting on these weaknesses of ignorance, as our valued statement of both the parties to which we alluded C. D. had within certain limits were ignored by them. And today it was just to prevent the very existing legal issues that they wanted to bring the 'voluntarism resolution' when the N. C. C. programme in its entirety first at Gays, but could not do so on account of the President's ruling. The Civil Disobedience resolution was mentioned at Gays only because the minority party strongly felt that the country would be ready for Civil Disobedience before the end of the year and that they must, therefore, face themselves with a proposition of the Congress for launching the same in order to be in a position to take advantage of any emergency that might arise. But the Tribune, therefore, to say that the resolution about the voluntarism of voluntarism was intended to serve merely as a consolation to the minority party's membership, but had no definite or serious purpose behind it, is a clear misstatement of facts.

The Tribune will also, "What are these volunteers to do? They, indeed, at once, the volunteers will begin play with their hands and obligingly provide them with labour laws and executive decrees which they can resist!" To this the simple reply is that so long as the issue of the present Government is concerned I would nothing has happened since the last C. D. Congress to indicate as to what we will do of its character—there will be ample material and opportunity

either for offering Civil Disobedience. Past experience has shown us that this Government is afraid of nothing so much as of what, possible weakness of strength to the nation. But history of wars that brings and strength to our minds is a symbol of such strength is bound to be met with repression as well as a *hundredfold*. But the Hindu eye, which against the working of Hindu law by Government's servants, concrete measures against the subverting of Hindu and foreign cloth shops, pointed on order against the working of Hindu law by Hindu soldiers even as a *hundredfold* when it became the symbol of Hindu strength—all past the same moral. Orders in all these cases, but if he asked, examined not from the capacity of their individual efforts but from the capacity of their, as the members of the various present Government's show, action. The lesson is such, as Mahatma would say, that without any waiting, and we are not ready.

If we were ready for resistance to Gays, we would not take the advice offered by the Lawrence Union that has stood there to a *Prig* speech in India's name of self-sufficiency for the last thirty-five years, lying low. If we were ready we would not fly into panic or sit about devising almost-hour remedies every year that a fresh manner threatened Turkey but would see that our Indian soldiers had Indian clothes to be employed against Turkey as long as there was a single man non-cooperating Hindu or Mussalman alive in India. The Government would think even before it spent a single penny from the Indian exchequer for buying disloyal French rifles or giving men for being employed against Turkey, if we were ready.

When one asks, there is a host of subject here that can be easily recalled? Have not we the Police Commission led to deal with yet? Is Bombay Police, is not the Congress Police Commission and constantly leveled like a loaded revolver at the head of our national educational institutions, threatening them with extinction as they looked? That matter has yet to be settled. The Turkish problem is far from being solved and the country is distracted not to be brought again to avoid a fresh non-cooperating it. But the Tribune will also, in what and the volunteers are being needed, it was said of old. "When you see a cloud rise out of the west, go say 'dust clouds a storm', and go in. And when the south wind blows, go say 'dust will be laid', and it comes to pass" Doubtless we might say to-day, "When you see volunteers being enrolled in large numbers, when you and Hindu dress spreading wings for masses rapidly, Congress organizations springing up all over the country and the heart of the Government as corrupt and unscrupulous as ever, it looks only one thing. And that is Civil Disobedience." Lord Reading and Sir William Morris know better when they gave us their personal assurance, only they judged wrong. The Resolutions of the Gays Congress are those explaining the purpose of enrolling volunteers. The pledge that the volunteers have to sign is there, the declaration of the leaders that they are in earnest are there, but the Tribune doubts whether they would be able to prepare the country for Civil Disobedience in the near future and disguise their loss. And, that

in acceptance pass and stamp and the remedy for acceptance is not apparent but work and progress. And it is with these that the country must reply if it wants to save the acceptance that has affected even some of the greatest leaders that were but ill presiding stars.

Working Committee's Resolutions

The following are the working resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee at its sitting held between the 26th January and 2nd February. Resolutions number 1 and 22 have already appeared in *Young India* of February 1 —

Congratulations to Labour People

1 The All-India Congress Working Committee congratulates the people of Lahore on their decision to have the Lawrence Statue removed, as being a standing insult and humiliation to the nation and hopes that they will carry on the struggle in a similarly self-reliant manner and continue it till they achieve success, prepared to make all sacrifices that they may be called upon to do.

4 [a] Resolved that in view of the strained relations existing between the Hindus and Mussalmans in Madras and in view of the urgency and importance of the question, a deputation consisting of Mahadeo Abul Kalam Azad and Pundit Mahadeo Madhavao do visit Madras in February to bring about a reconciliation between the two parties.

[b] Resolved that Pundit Mahadeo Madhavao and Mahadeo Abul Kalam Azad be authorised to make a grant for the relief in Madras of a sum up to Rs. 15,000 if they are satisfied as to the necessity claimed and also to make arrangements for its disbursement.

5 Resolved that Babu Kapur Singh be authorised to investigate the proposal of placing the custody of Bood's Ganga temple in Bikaner, India and to make a report to the Committee. Babu Kapur Singh be also empowered to co-opt suitable persons in the investigation.

6. Resolved that a deputation to visit the country with a view to educate the people on the Congress programme be sent up at Gaya. The following persons constitute the deputation which will tour the country under the Working Committee's resolution —

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, 1. Mahadeo Abul Kalam Azad, 2. Dr. Ambedkar, 3. Motilal, 4. Motilal, 5. C. Rajagopalachari, 6. G. D. Deshpande, 7. J. B. Kripalani, 8. T. T. Krishnamachari, 9. Mahadeo Abul Kalam Azad, 10. Pundit Mahadeo Madhavao, 11. B. R. Ambedkar, 12. Mahadeo Madhavao, 13. B. R. Ambedkar, 14. B. R. Ambedkar, 15. B. R. Ambedkar, 16. B. R. Ambedkar.

The members of the deputation will form themselves into different groups and each group will have particular provinces assigned to it —

Madras Hindu Election Dispute

7 Resolved [a] Regarding the interpretation of the phrase "Provincial Executive Committee" in the constitution issued as Force Congress Committee's election of its own office-bearers and representation to the Provincial Congress Committee, the Working Committee holds that the phrase "Provincial Executive Committee" means the Committee then holding office

at the time, namely that of which Dr. Thakur was the President. The procedure followed by the Executive Committee Provincial Congress Committee in calling upon Dr. Thakur, the Secretary, to hold fresh elections and the elections held in accordance with it of the 19th January were right and proper.

[b] Regarding the office-bearers and the Executive Committee of the Provincial Congress Committee the event must be given effect to and from after 2nd January 1933, the seats held by the members named in the resolution issued to resign before that date in conformity with the decision of the Gaya Congress, should be deemed vacant and be filled in by fresh elections.

C. P. Madhav Madhavao Dispute

8 [a] Resolved that the award of Dr. C. K. Das as umpire confirming the co-opting of members to the Provincial Congress Committee be deemed final.

[b] The resolutions not having passed that week in respect of the elections of Madhav Madhavao and Chandra Teling, the Working Committee taking into account the fact that the arbitrators held were only technical and in view also of the circumstances reported by the arbitrators in favour of the resolution of the right application of the rules resolves that the said elections be upheld and confirmed hereby.

[c] Resolved that the elections in Bikaner Teling be also upheld as no complaint was made in respect of them to the Provincial Congress Committee.

[d] Resolved that the results of the re-elections held in Am, Bikaner, Madhav and Gomati Teling be upheld and confirmed.

[e] All the elections to the Hindu Committee by Teling Committee and to the Provincial Congress by Teling and District Congress Committees are also upheld and confirmed. All the elections by the various Teling and District Committees of their office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee are also confirmed.

9. Certain doubts having been raised as regards the interpretation of the Working Committee's resolution No. 3, dated 2nd January 1932, the Working Committee resolves to make it clear hereby that in spite of the rule that 50 per cent of the collections should be kept, except by the respective Treasurers, the same shall continue to be Provincial funds and the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall have full control over the same except for working charges incurred and accepted till April 30, 1933.

Employment Bureau

10 Resolved that Motilal, Chandra Teling and Mahadeo Madhavao be requested to take steps to open an Employment Bureau in Bikaner for providing situations for unemployed young men and a sum of Rs. 500 be advanced to them for office expenses in this connection. They are also requested to arrange if possible to open similar bureaux in other important centres in India.

11 Resolved that Dr. Madhav be appointed member of the Labour sub-committee and requested to report to this Committee the work of the sub-committee's

preliminary deliberations and plan of work. It says, in brief terms, that Rs. 100 be advanced to him for initial expenses.

12. Resolved that the scheme proposed by the Khaddar department for Hawking Service and Travelling Instructions be adopted and a grant of Rs. 2 lakhs for the purpose be sanctioned and that a report of the progress of the scheme be submitted at the next.

[published elsewhere]

13. Resolved that Rs. 1,00,000 proposed to the General Secretary, Indian Social National Conference, to be raised for the purpose of subsidising, and other Government work.

14. Resolved that a sum of Rs. 1,000 be granted to the Madras Hindu Sahitya Samithi for Hindi Teacher work in the Madras Presidency.

15. The General Secretary is requested to call immediately for reports from various provinces as to what steps have been taken to carry out the Congress resolutions. In regard to the Provinces where work is not carried out by Provincial Committees the General Secretary is authorised to take steps including the authorisation of individuals and Committees in consultation with Dr. Asani, Mr. Deshpande and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel for carrying out the Congress resolutions.

16. Resolved that the Working Committee is unable to nominate the number of members returned to the All India Congress Committee by the Province of Delhi.

17. Whereas it is necessary for the Indian National Congress to have a central place for office records, library, etc., and whereas the Gandhi Nagar Managing Committee of Delhi offers to the Congress landed property site worth Rs. 2,50,000 with a promise of Rs. 1,00,000 from Seth Rajbanshi for the construction of a Hall; it is resolved that the offer be accepted and that the initial shares of the scheme be offered to the donors.

18. Resolved that the next meeting of the Working Committee be held at 12/1/34 Ginning Street Fort-lane (Congress Committee's office) Calcutta, between 1900 and 23rd March 1933, the date to be fixed by the General Secretary.

The Khaddar Scheme

The Congress Working Committee has passed a scheme for organising Khaddar work, to be started in the various Provinces. It provides for —

1. Khaddar hawking and home-selling service of 2000 workers.
2. Another Service of 500 instructors to be organised.

The immediate object is —

(a) To sell through the hawking, at least one crore of Rupees worth of Khaddar, by the end of this year; and

(b) To cover at least ten thousand villages, taking on an average 10 quinnies per village, or home-selling.

The hawking and home-selling are to be maintained by selling Khaddar at one anna per Rupee, above the actual cost, and paying that anna to the actual seller. Besides Rs. 1 to be further paid a sum equivalent to 1% of the amount of sale, raised by that. To supply

this amount of 1% remuneration, the All-India Khaddar Department, has allotted the gross income mentioned to the respective Provinces. All other facilities to carry the scheme through, should be made by the Provincial and the Local Committees.

The Travelling instructors are to be maintained from further grants hereafter mentioned, and the Provincial funds in equal halves. The monthly remuneration of an instructor staff not exceed Rupees thirty.

Each Province may engage the number of hawking and instructors mentioned applied to them, in the table below.

Every instructor should cover on an average, two villages per month teaching home-selling to at least 10 persons in each village. The services of the students, trained at the Government Institute, may be utilised at once for this purpose. They can keep up the hawking work, to make up the above number, required for the purpose. The training of instructors will not take more than a fortnight. In case any Province requires the temporary assistance of a Training Instructor, the All India Khaddar Department will be able to meet such requirements.

Provinces that require in advance, a partial payment of the undermentioned statements, should send in their applications, with the following information, to the All India Khaddar Department —

1. The amount worth of Khaddar they expect to sell through the hawking service; and
2. The number of instructors they expect to employ, both before the end of April 1933. The advances thus sent, shall be kept in reserve with the Province, till the end of that year.

Grants should be used, strictly for the purposes, for which they are made, Unspent balances will be refunded.

Provinces may apply for the engagement of more volunteers earlier than when, for which permissions will be granted and grants made, out of such unspent balances.

Reports of the activities of these two Services, and bills for their payments, should be submitted by the Provinces, separately for each calendar month, before the end of the succeeding month. Payments will be made on fortnightly.

In adopting this scheme, the Working Committee has resolved, that Provinces may select workers, from volunteers trained under the Gays Resolutions, provided that such selected volunteers are not on whole time work under the scheme. Provinces will find that this scheme will give great impetus to the carrying out of the Gays Resolutions.

It will be to the interest of the Provinces, not to transfer their workers to any other duty, till all available sources of getting work are exhausted.

It is urgently necessary, that the provinces should organise Production on a large scale, through industrial enterprises, by giving such producers definite undertakings, to purchase specified quantities of Khaddar from them, for a specified period. The All India Khaddar Department can give the Provinces, custom undertakings, for a part of their production, but for the rest the supplies and sales must be found independently.

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A Weekly Journal

Edited by C. Rajagopalachari

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Notes

The Anniversary

March 19th is only a week hence every one should, daily ask himself or herself the following question: "How many new members have I helped today to join the Congress Sabha of my place? how many have I persuaded today to give up foreign clothes and adopt Khaddi? what have I done today for the 19th Swarajya Day?" If only we work hard, making ourselves our own task-masters we can dominate the capture of the decade before the swarajya day. The harvest is plentiful, we need only the labourers. And even the labourers are there, they wait but to be called and led into the field.

C. R.

The Immediate Work

The following translation of a Tamil speech made by Mr. Rajagopalachari at a large audience at Madras on 6th February is published as it answers many questions asked regarding the appeal for money —

"We should show to the world that the country is with the Congress. Shall we be able to say that we love the country or our land, if we only to enter the Council and receive votes from the voters? Certainly not! On the other hand if we complete the simple programme which the Congress has laid before the country, within the period of time, we will be able to prove to the world that the people are behind the Congress. If we are not able to do this it means that we have lost our battle and that the country was, henceforth, with the Congress."

"What is the immediate task, must we? We should collect money at once. To have money nothing can be done. We want money because the funds on all the previous have been exhausted and they should have money to carry on their work. What are we going to do with the money? Is one of my members I said that the money was required for railway, telegraph and other expenses. Such a view is common has been passed on this. I have to repeat the same thing now. All these expenses are necessary but they are not following the wishes of the Congress. The Congress wants that the people should clothe themselves in Khaddi. You do not have anything thereby, in return for the money you pay, you get the cloth. If all would clothe themselves in Khaddi, it is clear proof that they are loyal to the Congress. But if you do not wear Khaddi, we must live throughout the country, deliver lectures and impose on you the necessity for wearing Khaddi. To do all this we want money. If you wish to avoid these expenses you must do all your own amount what the Congress asks you to do. The Congress asks you to avoid yourself as members of the Congress before 19th March. If you do this of your own accord you will be saving much expense and at the same time getting an example for people in other provinces to follow suit. The other day I was addressing a meeting in Madras and I told them the same thing. The response was immediate. About three hundred persons enrolled themselves as members the same day and another two hundred the next day. This is a good proof that the people have been convinced to the extent of their duty. Just as a man has very little appetite after a dinner, so also the nation having convinced them so long since has begun to feel the thirst for Swaraj. There is no doubt about this, I am told, the receipt books are ready here. I would request you all to enrol yourself as members of the Congress here, by paying the four annas contribution. As I told you, if you do not do all these things we will be obliged to spend on railways and other things, for the purpose of going about the country and asking you to do them. Our people should have a high sense of patriotism and take as little as their earnings as money here. I know in many places multi-tax owners and owners of earnings refuse to accept payment for carrying Congress workers. I remember, during the American Congress a tall driver who drove us as he was destined to take the train when we wished him. But this would not happen always, and therefore I say, the worst thing for you would be to carry out the programme reluctantly. The money is also required for another purpose, with a

equally important. You know that volunteers, while carrying themselves, are required to sign a pledge that they will not demand maintenance for their families if they are cast into prison. This was devised by Mahatma. But when these volunteers are thrown into jails, their families suffer, and how can we afford any longer their maintenance and keep up? So we will have to pay something for their maintenance. Just as we help the prisoners in a prison, so also we should help these volunteers. We want money for this.

The 18th of March

"The 18th of March is the day on which we should remember the movement of ourselves. It is the day on which Mahatma's temples are years of prison life. Many of you know what prison life is. One day of prison life is equivalent to three days of outside life. Mahatma told us, when he walked into jail, that he hoped the movement would go on even though he was not amongst the people. It is a prophetic thinking of us day and night from his cell in Poona jail. One year has passed since he was imprisoned and yet we are in the same state. Does it speak well of us? Before the 18th of April we should collect one and a half lakhs of rupees. Let each among one of you to give as much as you can to the bank, water committees and moral institutions as members of the Congress. The 18th of March is the new year's day for us. It is a sacred day for us. If you should have done all that the Congress has asked you to do and also advanced rupees lent on that day you would have justified the confidence which Mahatma placed in you.

Little I would ask you not to possess wealth, to bring extravagance. Whatever agreements may be made between opposite parties, money and we have no market for the Congress. No compromise can reduce people of the duty of giving and money. The two parties should compromise on other points. The Congress work must go on. We cannot afford to slacken our efforts with a view to a compromise. There is no death. Now we would only ask we cannot have this unity at the cost of our principles. So I would request you, at once, agree to carry out all that I have stated before the 18th of March. [Loud cheer T. J.]

March contemplated

Even in such a highly organized Government as that which the Government has established in India, there is occasional lack of coordination. The action of the United Provinces Government in releasing the political prisoners appears to be disapproved by various interpretations of British conservative philosophy. They declare that Sir William Wedderburn ought not to have been made a Governor of an important Province, that he lacks the "power of government," and that Lord Reading suffers from indecision. The wilderness policy of the Government is occasionally to pass the privilege of the release of criminals. Another will accept it with us to make with a strong hand. The latest paragraph of action will have play when the situation is "over", the latter whenever there is danger of self-suspension in the part of Indian leadership. Sometimes we find an acceptable compromise of politics. Not the necessary may be considered if we remember that politics have come here to find place in action through the clear channels of official

action, and the interval between policy and action sometimes brings about a kind of mental interference. There are some of the necessary details of a complicated system of administration by which our people, with democracy for themselves, have to maintain an acceptable rule over a large state whose strength and weakness they are bound to be aware of the spiritual might of every class.

The Struggle with Lamentation

A Keshav's message of February 12th states, first of the annual meeting of the Theosophical Society of India, the chairman said that the whole of Lamentation's history was bound up in the economy of the Indian market. He said that Lamentation had long trade with India and in one thousand million yards a year, and he intended that out of ten for hundred million yards were purchased here. Whether Lamentation may receive her business of clothing the people of India and finally changing her wealth into, depends on our system. If boys and girls will not be permitted and refuse to do it at the wheel, Lamentation will win. But if they make it a point to turn the wheel at least we have every day in Lamentation's rule, we will not get back into the coils of Lamentation. Every attempt will be made every action employed by the powerful and experienced capitalists of the British textile trade before they give up the battle. They will cheapen price till our handloom and handloom industries are destroyed. We have no Government able and willing to "protect" us against such a repetition of history. We must protect ourselves. Demand nothing to a point of a heavy distance in the only way. "During the Magdal days we had Christmas, but there was no New Year. Now then our New Year is celebrated by the Christmas?" asked a young lord from France. The question ignores the distinction between Magdal or otherwise, which might be unfortunate and even tyrannical, but not immoral, and the present domination by a foreign people. A Magdal or a New Year long night of us the House of Lords and the people might have no the Lamentation. But it was not a case of the people of another country holding sway over us and governing us from their own island with a constant eye to their own benefit. The Magdal Empire had its people here in India and now due to them or had. The foreign domination has that our little India is in political and economic grip is of quite a different character. The Christmas added to the glory and prosperity of the Magdal Empire had a conflict with the present domination of England over India. The Christmas implies that for which consequently Magdal holds India as a terrible rule. The Christmas will give to the Indian people that economic strength the line of which has made them an eye to foreign domination, and the recovery of which will enable them to stand up and struggle for their hand-loom.

C. R.

Dr. Keshav Sunder Chakravarti

We would our heartiest welcome to Dr. Keshav Sunder Chakravarti who was released from the Aligarh Jail on 12th February, after completing his full term of 12 months imprisonment. Dr. Keshav is an old, serious scholar, who has passed through the jails of not only but there, each time at a critical stage of our national history. We hope his release of this country will prove a valuable help to the country.

and particularly to Bengal, that is, just at present along with U.P., feeling the loss of its recognized leaders most keenly.

Expression once more

The Punjab Government has once more been asked by one of its members for an expression which has as often characterized it in the past. Dr. Girdharpal Lal and L. Daschand, the President P. C. C. Punjab were arrested on the last and the fifth latest respectively under Sec 17 (1) of the Criminal Amendment Act. The particular offences with which they have been charged is not stated, but it is believed, the prosecutions are in connection with the recent renewal of agitation for the removal of the Lawrence estate. The latter has issued a general appeal to his constituents collecting them to maintain unity despite differences of opinion, to stick to Gandhiji, and to push on with the Ganga programme with full vigour. We hope, the people of the Punjab will help gently their President's task in these by carrying out his latest loyalty and initiative.

A Happy Augury

The arrest of the leaders has been accompanied by a Government order forbidding the stoppage by the carrier of all correspondence addressed to the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. The intention is that correspondence ought hardly to present a problem to the Government at all. They have nothing new to learn. The Akalis have already shown the way and they have already in doing their recent action. The people of the Punjab could not have wished for a happier augury at the outset of their enterprise than that they should be accorded the same reception by the Government, as the Akalis were in the meantime, defying all odds regarding the removal has been postponed till 19th March. If only the people of Lahore push on with their programme, according to the literal wish of their President, so as to finish them by 19th March, we promise they should before long be able to give to the Punjab bureaucracy the surprise of its life.

Paradoxical Reality

Nothing is so eminently characteristic of the present instability of the bureaucracy as the stand taken by the Punjab Government in the matter of the Lawrence Estate. No Government having the least pretensions to being a certified or democratic Government would ever so clumsily deal with the crisis and disregard that of rule based on the fact as people's will but resting solely on the duration of the job as the result, that the entire movements that with its usual character by the Indianization of prejudice it has come to develop a strange philosophy of conduct where two practical truths are —

- (1) That percentage as given is a halfhearted of England and retention or compliance of your loss of strength.
- (2) That to yield to popular will is a sign of weakness, and, therefore, any action that has behind it the force of public opinion must be crushed, though it be otherwise laudable.

It is this perverse state of mind that was responsible for the Punjab Government's stand fully in the case

An Appeal

When will our people realize that the message of an understanding Akalis and us much as the constitutional protection of a plan to us the loyalty and confidence of those who are pledged to carry it on? A plan may be very uncertain, but if it is sound in principle, and if it commands the enthusiastic support of a good number of disinterested people, it is sure to succeed, whereas a perfect plan without the driving force of dynamic personalities will have nothing better than the protection of a bookish egg.

Of late, every one is trying to discuss plans and schemes and is anxious to impose upon us something with an apparent clarity and persuasiveness of his own particular plan. It is a kind of Lok. That time when he was asked to discuss the relative merits of the Moderate Scheme, the Congress scheme and a host of other independent schemes for the working out of the Reform Act, he sharply refused to do so. He said, "He did not want to dispute the wisdom and expediency of one the Government's scheme or the Akalis' scheme." His only claim was that his scheme had behind it the will of the country. "Your Akalis may be wiser in some respects, but as long as Lloyd George commands the confidence of the nation he scheme and his policy must be worked out." If half the energy we waste in debating over different plans had been devoted to the working out of the one scheme that is supported by the Indian National Congress, we would truly have been in sight of success by this time. What is wanted is concentration of effort, and not the circulation of letters.

No amount of argument will achieve people whom views have once fastened on a particular party-formula. Only work and morality can do that. You cannot but realize easily within the Maharashtra party except the Congress view by more argument, but if the Congress party work out their programme to such a degree of maturity as to compel the Government to make no choice between their representation or compromise to popular opinion, the Maharashtra party is sure, by its very political instinct, to give up the Congress programme and join the orthodox non-cooperation party. I am convinced that our understanding efforts for securing a patched up compromise, however well intentioned, have resulted on the bitterness and antagonism that we are meeting. Compromise is useful only where there is a chance of mutual cooperation for a sufficiently long period. The country won't make so much from having two programmes, but its compromise has a more to result from pure efforts at compromise that were only to make the working of both the programmes more and more difficult. This is how I view the situation, and I therefore request my compatriots to realize the ground ideas before embarking upon schemes of compromise. And the only way to realize the programme is to work harmoniously so as to leave a legacy for the discourse to school.

D. B. K.

of 'Ganga-De-Sag' and then about, again, explains its desperate necessity. In a time of conflict that has seen the appearance of cutting off one's nose to spite one's face than any thing else.

Young India

15-2-33

Compromise

I have the happy news that Pandit Mohan Mahesh Abhinav accept Mahatma Abin Kahan's scheme of settlement. If Deshmukh Das and the Mahasabha leaders also follow, the history book of wrong under which the nation is sighing will have finished the so ugly dream. The issue of the proposed agreement also—

(1) That both parties should unanimously agree to work the Gaya Congress Programme for the next three months. (2) That there should be no propaganda; talk about any change of the programme relating to the Unshook during this period or the formation of a new party. (3) That if at the end of next period, Civil Disobedience was decided upon, both parties should continue to work for it. (4) That if, on the other hand, no such step was found possible, a special session of the Congress should be held in June to consider the situation. (5) That for one month before the special Congress both parties should be free to express public opinion according to their view. (6) That the demands of the Congress should be carried out by both sides without forming separate parties.

I was very strongly opposed to the idea of a special session of the Congress. The dissolution of normal work involved in a special session and as terrible cost, nearly a half of the amount we have to raise under the Salt legislation, the distraction of public attention that will inevitably follow the new program of the new Congress, and the diversion of energy will all tend to hinder the collection of funds and the movement of volunteers and the strengthening of the national organization. However, we thought that all these disadvantages were not too great a price if we could thereby secure unshaken cooperation from the leaders. If Pandit, Mahesh and Deshmukh Das throw themselves into the work, and give the weight of their leadership to the Gaya programme, I have no doubt the nation will march on to success this year. So far there has been no news that the Deshmukh and the Mahasabha leaders have agreed to the terms. The Working Committee of the Congress has as a body accepted them. It is left to the new party leaders to accept them. The hope, that hopes of all the demands and work involved in a special Congress session, the co-operation of the leaders needed thereby may lead the nation to victory depends on the last, unyielding and whole-hearted fulfilment of the latter as well as the spirit of the settlement. The people should remember that the settlement of differences is not a substitute for work. It is first, means work on a large scale. The essential condition of the proposed settlement is that the Gaya programme should be vigorously continued, and both parties should join in building it. The work of collecting money and sending volunteers, of recruiting and strengthening Congress Committees of spreading the

propaganda of Khadi and many other necessary work go on. Let not the re-considering that has begun disturb. The compromise of differences is but the removal of an obstacle in the path. The work continues most comfort without break or abatement. The Gaya programme must be fulfilled within the date fixed. If we delay the settlement with the leaders to be completed and made permanent, there shall be no compromise about this. C. R.

Problems of Swaraj

"I agree with all that you say, but I would like to ask you a question if you don't mind. Supposing the British give you Home Rule and want it not all what people have, what will you do for the defence of the country? You have no army or navy and no munitions."

This was a familiar question. But I felt that my questioner did not put it in a wrong way, but really in a thoughtful. He had been an officer of the Indian army and had retired with a galaxy of decorations. He was born in India. His father and mother had come out to India and settled as Indians, citizens in Calcutta. His most soldier was he was captivated in his political views, could easily sympathize with our desire to govern ourselves and felt that the Indian Government system was wasteful and rotten, and hated war and all forms of violence. I tried to answer his question.

"India the British using the people of India were able to defend their own country," I began. "But then," said he, "the world was not very kind, the spirit of aggression has now increased so much."

I told him, we hoped to live in eternal peace and agreed with our neighbours. We wanted to rob or bejaire as one and hoped as one would, try to rob or bejaire us. He was not convinced.

"We want to govern ourselves," said I. "but that does not mean that we won't have British military officers. We will employ expert military men as long as it may be necessary. But they will carry out our policy and be under our orders. We will have no British soldiers, but officers there will be, if we had them would be superior. At present for the English soldiers that they have they show, we, these Indians in the army of Defense. They can't increase the number of Indians because they cannot employ more English soldiers, and it is dangerous to train and employ Indians above a definite proportion."

"If Indians ruled themselves, the defence-force of the Indian standing army and reserve could be ten times the present strength. Almost an unlimited number of Indians could be trained and equipped by experts. The Chief reason that hinders the army's strength is the suspicion of rebellion against British Government. We could afford to give encouragement to the men to thousands of men who are now starving. We could pay the officers wages we engage under British; better pay than what they now get, for we would employ better but more efficient officers. The whole thing would continue. The strength of the Indian army that organized would be greater than at present. The skill and experience of officers would all be there and there

would be more men. The Indian soldier is as brave and as good a soldier every way as any white soldier."

"I have been in the Indian army and served in France," said my questioner. "I asked what you say about the Indian soldier."

"As for ourselves, they are available for money wherever they are wanted. Now now so many countries make and sell them, countries even to enemy nations. Why should we not be able to buy our soldiers?"

He laughed and agreed it was so.

"And we could soon make the soldiers if necessary in our own country. At present it is the British fear of our dissatisfaction that prevents their manufacture on a large scale in this country. Look at them that strike now. The peasants here were once soldiers. They served under Shivaji or Gokula or the Pathans or the Mughls. They were then ready to die in defence of their country. Now there is no sense of responsibility. There are also no there is no sense of peace in the country. Is it not necessary and indispensable of the community under the appearance of peace and order?"

There was a thoughtful silence.

"What about Hindu-Muslim unity? Won't they fight if the British went away?" asked this student Englishman.

"No," said I. "Have you seen thousands of villages where Hindus and Muslims dwell together in peace and unity for generations? Take the Mughal dominions or the State of Mysore under Tipu and Mithur. You find friendship and cooperation only by side with understandings and properties and working in each going on without understandings or hindrance. To the Mussalmans and the Hindus this is the only harmonious and high communities. Every one is not this clearly."

Then we talked about Mahatma Gandhi and non-violence. On that subject I found no more ready, no more straightforward learner than this officer. The officer was understood the principles of non-violence quicker and better than most who usually think and talk of violence. I was twirling with a hand who had just come out of prison after fourteen months' confinement. "Why was he in jail, what was he against," asked the officer. I explained the case and the talk went on to the government of suffering. He was very much interested and I could see that the son of Mars felt that we were the better soldiers.

"I don't think many Englishmen even in India understand the truth about the Indian struggle," said he.

"Not so many Indians understand how many good Englishmen there are," said I.

"It is all misunderstanding," said he, as he went up and sat next his mother. C. B.

Harold Ivan Fitzgerald

As we go to the press we learn that someone under No. 104 in an office under No. 124 (P. C.) have been named against Mr. Rancho Gandhi, the Editor, Printer and Publisher of the *Defiant Phoenix* and of *The Indian*. The grounds is based on two articles that appeared in

the *Phoenix* some five months back. The hearing has been fixed on the 17th instant.

The Object of Collections

"What are you going to do with the money you collect?" asked a man at one of the meetings held in London. A legitimate question which ought to be put and ought to be answered before agreeing to be taxed either by the Government under the powers of law, or voluntarily under the moral pressure of the Congress. It is the right and duty of everyone to be satisfied as to the necessity of the levy.

All Political Committees are in need of fresh funds for normal propaganda and other work. Most of them have come absolutely to the end of their rope. The Central fund will also soon exhaust its balance unless an action is taken. Without money to keep normal expenditure going, work and enthusiasm are bound to slack. A fresh *Thak Shree* levy is absolutely necessary even if we had no special programme and were merely to keep our organisations in order and going on, as long as men do not spontaneously respond to the call of the country, propaganda is necessary and propaganda costs money.

Twenty-five lakhs a day being that we want now for putting off the previous is adequate funds. If this sum cannot be raised the Congress actively and more even to a standstill. To refuse to pay in this hard money asking for to ask that the Congress activities should stop altogether. To expect that movement counter to a general movement should go on without adequate funds is to expect the impossible. To those who give generously of their time and their energies, and who undertake all kinds of risks and dangers, the best help that others can do is to give them the facilities for work by voluntary assistance.

Not only does the Congress want money for the normal work of organisation and propaganda, but the diminished large-scale coverage of Individual Civil Resistance that we deem it wise to make it necessary to have an adequate financial fund for the relief of distress. It is true that every volunteer who signs the pledge agrees that he does not expect the Congress to maintain his family during the period of imprisonment that he may undergo. But it is one thing to limit on movement under the conditions, and another thing to be expected to meet distress. The Congress Committee everywhere should keep them, when threatened against possible calls for relief. No one, whether he agrees or not that the method of Individual Civil Resistance is the speediest way to freedom, but who would tolerate such a programme as one of the methods to be tried by those who have such in a should refuse to help in the collection of funds necessary to make such a campaign possible. "Every right method should be tried," said a friend. "And each should before fully in his own method," said I. "Of course," the friend answered. "And you should pay to the fund as you did before." "Of course I will," said some this year this year before, for we are lower and have greater difficulties in time." "Yes," said this large-hearted friend. C. B.

An example for Emulation

What spirit do the volunteers do justice the launching of Civil Disobedience?—is the question that is being asked in every mile. The Gujarat has answered the question in its own valuable way that a worthy of emulation. (Mahatma) when once approached by an English representative of the Indian Home League, as to how the Mahatma Gandhi's Association, 'composed of the finest educated men of the city could further the city's welfare, give the word in reply, *Power, pay, nothing else*! he issued the word, *nothing else*! The Gujarat Volunteer's Board has decided to take up the work of village-visitations, *nothing else*! issuing further orders from the Congress. The volunteers of every locality will be expected to keep the streets and lanes of their village free from dirt, and as a sanitary committee, to go round in other villages and do the work with the help of volunteers, young local workers there, and to disseminate necessary information about rules of sanitation, according to the detailed instructions that will be issued as given by their Board from time to time. They shall further act as agents and agents to their head-office any case of people or Governmental authorities that they might come across in the course of their movements from village to village. Each volunteer must be a social photographer, whose business should be 'to clean up' the environment before, as liberally as well as neatly—this is the ideal which Gujarat has set up for itself. How one wishes, what Pradeshes might follow one.

"But how is this going to help the cause of Swami?" (asked a business man). "What has social service to do with politics?" asks another. "To convert the Congress into a *Swami Samiti*!" (said a third man. It is a pity, the minds of some of us have become so much entangled in Western modes of thinking that they cannot conceive of ethical work except in terms of agitations and movements. They conceive of non-cooperation only as a spiritual discipline by means of which they can have out the burden of the society in a non-violent manner. It is so amazing and yet so sad to hear these talk about 'delivering non-violent blows'! So long as we do not shed this materialism, as long as we do not realise the value of quiet, solid social work, it would be a hopeless task to pursue non-cooperation in a successful, confident,

The story about 'converting the Congress into a Swami Samiti' betrays a pitifully shallow and superficial view of the Western materialism. Dr. P. C. Ray once remarked that the British Parliament is the greatest *Swami Samiti* in the world. What are the 'bondage-slaves,' 'dear human-made machines' 'poor-men,' 'old-age persons,' 'unemployment problems,' and a thousand other like things that trouble the attention of the British parliament, if not 'non-violent work'? But the spirit of materialism is so deep gone in us that these very things, others which we shun in the West, we start at when they present themselves to us in a simple, coarse, ugly-

"But how will this sort of work form the hands of the Government?" asks another that looked astir. The critics of the plan probably mean to think that the political value of any policy is measured only by the amount of subordination that it causes to the opponent. Their subordination is a very poor subordination for the world. It is simply childish to believe that a Government which is more than a match for India's armed strength will easily yield to such subordination. It was not the physical subordination imposed by the Akalis that subdued the Punjab Government. On the contrary, so long as the authorities believed that the Akalis were merely out to subvert them, as to win a clear crown of martyrdom for themselves, their stern blood hatred and hatred and they gave more and more scope. It was only when all operations had been made to leave the scene and still the Akalis continued to suffer self-sacrificingly and valiantly to believe that the Government realised that it was not the spirit of defiance but a spirit of religious duty that inspired them. It was not the difficulty of coping with their numbers but the rising feeling that the entire Akali community would prefer to be blotted out of the earth to the mere persecuting measures, without making a feather in subordination at harvesting the least feeling of itself even towards its persecutors, that won the sympathy of the Punjab Government and brought it to its senses. Suddenly it is not by making physical subordination to the Government by mere agitation, or by merely doing the job in a spirit of fanaticism by developing an unreasonable moral strength to suffer and to suffer for the sake of one's ideal is a great, uncalculating manner, by cultivating a true spirit of humility and brotherhood among us that we should hope to achieve success. Our religious suffering must be backed by the active sympathy and support of the entire country if it is to have fullness. And therefore our respect to the affection and confidence of the people has social service. We will certainly reject those who are anxious to capture the elements for the purposes of social-work who to join in this kind of activity. We promise, they will find that service is a much more satisfying labor to pursuing tranquility than otherwise.

The Revolt of Aids

The *Forward* might, were an Anglo-Indian paper, in considering whether all officials of the Punjab Government should be ordered to wear only clothes made in the country from material produced there. The Director of Public Instruction has issued orders that pupils should wear only clothes produced in Punjab and that no European gown or hat be used. Indian officials and students of colleges in India should impose on themselves the rules which the Punjab Government seeks to enforce by regulation. These who must think should strengthen the effect of their example by wearing garb made and the exhibition of a spirit of a quiet gradual rather than of self-righteousness.

Dr. P. C. Ray's Address

[The invitation issued by the National Indian University of Allahabad to Dr. Pandita Chandra Ray to deliver the first convocation address was an act of unusual wisdom. Students, teachers and all others interested in the intellectual and moral progress of India should read the inspiring address of the Acharya. It is a pity that the expansion of space prevents including only extracts. C. K.]

Telluric to the Imperialist Leaders

On this occasion to a non-Moslem gave us all the most pleasant on this occasion that is observed unanimously the liberal and catholic spirit that is working in the institutions of this University—on a spot that was indeed only to be expected from the highest sources under which this institution made its start—a spirit that was only worthy of its high seated sponsors Mahatma Gandhi and Mahadev Mohandas K. to whom we all bow down in reverence. I can have only express my deepest regret, which I trust is felt by all those assembled here that they are not here to grace this occasion by their noble and inspiring presence. We would have all been so much stronger and braver if they could have been here. Almost as painful, only that what however changes made this ceremony! The catholicity of outlook, the unprejudiced devotion to truth, the depth of enlightened patriotism that ever inspired these leaders of Indian nationalism—may they always illumine the path of our future progress! May this institution ever contribute to the further growth of scientific education and commercial character, and bow down to the supremacy of religious loyalty and spiritual freedom!

Islam as the torch-bearer of knowledge in the Middle-Ages

I recall the part that the Islamic people have played in keeping up the torch of truth burning with unflinching lustre during the dark, dismal period of the Middle Ages, when Christianity was content to exult in its empire over barren Aristotelian dogmatism and retrograde theological swamps about the Mother of God and the Son of God; the vigils of Baghdad and Cairo, of Cordova and Granada, that before my imagination with all their variable strains and age-old splendors. Though not a Moslem myself, my Arabic heart responds with pride and joy when I think of the conquests in the fields of culture and knowledge achieved by Islam. My friends, I trust, will pardon me if in the fulness of my heart I have so largely lingered on this glorious period of Islamic history.

What, I ask, would the world have been, where would modern civilization have been, if when the classic world of Europe had been submerged by the darkness of the barbarous ancient abyss of respectable darkness, of unrelieved gloom, Islam had not stepped into the breach and rescued with the new revelation the genius of classic knowledge and saved them to truth and bloom in the life-giving radiance of truth and freedom? All the knowledge of the East, of Egypt, of Greece, was carefully preserved, and not merely preserved, but refined and improved and preserved by Islamic scholars and scholars, and philo-

sophers in the Middle Ages. One can actually read the clearest pages of Aristotle and Galileo and Leonardo and Kepler and Tycho Brahe and other historians of that great, better being struck with admiration and admiration of the scholars of the quadrature, the complexity of the researches, and the variety of the subjects treated. I hope my friends will allow me to put a high value on dated over this luminous page of the history of Islam.

The Prophet's thirst for knowledge and Truth

Love of knowledge and reverence for both forms the very core of Islam, the Prophet himself was an earnest seeker after Truth. Says Syed Amir Ali:

"The Arabian Prophet's devotion to knowledge and science distinguished him from all other Teachers, and brings him into the closest affinity with the modern world of thought. Science, the core of the thorough common-sense of Islam had, when the fall of Rome, became the centre of attraction, not to the hosts of Arabia only, but also to Europeans from abroad. They looked the Persian, the Greek, the Syriac, the Indian and the African, of Christian and non-Christian, from the north and the west those we doubt about their country, but most came to seek knowledge and to listen to the words of the Prophet of Islam. He preached of the value of knowledge. 'Acquire knowledge because he who acquires it is in the way of the Lord, performs an act of piety, who speaks of it, praises the Lord, who seeks it, adores God; who dispenses instruction in it, bestows alms; who imparts it to his fellow objects, performs an act of devotion to God. Knowledge enables us to penetrate to distinguish what is forbidden from what is not; it lights the way to Heaven, it is not refused in the desert, nor poverty is adequate, nor compulsion when banished of freedom; it guides us to happiness, it satisfies us as memory; it is our ornament in the company of friends; it serves as an armour against our enemies. With knowledge, the servant of God dies in the bosom of goodness and to a noble position, associates with angels in this world, and attains to the perfection of happiness in the next.' He would often say 'the ink of the scholar was more holy than the blood of the martyr'; and repeatedly enjoined by his disciples the necessity of 'seeking for knowledge, even unto China'. 'He who leaves his home in search of knowledge, walks in the path of God. He who travels in search of knowledge, to him God shows the way to Paradise. The Moslem shall never be weary in the supreme value of learning and science.

The Arab Renaissance

Up to the time of the Islamic Supremacy the Arab world, poverty as called, scattered within the Peninsula of Arabia and more widely here to the North West and the North East, had shown no signs of intellectual growth. Poetry, history and political astrology formed the literary objects of pursuit among the pre-Islamic Arabs, Science and literature pursued as hobbies. The words of the Prophet gave a new impulse to the intellectual energies of the race. From within Arabia that was formed the nucleus of an educational institution which in after years grew into Universities at Baghdad and Salerno, at Cordova

and Confucius, have preached the "Moral Lesson" on the cultivation of a holy spirit. "One hour's cultivation on the work of the Creator is a devil's 'light' is better than seventy years of prayer." "To listen to the instructions of science and learning for one hour is more meritorious than attending the service of a thousand martyrs—more meritorious than standing on his knees for a thousand nights." Ah, the philosopher of the Peoples, looked on the branches of learning next most to the wants of the most common-wealth. Among his cherished savings are the following: "Endurance is wisdom in the highest of wisdom." "He dies not who gives his life to learning." "The greatest moment of a man is conflict." Naturally such teachings by the part of the Master and the Chief of the disciples gave rise to a liberal policy and refused all classes with a drive for learning. In spite of the approval of the Arab race under the early Caliphs, literature and art were by no means neglected in the Moslem rule of primitive Islam. Ah and the Arabs, too, counts, great poets, historians, poets, grammars, history and mathematics, which taught the art of verification or observation, which were given impetus by antiquity,—in ancient times its formidable branch of knowledge.

Such being the example and example of the Prophet of Islam himself it might naturally be expected that the subsequent development and expansion of Islam would give an immense impetus to the sciences and arts. And that was what really happened. The unexampled intellectual freedom that ensued has been thus graphically described by a Christian writer who can scarcely be accused of partiality in the achievement of Islam:—

Caliphs as patrons of science

"The Saracens carried the realm of Philosophy and Science as quickly as they had carried the influence of the Roman Empire. In less than a century after the death of Mohammed, translations of the chief Greek philosophical authors had been made into Arabic; poems such as the "Rand" and the "Oghayy" being continued to have an ardent teacher from their metaphysical allusions, were rendered into Syriac, to gratify the curiosity of the learned, Al-Farabi, during his Khalifat (A. D. 750-755) transformed the seat of Government to Bagdad, which he converted into a splendid metropolis: he gave much of his time to the study and promotion of astronomy, and established schools of medicine and law. His grandson, Harun-al-Raschid (A. D. 786) followed his example, and ordered that to every science in his dominion a school should be attached. But the Augustan age of Islam began was during the Caliphate of Al-Mansur (A. D. 813-833). He made Bagdad the centre of science, collected great libraries, and surrounded himself with learned men.

Al-Mansur, when he became acquainted with the celestial form of the Earth, gave orders to his mathematicians and astronomers to measure a degree of a great circle upon it. On the shores of the Red Sea in the states of Sabea, by the aid of an astrolabe, the shadow of the pole above the horizon was

determined at two stations on the same meridian, exactly one degree apart. The distance between the two stations was then measured, and found to be two hundred thousand Arabians cubits—the pace for the whole circumference of the earth about twenty-four thousand of our miles, a determination not far from the truth. But since the spherical form could not be positively ascertained from such measurement, the Arabs named wonder to be made near Cila in Hindustan. The astronomers divided themselves into two parties, each, starting from a given point, each party measured an area of one degree, the one northward, the other southward. The result is given in cubits. If the earth employed was that known as the royal cubit, the length of a degree was ascertained within one-thirtieth of a mile of its true value. From these measures the Caliphs concluded that the globe was spherical.

The celebrated maps they constructed contained the division of the known Empire by natural boundaries into three parts. The Abbasid dynasty in Asia, the Fatimids in Egypt, and the Omayyads in Spain, became rivals not merely in politics, but also in letters and science.

The spirit of scientific research and experiment.

In letters the Saracens embraced every topic that can excite or edify the mind. In literature it was their boast that they had produced more poets than all other nations combined. In science their great merit consisted in this, that they collected a store the manner of the Alexandrian Greeks, not after the custom of the European Greeks. They provided that it can never be advanced by mere speculation. Its only aim was to be by the practical investigation of nature. The essential characteristics of their method are experiment and observation. Geometry and the Mathematical Sciences they looked upon as instruments of reasoning. In their numerous writings on mechanics, hydrostatics, optics it is interesting to remark that the solution of a problem is always decided by performing an experiment, or by an instrumental observation. It was this that made them the masters of chemistry, my favourite science, that led them to the invention of spectacles for distance, telescopes, lenses, mirrors etc., that in astronomy caused them to appeal to fixed instruments, as quadrants and sextants, in chemistry to employ the balance, the theory of which they were perfectly familiar with; to construct tables of specific gravities and astronomical tables, as those of Bagdad, Spain and Constantinople, that produced their great improvements in geography, trigonometry, the invention of Algebra, and the adoption of the Indian numerals or Arabians.

(to be resumed)

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Notes

The Great Anniversary

March 22 is coming. We can should postpone the two hundredth dinner which should be performed before that day, discussing all things in connection and putting an Khadi, sending people to Congress center for 1871.

Are you a District or Taluk or Village Secretary or executive Committee member?

There have you arranged to mark Khadi?

Have you arranged for any students at thousands of members?

If not, please do. It is a matter of life or death for the Congress this year.

The Latest Comedy

All Non-cooperation are outside prison only by reference. Consequently the Government have closed and chosen some one of them. It says to him, "Will you kindly write me my jail?" "What pleasure," answers the man. And he writes to end the case is closed and locked. This is the whole story of the trial of Non-cooperation. The latest comedy was Professor Khadija's master from Saharan. Address to John and Ted. He wrote two articles the *Star* paper over three months ago. He covered action last week that his articles were not of approved quality and that he should furnish good behavior bonds. Refusing to submit to the indignity he went to prison with a sentence of one year. I have covered the article. My friend, please have failed to discover the offense Professor Khadija rightly stated in the court, that it was his duty to accept the Government. But the conduct of the non-cooperation, which is not to start up, not of action. Was there an offense in the article? There

was not an error and much less than what Khadija did at the time and what a thousand papers wrote truly on the Court-to-trial through of not over some time. But Khadija directed himself all the time. If he did not commit the offense according to the Indian Penal Code, it is only his own fault. Mr. Khadija Singh, just returned from London, will take the charge of the case. May the spirit of Khadija inspire him in the work now on a stage.

Rails

"If we win, then all these thousands will be unemployed." The *Times* Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* reports that one constantly hears this phrase in the new order French campaign. Truly the little that is now waged in India can be what the late devastating war was not, but was so constantly showed to be by the over-coming, a war to end war. We are told by the same paper that in spite of the deliberate policy initiated by the army of occupation, of removing the German shell factories and replacing them by French and Belgium, the greater numbers of the German population is starving and that there has been hardly any other use of speech. Truly, if our army broke will not work and our cloth and our machine, will not longer work. "If the Gandhi has been given in Germany instead of to India, the history of civilization would have been different." C. R.

The Potency of Suffering

Now is Germany the only country to realize the potency of suffering. This is what the *New York Times* writes.

"It was not the little Belgium army on the Trench that carried Belgium's message all around the world in war time, it was Cardinal Mercier, Bismarck's Man, the man and woman who refused, in the face of the omnipotence of the German army, to bow their heads. It was Vincent Massey's magnificent confidence in his a long-term faith for his country, and the united people's will that he expressed, more than anything was from his own faith in his country. It was the people's faith, the people's faith of non-cooperation, who has made it possible for India and Madras to make in their way the German who has urged the independence of British rule in India, and urged India's struggle into the consciousness of the nations West. What Germany needs is a Vincent Massey."

It is interesting to observe how the example of non-violent suffering set by India has not only shown upon themselves back towards the Western world, by showing the possibility of suffering without

insistence on superior physical form by non-vegetarian eating, but has dominated their entire mental outlook as no scientific Antiquarian discovery of Carven or Neolithic had ever done.

The Law of Love

Even in Ireland, where in the matter of bloodshed and things the law of revenge and capital seems to have temporarily eclipsed the law of crime and human nature, the law of Love can be discerned operating as inflexibly and steadily as ever. In fact later writers by Liam Mellows on the morning of his execution, published in the last issue of the *Irishman*—a small republican daily sheet that was partly edited by Eugene O'Brien and Liam Mellows before the execution of the former, and was recently suppressed by the Free-Block authorities—has gone, "Let no thought of revenge or reprisal intervene the Republicans because of our deaths. . . . The path the people of Ireland must tread is straight and true though narrow. . . . It is a hard road, but it is the road our Father trod, and of ourselves. The Republic lives. Our death makes that a reality." Here is the inherent nature of Love overpowering death, and emerging triumphantly as it were on the wings of defeat itself. Here is the law of Love in the almost supernatural strength and endurance that enables a small band of heroic soldiers to defy the might of the mightiest power. It is on the capacity to suffer and endure, and not on the power to inflict suffering that final triumph depends even when final achievement is secured it by appeal to physical force. "Pack out human nature with a kick," says Shaw, "and a spine remains stiff." It is on the conviction of the wonderful law that the final hope of peace in Ireland depends and it is this path alone which leads must tread before the sun sets the Freedom Land.

Blueprints of Civil Disobedience

The Indian Social Reform represents its objection to the Congress programme, of preparing the country for Civil Disobedience. 'Civil Disobedience is not for uneducated people, it is for the education of the higher law man. provide the disobedience of a lawyer class.' And it claims the responsibility to do just social work and to take up the 'systematic study of politics' to enable them to disseminate the higher law to the lower law.

To say that the Social Reform's objections only represent the lack of knowledge of history proving that India was indeed law under its historic age, and is the result of the parasitical system of our education. We refuse to believe that our great minds be a moral or political philosopher in order to be it in civil disobedience. The law under the law needs no terms or policies to enable it to find out which track of the law leads into its victory, and require to be decided against. Twenty thousand countrymen of ours who offered civil resistance to South Africa to vindicate the natural justice of India presented qualifications essential for Civil Disobedience in its high nature. Thousands of Jews who suffered martyrdom under the 16th laws of the price at Jerusalem with private consciousness—those souls alone with the love and glory of their Land—has shared the hardened conscience of a Jew.

And our power-imbued bureaucracy even, set an example of civil resistance which is without a parallel in the history of the world. Yet we know our contemporary that not one in thousand amongst them had ever heard a word about 'politics'—not to talk of 'systematic study' of the same—and very few indeed would claim to be lawyers even. A few plain men and a few plain women have played a greater part in the history of the emancipation of mankind and the of greater consequence to a Civil Resistor than 'all the poets of nation and thought.' And these, we submit, are embodied in a sufficient degree by the Abolitionist design.

An Unvarnished View

Individual Civil Disobedience is a linked and organic expression. When Civil Disobedience is not linked by it, therefore the working on of the Civil Disobedience movement to the constructive programme of Gays could mean nothing but a counter-consequence to guarantee the efforts of the Government to suppress the Truth. We are glad to want agree to differ here. We do not believe that South India Civil Disobedience as a large and progressive work can be carried on without sufficient organization or adequate preliminary constructive effort. The repeated hints of Mahatma, the terrible explosion that the nation has done for the Chauri Chaura happenings, will all have given us time if we had to take this lesson to heart. The difficulty is making the country ready for Mass Civil disobedience also less, not in any inherent readiness for the task of constructive work, but in want of suitable arrangement in the country for launching it. And there is no question or better way of covering the required atmosphere than Individual Civil Disobedience as a progressive work. As for the Congress question, everybody knows, it was killed at Calcutta on its own merits, and there was hardly any need of a counter-schedule to kill it again at Gays, where the delegates returned had been in several previous elected previously on the Congress-only ticket, with an overwhelming majority in favour of the Congress policy. (The Indian view of the Civil Disobedience Resolution passed at Gays is, therefore, unvarnished.)

Let us we accept the view that Individual Civil Disobedience is not an end and not a half-way measure when the end is war, as Shaw. To say this is to forget that our only Civil Disobedience is a weapon of direct attack against the present system of Government but it is a process of self-education and of developing an individual strength as well. This was the very method advocated by Arthur Griffith, who in his first speech on John Martin's plan which purported to show, to quote his own words, "how systematic peace resistance is, and contrast of his might be carried out through a thousand deaths, so as to virtually suppress English dominion in Ireland, and to make the most revealing image an unvarnished democracy." What was intended to be an adequate method for obtaining freedom for Ireland might as well serve India's needs also.

Our own past experience has shown us that such Civil Disobedience campaign even when it involved a revolt,

but no stronger, better equipped to carry on the non-violent struggle and, on the whole, more sincere than at home. We kindly mention, we do not claim to be able to make a plan to show "where we stepped and to what the warm glow of conviction led within them, by merely saying 'Leaves' or 'Lodhans'." But to those who had seen the strength of suffering within them it was enough to be shown that Individual Civil Disobedience offered them a means of offering continued service to the Government to induce them to fix their choice as to whether reference to war whether consideration about the making of those who advocated the policy of individual protest which our contemporary champions.

A. Standstill Disobedience

What shall the non-cooperation do if the Government suspends all municipal and other local as a kind of protest but only to date them as it another objection put forward. Why, simply go on giving peaceful strength by making the foundation of all organisations broader and deeper and also take up extensive Civil Disobedience of several laws, just as we would have done if the Government had not sought to render all Congress work impossible by declaring volunteer organisations illegal. The difference between Individual and Mass Civil Disobedience is only one of degree, and as our campaign of Individual Civil Disobedience proceeds, we gathering volume and momentum in its several phases it may, we suspect, lead us then later that, discontinue two forms of Civil Disobedience and individual action might seriously develop into mass action about whose efficacy there are no two opinions in the country.

A. Chapter from Swir

It was, when the operation of a broad-based machine for broadening the domain of the executive than the proceedings of a Court of law, that was, truly seemed to be increasing during the trial of Mr D. S. Khelkar and Mr. Ram Das Khelkar, the Judge of Bombay, on Thursday the 19th inst. The case was one of the 100 for an offence under section 124 A, I. P. C. Both the accused declined to make any statement or furnish security and pleaded guilty, accepting the responsibility for the offence that was the Khelkar was given one year's I. P. C. Mr. Khelkar was deeply disappointed with a case arising at the suggestion of the Public Prosecutor, that he was away from the station at the time of the publication of the articles in question. Before the judgment was delivered Mr. Khelkar declared to the Court that he would refuse to take the warning and that it would not take him in the least from speaking further and discontinue in any way or manner, he had and requested that the Court might punish him immediately so as to avoid the delay and satisfaction of another trial shortly afterwards. But the Court would not accept his plea, because the public prosecutor said, "he had received instructions from the Government not to give the prosecution."

It was a chapter from Swir entitled all over, "In the trial of persons accused for crimes against the State" wrote back to his company Thelkar, the method is much more simple and commendable: the

judge that work is to accept the deposition of those in power, after which he can easily hang in more a criminal, strictly preserving all the forms of law." Truth is something better than water. We challenge any one to demonstrate between the truth and the water in the case described above.

Pure Khelkar Supply

The Director, All India Khelkar Information Bureau writes—

The office of the Bureau is daily in receipt of supplies as to whether to get pure Khelkar, which the best books regarding its possession.

In the month of September last, the Khelkar Bureau, had given out a list of Khelkar dealers with the remark that it was desirable to write directly to the dealers concerned, requiring them to supply samples of Khelkar along with their order questions, and the importance of the possession of the goods to be supplied, so that Khelkar supplied should be easily hand-sown and hand-sown.

The Khelkar Bureau, it was further remarked, might also be required to produce certificates of genuineness of their goods from their respective Congress committees. But the plan proved a failure owing to the defective system of issuing certificates.

In several cases Khelkar supplying agents were known to deal under false certificates. The production department, therefore, recently sent out a special inspector for this purpose, and he has supplied us with the names of reliable suppliers of pure hand-sown and hand-sown Khelkar which we publish below for general information—

The Cooperative Trading Union

	ADDRESS
Jayide Khelkar	MUMBAI
	MUMBAI
S. Yashwanthrao	PORE
Deputy Congress Committee	MUMBAI
Khelkar Ashram	MUMBAI
John Ram Nand	MUMBAI, OTHER MUMBAI

The Range hand spinning and weaving Company

	ADDRESS
K. Nageswari Rao	MUMBAI, OTHER MUMBAI
	MUMBAI, OTHER MUMBAI
Deputy Congress Khelkar Khelkar	MUMBAI
Khelkar Khelkar	MUMBAI
Congress Khelkar Depot	MUMBAI

Note—Such names as might be recommended by the production department will be published from time to time.

Wanted

Agents for Young India in all the principal places of India. Full particulars about several names can be had on application from

Editor, Young India,

Young India

12-2-25

Robbery of Words

Names given to their words by newspapers and writers are protected by the laws against lying and by other similar *Falsehood, Double-meaning, Ambiguity* etc. only not by others than the newspapermen who first baptised their words with these names. These words cannot be washed from the consciousness they stand for. But while commercial advertisement is safe against lawsuits, there is no protection for the careless language of writers. Everyone will agree that the latter are far more precious than the artificial consciousness that is so strongly guarded by the law. Yet beautiful words are everyday torn from their original import and used as labels for newspapers, parties and things for sale, and after some time, the original sense can be brought back only with much effort. *Malabar, Lalpur, P. etc.* had once their true names, but now the words when uttered or heard immediately bring up particular political types before the reader's eye, and cover their heads from their original, and not the original meaning of the words. These labels ceased at being a phrase meaning, as it should, the ruling method and consciousness of the country unless the picture of this reality passed. We have ceased at believing before the word the lasting sense of an unbroken nation. Words before us it once the picture of the Nation's progress. So also *Swarnaj* is fast losing its meaning and coming only to stand for the daily paper of that name. Words have gradually lost their original beautiful descriptions and have assumed derivative and poorer meanings from which it is difficult to extricate them again. Newspaper names have caused the greatest harm in this respect, next to their party statements in dramatic, satirical, literary, etc.

The advantage to a paper or to a political group in thus robbing the common vocabulary of a good word is very temporary and small, for loss to the national tongue is great. "Fatherland" denotes more than which only that word can describe. But a striking name is wanted for my paper, "Fatherland" is attractive, indicating the national policy of my paper, well, I believe, get me more subscribers than any other name would, and I want the word. If my paper is successful, the word will gain considerable hold in the reader's vocabulary. "Fatherland" gets its name not for itself but for which we live and die, but a cross-word newspaper conducted by some particular class and the picture of its front-page is the image that runs in response to the word. When, at a time happens, the policy of the paper changes, even the direct connection between the name and the character of the journal is lost. The advantage to the newspaper lasted only for a few days. The success of a newspaper depended on it is just the same as if it had a false pretentious name, say *British India* or *Indianisation* etc. But the loss is language is permanent.

There is nothing to prevent a strain from passing and preventing, for instance, the names of national words and names. British map-makers, dress or dance costumes, or Swastika sacred signs can be legally made responsible. Newspapers may be subject to litigation if the names interfere with the common vocabulary. American States can refuse to register *Alaskan* *London* etc. names. French Laws can punish the sale of *Napoleon* etc. and India can protect the importance of *Quadrilateral* and *Quadrilateral* etc. and possibly the sale of *Quadrilateral*. In the absence of laws, it is only the sense of reverence for national words that must protect them. C. B.

Non-cooperation and "Cooperative" Organisation

The central committee of the *Indian National Congress* has written an interesting article on the "cooperative movement" in India, which has been republished elsewhere. It is not satisfied with the progress of the movement. It breathes the lack of political spirit, enthusiasm and desire that non-cooperation should drive their energies from non-cooperation to the organisation of cooperative societies and within the framework of workers. There is no need, however, for division. For, between non-cooperation with Government and a true cooperative system for India there is no difference. The one is the destruction of the other. The organisation of village unions and the work that ought to be done up by them in accordance with the constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi is exactly what a real "cooperative" movement had been dependent on Government and the on loss of self-government should be. There can be no greater or more efficient means of the people in the province of the self-government than in the organisation of villages in the present leading into the production of Khadi and the distribution of the product. In the Congress movement of Khadi there is effective boycott, effective organisation and working in co-operation and immediate relief of economic distress. The progress of hand-spinning and hand-weaving means and method for the great cooperative movement in this country. The organisation of rural unions and the re-establishment through them of the spinning wheel, means in the words of Mahatma "shall encourage honesty and cooperation on the largest scale known to the world. And it India can achieve this cooperation, she shall deny that India has by that not self-reliance." C. B.

It is for work of Khadi production and distribution, are called as *Cooperative* of Congress and committees of Khadi, non-cooperation and service in the Congress, can we conceive of any more efficient building up of the nation? Many are deterred from participating in the work by the idea that they will not be able to do work in the direction proposed. Much is an unnecessary. Even a little in the direction is a good factor and will yield plentiful work. The good work will give and multiply in a manner that will not be repeated in the time being. C. B.

Talia, and they might have (they were told) even shot! The way the money should be run? Talia about the Government treasury! This manager was not only a nice fellow but also a clever animal too. On paper I certainly find it difficult to believe that when I was in, among the administrators will be any the less honest men than I find today.

In Bagdad the villages were less attractive, and administration had consequently not been carried quite as far. Each village society had its own secretary and the secretaries whom I saw were genuine villagers. They knew their business all right, and were interested. I imagine they ran the show themselves without much assistance from the village committee. But if the secretary could prove dishonest or so on, the committee men would be sufficiently intelligent to get rid of him. The position of the Central Bank superintendents in Bagdad, surprisingly strong man in Bagdad, especially in the east, was even more where the Empire runs. I happen to be involved in one of the directors of the bank. Again Bagdad carries a burden of divided weakness of the design of conventional official separation. In one district work as had been started easily and left in one thousand... The other village period had some few changes and taken it. Many meetings had to be held up and every house of people in money.

Dr Ray's Address

(Continued from page 63)

Amman Ma Ma Librarian

For the establishment and extension of the public libraries, books were widely collected. Thus the Khalid Al-Mansur is reported to have brought two English hundreds of novel-books of manuscripts. In a treaty he made with Fu Adh K. Emperor, Khalid III he stipulated that one of the Constantinople libraries should be given up to him. Among the treasures he thus acquired, was the treasure of Ptolemy in the Constantinople version of the library. He had it perhaps translated into Arabic, under the title of "Al-Ahgar". The collection thus acquired somewhere became very large. One the Public library at Cairo contained one hundred thousand volumes, carefully typographed and bound. Among these, there were one thousand and five hundred manuscripts on Astronomy and Medicine alone. The value of this library seemed the highest of all the Constantinople libraries at Cairo. The great library of the Spanish Khalid eventually numbered one hundred thousand volumes in catalogues alone, accepted forty-four. Besides the five were many public libraries in Arabasia. The collections in the possession of individuals were numerous very extensive. A private doctor refused the invasion of a library of medicine because the carriage of his books would have required four hundred camels.

There was in every great library a department for the copying or manufacture of manuscripts. As to original works, it was the custom of the scholars of colleges to request their pupils to prepare lectures on prescribed topics. Every Khalid had his own libraries. Books of sciences and arts, such as "The Thousand and One Arabian Nights' Entertainment" were lent freely to the students. Many of the libraries besides this, there were books on all kinds of subjects—history, geography, politics, philosophy,

literature not only of Arabian men but of celebrated men and events. There were used without any censorship or restraint, though in later years, works on theology caused a lesson for religious books of reference—geographical, statistical, historical, dictionaries and some abridgements or condensations of them, as the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" of all the Sciences by Mahomed Ali Adhali. Much credit was taken in the purity and substance of the paper, in the skilled illumination of variously coloured ink, and in the character of type by giving and other ornaments.

Content of Islamic Culture and Education

The Eastern Empire was dated all over with colleges. They were established in Mesopotamia, Turkey, Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, Morocco, Persia and Spain. At one extremity of the east upon which he stretched the Roman Empire in geographical extent, was the college and astronomical observatory of Bagdad, at the other, the Galla in Spain. Culture inhering to the progress of learning was. The most rapid progress was shown by the independent Arabs of the province, and their conquests followed the taste and the records of Science from Bagdad and Orleans to Persia and Cordova. The Victor of a Islam conquered a line of two hundred thousand pieces of gold to the foundation of a college in Bagdad, which he entered with an equal revenue of three thousand three. The front of instruction was concentrated postage at different times to six thousand thousand of every degree, from the use of the noble in the of medicine, a sufficient allowance was provided for the independent scholars and the most or industry of the profession was aided with adequate stipends. In every day the products of Arabic literature were copied and collected by the curiosity of the scholars variety of the rich. "The superintendent of the school was attended with noble literary assistance in Mesopotamia, Mesopotamia to Persia. It contained not to what country a man was born, nor what were his religious opinions, by themselves in Mesopotamia was the only thing to be considered. The great Khalid Al-Mansur had declared that "They are the abode of God, his best and most useful servants, whose lives are devoted to the improvement of their mental faculties, that the nations of wisdom are the true treasures and legislators of the world, which, without them, would again sink into ignorance and barbarism."

After the example of the Medical College of Cairo, other medical colleges required their students to give a rigid examination. The candidates then received authority to enter on the practice of their profession. The first medical college established in Egypt was that founded by the Government at Bagdad in Italy. The first astronomical observatory was that erected by them at Cordova in Spain. It was constructed in A. D. 1180 under the superintendence of Abu Musa Jafar (Ghar), Mathematician and Chemist. In time was not a little disarranged. After the capture of the library it was turned into a library, the Spaniards not knowing what else to do with it.

Contributions to Mathematics and Astronomy

It would not increase our debts to give an adequate statement of the results of this isolated scientific movement. The ancient sciences were greatly extended and new ones were brought into existence. The Indian method of Arithmetic was universal, a beautiful invention, which expressed all numbers by its characters given them an absolute value and a value by position, and furnishing simple rules for the easy performance of all difficult calculations. Algebra or Universal Arithmetic—the method of calculating mathematical quantities or investigating the relations that obtain among quantities of all kinds, whether Arithmetical or Geometrical—was developed from the time that Brahmins had left Mathematics. Ben Mink furnished the science of quadratic equations, Omar Sea Fleming, that of cubic equations. The Sanskrit also gave trigonometry its modern form, solidifying what for this it, which had been previously used, they changed it into a separate science. Many other inventions, was the author of a treatise on Optics and Trigonometry. Al-Bughlah known as least preserving to mankind that by some it has been declared to be a copy of Euclid's lost works that subject. In astronomy they not only made calculations but some of the stars visible in their skies, giving to some of the larger constellations the Arabic names. They left here no one celestial globe. They ascertained, as we have seen, the length the Earth by the measurement of a degree on her surface, determined the obliquity of the ecliptic, published corrected tables of the sun and moon, fixed the length of the year, and verified the precession of the Equinoxes. The treatise of Almagest on The motion of the stars—a system of by Ptolemy with respect, he also draws attention to an important fragment of Ptolemy, the astronomer of Heliopolis, the Rhind of Egypt, A. D. 150, on containing a long series of observations from the time of Al-Mansur, of eclipses, comets, meteors, conjunctions of planets, calculations of stars—observations which have cast much light on the great variations of the sphere of the world. The Arabian astronomers also devoted themselves to the construction and perfection of astronomical instruments, to the measurement of time by signs of various kinds, by daybreak and sundials. They were the first to introduce for this purpose the use of the pendulum.

Zaid for Research work.

In the experimental sciences they greatly improved Chemistry, they discovered many of its most important reagents—Sulphuric Acid, Nitric Acid, Alcohol, and they applied their knowledge to the practice of medicine. In agriculture they had determined the best of sowing Indian, had those, by an earlier help out, of the nature of gravity, they were familiar with the theory of mechanical power. In hydrostatics they constructed the first scale of the specific weights of bodies, and sinking of bodies in water. In Optics they corrected the Greek misconception, that a ray proceeds from the eye, and thenceforth the object seen, maintaining the hypothesis that the ray passes from the object to the eye. They understood the phenomena of the reflecting and refracting of light.

Out of the galaxy of required names in the history of Islamic culture during this epoch I may recall

only a few of the most outstanding ones. Averroes, the great physician and philosopher, Avicenna of Cordova, the great commentator of Aristotle, who re-blossomed the philosophical thought of the times by his Meta-Physics, perhaps it was his limitation to unite the teachings of Aristotle with those of the Quran. To him is also ascribed the discovery of opium on the sea. Abu Musa Jabir Ibn Ghar of Chios was the true father of modern Chemistry, and his name was only he treated with those of Ptolemy and Lavoisier. Abu Qasim wrote on Zoology. Almagest, as given—he had travelled in India to procure information, Rhazes Al Akbar and Al Razi, so famous—the latter had been in all parts of the world for the purpose of obtaining specimens. Al Ghazali, the philosopher, and Al-Hazeni, the Muslim of the Arab, were to be recognized among the scientists of all time.

I need not dwell any further, perhaps I have already said too much of the science with the civilization, even yet since the discovery of the intellectual empire of Islam, but now we scarcely have heard away from the charm and glories of this glorious period—what it is a power of which we, nation and age may well be proud. We must however not be content with glancing over the past achievements, of what our ancestors did, that we may work on and work on accordingly. As Lavoisier says, "Do not believe the past, the old is for slaves." We must create these things, we must build that which that no-one would expect of such others as they may be found, that truly and truly triumph of knowledge assembled in the difference of country and race, that make lives what it becomes. And it is because of these high traditions that I feel confident that this new Muslim University at Aligarh will soon establish Truth and Freedom on its banner.

The fusion of Islamic with Hindu Culture

To the tangled skein of India's culture, not a few of the most varied varied threads have been woven by the genius of Islam. How potent, how thorough would the work of benefit of the gorgeous union with which the Muslims have clothed her? I feel it is important to follow the path—was Khash Mami, was Ghazali, was Ibn Khaldun a solution to check the argument. And the Hindu-Muslim kinship is not of yesterday's growth a new lesson in the fusion of the sciences based on the literature, as the language is never tired of gliding pointing out. It is of the human domain, of such greater consequence, of date further back, even than the Vedas. It dates even to the Indian period. The history of the progress of Islam in India is a history of Hindu-Muslim collaboration. Some of the greatest scholars of the Muslim Kings and luminaries were Hindus. There were not the days when what was considered in principle was deemed as principle. After a century and half of Muslim rule in India we were to continue. Why? Because, because a soldier Lord Ghazal was installed as the Qaid of an Indian Province, but how many such Sultan, like Ghazal, Alauddin Khilji, Jai Singh, to mention only a few, were treated with courtesy for more cordial, and far more essential. The Europeans have got a very little

method of dressing the Muslims. They single out the head and the most highly decorated, a *Khilafat*—*Toghtak* or an *ashdika Khaki*, and then arrange in the effect that they appeared the Muslims with intricate turbans. But that is hardly fair. If we compare the state of civilization in India as Muslims treat with the corresponding state of things in contemporary Persia, then things will be raised to their proper perspective. I am not borrowing my Muslim misdeeds here, but that is my stated opinion, and does now forty years ago, when a student in Edinburgh, in a small lecture on India, that is what I meant.

"It is dangerous that at the time when a Queen of England was flinging into prison and hanging into dungeons those of her own subjects who had the audacity to differ from her on religious matters, the great Mogul Akbar had proclaimed the principle of universal toleration, had saved the Hindus, the Parsees, the Jains and the Magyars to his court, and had held philosophical discussions with them on the merits of their various religions." It might be said that the case of Akbar is only exceptional and therefore he cannot be cited as a representative Mogul. Nothing would be a greater mistake than that. Religious toleration, backed by a policy dictated by law by generosity than by preference, was also and was the exception with the Mogul Emperors.

It is needless to multiply instances: it is indeed easy to define the Muslim in the light of twentieth century liberal toleration, but what does contemporary Christian history show? The history of the Inquisition. Abominable massacres, the Secretary of Darfloods perpetrated in cold blood by Oliver Cromwell, spearheaded by John Milton as "Overcast, the shadow was." Why, say European friends, come with the Muslim just when you can smother the Christian creed?

Religious Union of Hindu-Muslim in India

The Hindu-Muslim union, the issue at the close, the statement, the substance of the two great sects of India, has not merely been confined to politics, it has filtered down to the inner recesses of the social structure, and has led to varied social and religious meetings. Gaur Ghar, Lohar Conferences—these were all the symptoms of a religious movement due to the union of the two religions. Politics at any event strange that a Muslim King of Bengal, Hussain Shah, should be addressed like this "O thou magnificent, O Lord of the Five Corns," by Vallabhadra, the founder of the Vaishnava Vaishnava sect. But all this was a sign of the times. The democratic spirit of India asserted a very healthy influence in breaking down the artificial walls of the Hindu caste system and bringing a Catholic and enlightened spirit into the Hindu society itself. And the Vaishnava movement of Bengal was the direct outcome of the renaissance given to the day the united acceptance is so complete that Hindus do not feel any hesitation in adopting the holy showers at Shravan, the 'dargah' of the 'Pir' as their own sacred places, and going on pilgrimages there, and by the Muslims hesitate to take part in the social functions which are so largely a feature of the Festivals of the Hindus.

Undivided allegiance to the Motherland

The comradeship, the brotherhood among the two communities has been such a marked feature of our social life for so long that they are almost taken

for granted and treated as a matter. And it therefore goes without saying that religious union when we see others made by separated persons in sections of people to give the unity of citizenship and to face the nation of *Indians* policy, may be found anywhere, and particularly when appeals are made to the Muslim community, implying that their interests are different, and not merely reference to the fact of the Muslim that their true allegiance should not be to India at all, and that their duties and obligations are to be regulated by duties being abroad. I want to be very emphatic on this point. I would say that such an appeal of unity would be untrue to our common nature, and to the imperiousness of the Muslim very much more than that of the Hindu. He would therefore look on divided allegiance, and demand full and undivided and undivided loyalty from his Muslim as from his other children. The welfare of India must be our first concern, not second concern, not last concern. We say Indians first and Hindus and Muslims and Christians and Jains and Parsis afterwards. You may remember the example of the great French statesman Richelieu, who thought wearing the Cordons but never shared the interests of France above the claims of France. That is the only proper attitude to take. I am certainly not surprised to the greatness of the Pan-Islamic movement as one of the most promising features of the awakening of Asia, not to the solidarity of the members of all the Khilafat since the rank and file of the faithful in all parts of the world, but these disputes must be all covered in their proper perspective and must not be allowed to drown the chosen call of Mother India based in her need for achieving an independent sovereign national life. We must not allow our loyalty to the mother land to be weakened by the wave of international persecution. India must not be a scale in the Khilafat wheel gyrated from London. The demand of India must be our one all-embracing goal and everything else must be kept in its place.

A gradual of India-Government only

I am sure, however, that since our first Muslim union have taken into the world I know that they are as true sons of the Motherland as the most patriotic Hindu. I would only ask them to see that the rank and file of the Muslim community be satisfied with this brotherly and patriotic feeling. And it is in the measure of love that the National University has a long part to play—it should stand before all India as a model of unswerving brotherhood, and I am sure that such a realization of their ideal will gladden the heart of an entire Nation, with whom Hindu-Muslim unity was almost an article of faith. And I am glad to say that the Government have been very good, the steps that this institution has already taken in the direction are very encouraging—it will realize if I mention that there are already numerous Hindu students on the rolls of the University, and that the Government also welcome a good sprinkling of Hindu Teachers, that special arrangements have been made for the religious instruction of the Hindu pupils, and that it has nearly Hindu schools affiliated to it. May this spirit of brotherhood grow from day today.

(To be continued)

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justice and integrity in the judgment of the British Magistrate at Calcutta who sentenced Sir Ashutosh. This officer had the power and exercised it, to try without jury and find guilty and sentence the prisoner to one year's hard labour besides a heavy fine. But the Congress is legal enough that he based his judgment on the distinct ground that it makes no difference whether one speaks against the British Government or talks in the spirit of Government prevailing. Even the determination to end the system is expressed in addition:

"Even granting that the demand for the open court that it was the system of Government that should be changed, it does not really help here for the system of the Government is the government established by law in British India."

This is an advance on the ideas hitherto prevailing among lawyers and greatly stimulates the law. It is an advantage if a living law is at least free of all such complexities.

Interception of Letters

The Punjab Government has just at once its power of interception of letters against the City Congress Committee of Lahore and the Punjab Congress Provincial Committee and their officers, agents and representatives, the latter being such persons as may be named by the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore. The order is printed in another column. It includes interception of money such as drafts and cheques. It appears from a communication of the Peshawar-Gurdamas Committee that a man of repute withdrew himself from a school in the United States where the Alliance India of South India to be possible presentation of a draft could not be obtained by them as the draft was so drawn by a Lahore branch of the bank by registered post and sent them, presumably, by means of the post office. It is true that the Congress and

others are pledged to a programme which is a major consideration what amounts to a revolt against the Government and we could be fully prepared, therefore, for Government sending postal or telegraphic service to those with whom it is waging a civil battle. But it is also a question whether those who though they may not be with the Congress as non-cooperators and are giving passive or active support to the Government are prepared to support or tolerate such revolt of postal or telegraphic service. Ultimately the question is whether the people including executives and others who may be ultimately neutral do so for sympathy with the Congress and its activities as to refuse to tolerate such outrageous conduct on the part of the Government? In that as it may, the present question is much simpler. It is well known that the Congress organizations have not yet widely taken up such steps of their programme as can possibly justify the extent of the services for which the people pay taxes. It is well known that the public mind of the Punjab or any portion of the Province is not deluged by the correspondence of the Congress Committees. Not only burning orders are posted and gathered together at the law. The laws are clear. To the Congress and the people who think that the existing

is justifiable against the Congress and approve of their answers which are totally indefensible? Or are they themselves in favour? The movement of Congress is based on truth and suffering. It has been and is conducted by the law for the many cannot be expected to accept any suffering. But even certainly the justice of the cause and the character and work of these law are expected to command the sympathy of not the active co-operation of them. The Government is there to enforce suffering and the non-cooperation are there prepared to undergo suffering. But it must be reflected against and against of the Government of the majority of the nation, even though they may not themselves actively participate in the movement. There is much the strength and hope of a national movement in the people of India, the co-operation and those who are moral aspects of the interception of letters, leaving us, they do the present state of the country and the effectiveness of the act? The Government may make people in foreign countries and even make against them in England believe that the Punjab Congress organizations are doing so in secret co-operation but every honest Englishman in India, every Congress and everyone else in India knows the truth that there is nothing secret, nothing vulgar, nothing the least criminal in the activities of the Congress organizations in Punjab to discover and that the interception of letters is an arbitrary and tyrannical abuse of power. C. R.

Problem of surplus yarn

By far the greatest hindrance in the way of the Khadi movement is the adjustment between the demand and the supply of hand-spun yarn. In Calcutta for instance we are informed by the Director of the All India Khadi Information Bureau in his communications on the 'Problem of surplus yarn' published elsewhere, there is an excess yarn each between 1000 to 1200 yards lying off the rest of a market. And the quantity, we are further informed can be still more increased as houses and homes are producing in some parts of that province. But we know of considerable places where millspins are being employed on hand-looms on the plea that genuine khadi-spun yarn is not available. The Director recommends the Government of Provincial Khadi Bureau consisting of trained young workers willing to devote themselves to Khadi work exclusively. The Khadi scheme proposed by the All India Khadi Department that was published in a previous issue of Young India provides for the employment of such men by paying stipends in Government Provincial Congress Organizations should have to make advantage of this scheme for promoting or efficient Khadi service in their respective provinces.

The 'Transmitter'

We bring before us the first number of the 'Transmitter'—the only English weekly produced at present saved from the Dauder Press—only—that we were produced by Mr. A. T. Ghose at some time back. The present issue contains articles from several well-known writers like V. Paul Baradar, Mr. Prasad and others covering quite a variety of topics—social, literary and historical—on Congress, however, regarded as a good starting-point for the discussion of political questions on the subject of National

Illustration is a magazine edited by the Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth. It has taken under the a special licence of the magazine—a title for which he, with his first-hand and practical knowledge and experience of our National Educational Institutions is admirably fitted—the magazine would be fulfilling much needed want.

In the political sphere the editor has tried to take a non-party view of the situation. To-day he is impatient with the present pace of the movement. But the actual workers in the field are hardly likely to be so impatient as his editor is.

Front-ranking shows considerable signs of deterioration, but otherwise the get-up of the journal is excellent. We wish it a prosperous and yet

Problem of Surplus Yarn

The Director, All India Khadi Department, Bombay writes:

In the book published by the Information Bureau of the All India Congress Khadi Department on the Khadi work done in India last year a discrepancy was found and corrected upon by the 'Mahendra Sharma' (a Khadi weekly recently owned by the manager of Wardha Sangayata Ashram) in its last number. The topic in question was the various rates of weaving given in the report of the Karnataka Province. The rates as given in the report are unworkable and the comment is perfectly justified on that line of it. We are obliged to the concerned editor of the 'Mahendra Sharma' for having called the report to our notice and having pointed out the discrepancy. We hope other organisations and newspapers will take similar interest in the Khadi work done by the Information Bureau. They would be doing good service indeed if they not only publish the information needed by the house, every one and then, but study and summarise these reports carefully and draw the attention of the public to anything that one of particular interest, such suggestions suitable for their respective provinces.

Karnataka's Surplus Yarn Supply

As to the point raised by the 'Mahendra Sharma' we write as inquiry from the Karnataka Khadi Department and we are giving below the reply received there:—

"Dear Sir,

Terms of the 1st contract duly received. The present rates of wages are as follows:—

Rs. 2-4	per	12	units of	yarn	50	balls
" 4-0	"	15	"	"	"	"
" 5-0	"	20	"	"	"	"
" 14-0	"	30	"	"	"	"

" We give high wages for their constant overwork in the spinning. The yarn spun is generally 15 to 18 counts and the wages are direct, that means per one of 50 balls. The rate of the above wages is 15 to 18 counts can be had in any quantity if needed. As pointed out during Congress Commission last year on hand work Rs. 1000, and the Byaper Congress Commission, yarn work Rs. 1000, therefore it is provided in my capacity as there is funds in Byaper and Bhamburda Khadi and the village and work is material for them.

The meeting in item No. 3 making the explanation of the rate which should be 10 taken instead of 50 taken. We want to state further what work is the Bhamburda and Byaper Districts of required. We shall be very glad to supply you with yarn if you wanting to start work because we have no market for the yarn and there are also no sufficient means to make Bhamburda that yarn. So you will be helping us a great deal if you place an order with us for yarn of 15 to 18 counts.

Red Adjustment the Cause

We welcome this information and the offer of yarn that has been made. The offer of yarn comes just in time when we are receiving inquiries as to where the hand-spun yarn could be had from. We have there are so many workers in different provinces who are waiting yarn when they have spun just because of the dearth of the yarn and they will be enabled to secure livelihood of the offer made for the Karnataka Khadi Department is useful of by them. It may be pointed out at this juncture that it is advisable that the workers among their weaving population without delay and should it reveal the weaving capacity of the local people themselves with hands in order to buy the hand-spun yarn from the province which produces more than the local weaving can absorb.

Pay for Workers

In order to do this work, it is most urgent that the workers should have some of proved honesty and economic business and moral financial experience at the head of their Khadi departments and that from men in their own should have reliable hands to work under them. Such workers might be paid allowances at least for their subsistence with advantage.

The Khadi Department of Congress Province has made admirable arrangements in this line and it is hoped that during this year Congress will pay its Khadi activities on a sound footing. It has got up a Khadi Board consisting of prominent workers in Khadi. The Secretary of the Provincial Khadi Department is acting as its president and its working committee meetings and general meetings are regularly held once time to time. It has assigned different departments under it in different counties, such as the Technical, the Production and the Sales departments and the department for supplying materials. We hope to deal with the Khadi work in Congress as another part. Before it to say to the present that such provision could do better if it got up a special board of workers who could be entrusted to Khadi work exclusively. For this case of business and that will be required who shall have to be specially trained in the technique of Khadi, before they can be put to work.

The need for such men is very much felt at the moment. The Director of production of the All India Congress Khadi Department writes to us showing the necessity of having such men in order to carry out the scheme that has been put before the Executive recently.

We must induce workers who want to serve the motherland but that integrated in what is means to take up the work. They should be men of business experience, systematic capacity and character. They should apply to the Information Bureau, Sangayata Ashram, Bhamburda. Applications should be accompanied by testimonials about their business career and other qualifications.

Young India

1.3.33

Give Battle this Year

There can be no man that blunders that is before that with the withdrawal of power from between the Congress majority and the Government, our work is done. For plainly, the matter is decided. After the withdrawal begins the work. But the stages of preparation, if I may say with a phrase, may be looked at. Having achieved a difficult task one is unconsciously inclined to think that all work is over. In truth, however, the work does not end, but just begins. The bridge is built, but the way lies to work over and fight. When Mr. Bannerjee completed his job, then and, that moment, if they had got used to criticism called even the national house is looking the country across the sea and had thought that all their work was over, he would not have been saved. Bama and his army did not let the grass grow under their feet, but immediately moved on and fought and won. The majority having secured the compensation of the country in the immediate work should go on with a work greater confidence and courage. The responsibility is still the majority's. The issue of the work will rest not on them. We have the right to expect help and cooperation, but the lack of carrying out the programme adopted at Gaya is ours. Indeed, the emergency method of reforming the responsibility has still added to the position of failure.

Indifference or shift on our part leading to failure will be an added reason for the necessity to choose a different line of work. If we stand for action to be permanent, if we hold the action to keep together behind the Congress we of the majority should put back our material energy and reform our programme.

If we do not open ourselves but give our heart machine about it is our old failure and we shall need repeated failure and resistance, so long as we have honestly perceived, there can be no failure. Perseverance with faith and hope is the only way to achievement. Failure after work effort is not defeat but still foundation to build upon.

At the time of writing this I was unable to say whether the struggle is one of a concrete plan of work will be successful. But whether we succeed or not in achieving the cooperation of the majority, our duty is clear. Even in a military campaign, cannot release us of responsibility in work and build on our task, a failure to arrange at a settlement should not lead us to despair or failure.

With faith in ourselves, we should go on with the work that we solemnly undertake. We must now collect funds, work to them, and organize the nation and give battle for it. Each Provincial Congress Committee must make its definite, detailed plan and push it. All that is wanted is sincerity and persistence and resistance to interference whether by skill, legal means or intellectual force required. If the population is mobilized by the appointed date, the All India Committee will not find a difficult movement the campaign and make the 1933 struggle a worthy advance on the past period.

G. K.

1. Interactive Work in Select Places

The most essential and at the same time the most efficient form of Congress propaganda is intensive work in a limited area. All provinces, and in every province each district, should at once adopt the policy and put forth their best effort. A village or a small group of villages should be chosen and a steady worker or two should make the place their own in every sense of the term. Let that limited area get the undivided attention and service of some of the best Congress workers in the District and become a model work, where it will be an extensive source of light and influence. Other places will follow of their own accord without any active propaganda. The volunteer chosen for this intense work should be of such character that they will be their own principles, undisturbed supporters. It is needless to say that these should be chosen as long as they are, responsible part of Congress work in the district. What work should be taken up and in what order, would depend on the circumstances of the selected places. In general speaking, the plan for the volunteer doing intensive work would be to form a local Congress party at which his own secretary will be. He will make his committee take up the education and settlement of disputes and present report to the Executive Committee. The Committee in every house collect the facts and under the village system through and distribute the cloth as woven and stop the purchase of foreign cloth, set up the local village school, savings banks and other religious gatherings and make the people and the workers and workers of moral improvement, his committee will try to stop drink and in the locality. It will host the unemployed classes as equal citizens in the community and train the people to treat them as brothers. It will train the villagers to live clean and happy lives and as far as possible look after their own affairs, making themselves for the purpose it will consider the village as a whole as to be a solid unit of the Congress.

"What is the concrete programme?" asked a young gentleman who was just returning from Berlin to his home in the Punjab for a holiday. It is the organization of the people especially in the rural area. To organize the people effectively you must give the organizations formed some functions. A note about it is not an organization given if the people of a village or town learn to cooperate and supply their needs to the community it would do. But some function or other is necessary. The constructive programme works to organize the people over a few years of work of national importance which they can perform without the assistance of the established Government. Production of village handicrafts which are in fact the most important thing universally wanted, and which it is possible for the people easily to organize is the most important item. It will not only be a limited source which national organizations may conveniently control, but it will replace foreign cloth and receive an especial industry necessary for national prosperity. Besides production of pure handloom cloth, the Congress organizations are asked to take up the work of education in the villages, education of disputes, the removal of the drink evil, the abolition of untouchability and

the fostering of every atmosphere of class and communal in religious distinctions.

If the nation is thus engaged, the transfer of power from the foreign Government to the people themselves is easy and inevitable. If the people are not engaged as such transfer is possible except in a free gift which we have as yet not contemplated.

"This is the constructive programme, what do you think of it?" I asked. "One night last month only," answered the young man, who had spent many years in Germany and other parts of Europe, not as a exile but as a houseman, and whose eyes reflected against directly with an intensity born of living through two wars and wars.

C. R.

Reminiscences of Kaka

(By J. K. Nijhar)

Not many in Gujarat know that some of us who have left our homes in different parts in answer to the Master's call to help him in the building of New, my were not other strangers before the programme brought us together. And yet few, if any, Gujaratis can claim to know more of my colleagues than I do. I could relate many interesting stories of old days spent with Anand with Mahadev, with Chaitani before they accepted their respective priests and offices. Few things give a more vivid picture than reminiscences of old friendships, and in Kaka I recall one of my oldest friends. I was his page-boy at the Porbandar College in which as student I met and acknowledge my debt of gratitude for giving me shelter when the Marathi principals of the colleges at Baruch, Bombay and Mumbai found it convenient to shut me. Porbandar is neither in Kaka's line nor mine. We shared no treatment but under influence of those rugged rocks of Mahadev, we sat together, the picture that remained in the memory for Kaka's lifetime. When I think of those terrible days when persecuted by our passions we could find nothing to cheer ourselves, I may see students who are privileged to live in places where such are the only life, and life for the class with a clear-cut programme that does not let her feet to waver.

To resume the narrative, I had to write up a preliminary while Kaka took charge. He heard the call of the Hindutva and left youth and home. Not a little of the white culture that Kaka displays was applied in those wanderings which took him in every place of pilgrimage, every sort of culture, every sort of society. Anand sat with him and I joined them in my wanderings. We were a merry party, Anand did all our walking, and I admit that I have never seen cleaner clothes. Kaka packed our bedding as neatly that I don't expect to meet with greater comfort even if I get a wish to look after me. And my share in the work, as Kaka reminded me the other day, used to be to pick quarrels with all and sundry. I took Kaka to my native home in Hyderabad and he lived there as honoured guest in my neighbourhood. Ashwin Dattatraya Joshi is one of the students of modern Gujarat as Chaitani called him the other day, but I never could the impulse to go on with reminiscences of earlier days that too were most of responsibility. Kaka has to his credit now many an achievement in the Ashwin, in the Narayan, in the Vajrayudh

and I have now enough of my students to know the box they bear him in these hours. I am sorry, the colour of his students has been thoroughly disappointed by a Government that does not seem to know its own mind. Narayan knows that Kaka with his disfigured dignity of soul has witnessed the suffering and will turn it to the best advantage. May it be your privilege, brother, and come to work steadily and industriously for the cause which is the release of the Narayan he represented as fully into work to work.

Dr. P. C. Ray's Address

(Continued from page 46)

National Education

"National Education" has been a watchword since the term 'national' has been a development of word understood. It has been sometimes interpreted as meaning for a system which jealously excluded all foreign culture, which rigidly refused all the elements of evolution that have been introduced by the West. It has been held to be synonymous with the boycott of western education. Psychologically speaking such an attitude is not surprising, it is only the other extreme wrong of the pendulum after our quarter-century history of slavery surrounded to the West. But this will not do. This is an equation in our national life as the other education system.

Yes, in education, rigid and exclusive, but in fact, experience with the modern progressive world does not even progress. We cannot ignore the fact of the impact of the West upon the East, it will not be worth-while to shut our eyes to the fact that for the past few centuries Europe has been progressing while Asia has been stagnated. And there is no doubt about it, we must realise that it may be good that has no boundaries. It is international. And to India it is no new revelation, as I have pointed out a great number of times before. It, Kaka himself's own Indian friends were invited to his court and he got through their help. Chaitani has worked with an Hindu Agastya and did the 'indian' translated from Mahadev of Chaitani known in the Hindu as a religious concept, not only to show his court with learned men and great and wisdom of all religions. Ashwin, Kaka, Purna, and Mahadev the prince of peace, and many on Chaitani's side. And this was Ashwin, the ethnographic scholar could speak Greek and Persian as fluently as he could his mother tongue. He studied Sanskrit at Benares the very cradle of Hindu civilisation and in his own tongue Greek mathematics in the Hindu.

This is the right spirit in which education has got to be regarded: the word 'national' should only mean that the work included, the content of training given through in these centres of culture should be work as to uplift the youth of the country a sense of national self-respect, and to equip them with a personality that is national service.

Need for Simplification

The main advantage of our new national education is that we can mould them according to our own original ideas, we are not hampered by official

traditions and by not-know. The resources are small, our country is poor, and we must not our best according to our class. We must not make education too expensive to us, to place it beyond the reach of the masses of our people. Yet the idea has gone abroad, and that is the worst. Nationalists' idea at present, that we have a University you must have huge sums of money running into lakhs and crores, to be scattered into a mountainous pile of palatial buildings and a few endowed chairs bearing grotesque names, and an advertisement Vice-Chancellor cropping up somewhere at Rs. 100,000 a month to preside over this imposing structure, forgetting that it is the only school counts and the intellectual atmosphere which constitutes a University and not mere bricks and mortar. What matters it that the cost of tuition is prohibitive, that the steady curriculum and lecture halls impose so their silent pressure, that the occupants of the highly-palatial chairs have to waste their stuporous and usually empty benches? Education must be for the poor—that is the only.

High Living and High Thinking

This idea that education is not for the poor, and it is only a luxury for the rich, appears to us enormous—our Orientalism cannot stand against which traditions are against it. Our tradition has ever been that the learned are always poor, that the Godless Sansarodh is ever at logger heads with the Godless Lakshmi, our tradition is that of the Brahmins, where under the sheltering wings of nature's house, the poor simple Brahmins, high as thought for the masses, inherited his moral law to his reigning disciples. Then long and high thinking has come into the Oriental about and taken with the masses into. When Herodias, the Syonians convert, went across to Kishit Omer to negotiate a treaty, they could not discuss the mighty Kishit and then found him asleep among the beggars on the steps of the Mosque of Mecca. So had we then simplicity. Even now at the great University of Coim, 4000 an estimated eight, more than a few thousand people take their lessons from their teachers seated on the floor covered with mats. This ideal we must uphold. Oxford and Cambridge with their costly expenditures will not do for us. In the rage for brass and bursary and scholarship, we must get back the simplicity. We cannot allow our higher elements to be absorbed in the mists of wood and brick and mortar and struggled to death.

Revive Ancient Ideas

I would even go further. I would, if I could, revive the Brahminism of our ancient schools, that ancient discipline had the knowledge of a child and self-controlled wisdom, that carried the young men in after-life to stand four square to all the winds that blow.

I would like that the students should discard all luxuries, should clothe themselves in simple woollen kurtas, should cook their own food, should wash their own clothes and sit-down, should sweep their own clothes and should keep everything tidy. Do I not wonder about the immense necessity of simplicity in life, I am absolutely at one with Mahatma Gandhi, the great apostle of our national movement.

True for a few decades of costly effort, Indianism survives, we two weak students if we only will it. And whether we will or not, we shall have to take up the burden of national education upon ourselves, now that the Government, faced with imminent bankruptcy, is about to throw up the sponge.

In this building up of mine, my Mother, I find that India has a great gift to play. The message of Islam is democracy, not the pseudo-democracy of the West confined to distinctions of race and colour and wealth, but the real democracy of spirit. We Muslims in this respect are even more democratic than any is not only in our thought and through honestly and courageously and in all sorts of ways by the indigenous barriers of the caste system. Go to a Hindu temple, you will find a regular, an elaborate gradation of distances within which different castes may approach. But when the call of the Muezzin comes from the top of the minaret summoning the faithful to prayer, the Arab and the Hindu, the Brahmin and the Musalman, stand together and repeat together shoulder to shoulder in the silence of the Almaghlay. Islam knows no separating distinctions between man and man and recognizes no superior but God Himself and offers man to reach his highest nature. This message of equality and of fraternity of democracy and of love is Islam's message. May the democratic spirit flow through all the hearts and the consciousness and the embossings of India and her far into united, united, united, strong and calm and independent—may the glory of Asia and the wonder of the world, opening to her own broken and longing masses to the very nations of the earth. *Ends Message!*

Interception of Letters Fourth Government's Order

In the exercise of powers conferred by section 20 (C) of the Indian Post Office Act 1902 (XIII 1902) as amended by section 4 of the Indian Post Office (Amendment) Act 1921 (III of 1921) the Government of the Punjab in Council is pleased to direct that all postal articles of any description whatsoever addressed to the Lahore City Congress Committee and the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, Lahore, or other persons or organizations thereof, shall be detained and forwarded to the Deputy Commissioner, Lahore and to continue the Dy. Commissioner, Lahore, to return to the postal authorities if not for delivery such postal articles are not interrupted in accordance with the order which is not necessary to draw promissory, in the interests of the public safety. This order is in substance from 15 days from the date of issue.

(By order of Governor of the Punjab in Council)
Dated, Lahore the 25th day of Jan. 23

(Sd/-) H. D. Gurnah,

Chief-Secretary to the Government, Punjab.

Note.—The Dy. Commissioner of Lahore will supply direct to the Postmaster a list of names and addresses of the Office-bearers and the representatives in persons.

(Sd/-) H. D. Gurnah.

Wanted

Agents for Young India in all the principal places of India. Full particulars about various terms can be had on application from—

Manager, Young India,
Allahabad.

of an armed rebellion. It is doubtful no doubt in New Zealand from the nation's mouth, but implementing and restoring account and devotion of the people is much more cruel and cowardly. This role rightly deserves a banal because it such and such it has been easily set. But we do not at once take drastic action against it, because we are not fully prepared. Prepared we can get, no doubt, as we go on fighting, and then is why we did start the fight.

But we saw that the people have not upheld the necessary discipline. Argument is always in progress as given in that discipline. There is complete discipline in the country against the Government. Very few are prepared to forgive this Government. But we have not yet cultivated the necessary discipline which can strengthen the Government either by force of arms or by discipline. And all our efforts today are to cultivate that discipline. There are a few who say that in this way we cannot get ready even in a hundred years. But there they are betraying their conscience. There is only one way before us and it would have been good if we had not shaken the people's faith. Mine or yours, this is the only way. If there is only one way, we have only to march our guns but we must go through it.

The men speak that has been here in this country is automatically working to my. The Police ought to be heavily for their temples, because of the continuous killing the people of the faith for freedom and the spirit of sacrifice.

As people strain imperiousness, someone of conflict with opponents for the sake of honour. There is no one to save. Cultivation of unbridled, one is a necessary cooperation in the battle of freedom. It is here that big conflicts that people have the sense of the fight for freedom, not without imperiousness. The period of preparation will not be as long as we suppose. People have got to seek of goodness and not condition is going to progressively more every day that after we have once started preparation, we will furnish our making quarter pay we imagine and the order for battle may perhaps be given even before the resolution of the Congress.

The English language of these articles along with their English translation which by the Central Committee of the Government was read in the court paragraph by paragraph by the Public Prosecutor who frequently presented the reading by such disingenuous remarks as 'This should be read as a very effective word.' 'Here, this is a very strong language.' 'Clearly sufficient.' and

Referring to Mr. Ranaiva, he described him as a young and inexperienced lad whose conversation with the 'Magistrate' was merely accidental and whose advice was only technical. Both the charges refused to offer defence or cross-examine witnesses, but filed written statements.

President Ranaiva's Statement

Mr. Kaitiaki made the following statement:—

"I am the author of the articles mentioned in the notice served on me. Owing to almost continuous changes from Auckland of my friends and colleagues Maungataniwha Ranaiva I have been the direct cause and manager of the 'Magistrate' and as such I am wholly responsible for the publication of the said articles. I want to say further that I am not of those who consider it their duty to avoid death charges against

the present system of Government. I am only sorry I have not been charged under section 118 A. I must decline to give any security."

Before Mr. Ranaiva read out his statement the Public Prosecutor stated that he had received instructions from the Government not to press the charge against Mr. Ranaiva. Owing to Mr. Kaitiaki had effected the outwitting of the matter. Mr. Ranaiva therefore should not be asked to secure the bond and might be let off with a warning not to associate any more with the press.

Mr. Ranaiva's Statement

Mr. Ranaiva himself then made the following statement:—

"I undertake the responsibility of the publication of the articles mentioned in the summons I associate myself with the position taken in his statement which you have had the privilege to hear from my esteemed colleague as regards the charge against me. I must decline to give any security."

In reply to the public Prosecutor's observations regarding the writings Mr. Ranaiva further stated that he would not take the meaning of any warnings but would proceed with his work and continue his association with the press and that the court was at liberty to punish him with a fine to save further prosecution.

The Issue of the Judgment

The trial Magistrate then pronounced the following judgment:—

This case has arisen from a complaint lodged by the District Superintendent of Police under the orders of the District Magistrate with the sanction of Government under section 118 C. P. O. in respect of two articles published in two separate issues of the 'Magistrate' newspaper. The articles in question are written under the signature of Maungataniwha Ranaiva, assumed No. II. Assumed No. I Ranaiva Okeia in the Kaipara. Printer and publication of the 'Magistrate'. The two accused were called upon to show cause why they should not each receive a bond for the sum of £50 to be of good behaviour for one year.

The language of the two articles in question leaves no doubt that they are calculated to excite feelings of hatred towards Government, and are written with a view to provoking disturbance. Each of the accused as has put in a written statement, in which each declines to give security. Assumed No. II, who is the author of the articles deposited in his statement that he resented it his duty to avoid disturbance to these circumstances no detailed analysis of the phraseology of the two articles is necessary in this order.

Assumed No. I was absent from Auckland at the date of the publication of the two articles and it is not only personally the editor of the newspaper in question. The Public Prosecutor does not press the charge against him and I consider that a warning will suffice in his case. I accordingly discharge him under section 118 C. P. O. Code. I consider the other under section 113 in respect of assumed No. II under section 118 C. P. O. Code.

Assumed No. II has refused to give security for his good behaviour, and I accordingly sentenced him to one year's simple imprisonment under section 113 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

Printed and Published by Andrew McArthur, Owner of the Press, Wellington, and, Auckland, Auckland.

गोपी वैभू
संस्कारकर्मी

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by C. Rajagopalachar

Vol. V

Almsteded, Thursday 8th March 1923

No. 10

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Notes

To All Congress Committees throughout India.

All Congress Committees are requested to complete their arrangements for observing the 15th of March. All persons sympathizing with the Congress are requested to join the Congress organizations by becoming members and subscribing to the 15th March Fund before the week-end. Arrangements shall be made for having Khatris and meeting workers and volunteers. On the 15th of March all work should be suspended and a general holiday observed. It is hardly necessary to add that no kind of law or violence should be used in getting things done and it is hoped nothing will happen in any part of the country to mar the celebration. Meetings should also be held on the 15th March and resolutions reaffirming the country's determination to carry on the struggle adopted at such meetings. It is hoped that persons of all shades of opinion will help in making the observance a success worthy of the occasion.

ST. JAMES PHOENIX.

General Secretary, Indian National Congress.

Harry W.

I do hope that every Provincial Congress Committee has taken all the steps necessary to secure the observance of March 15 as a success before the week-end and to fulfil the expectations of the Working Committees. If workers are not excited by this date in every place before that day, if people do not pay their obeisance to the 15th March Fund and swell it before the Anniversary day, and if people do not wear Khatris it will be due to the facts that Congress Committees failed to inspire patriotic thought and make efficient arrangements for workers to go round and visit city and women in their homes and their places of business. There is yet time if only we show business especially India National Fund, National Fund and I have been touring throughout

the country. Whatever we do, we can that the people are ready to respond. We only want workers with the habit of such indefatigable action. There is a wave of interest passing in various national houses, passing over the whole country. The future is full of hope, if only a few workers keep courage and faith and a few others who may not themselves find it possible to work, give their sympathy and help.

Professor South Africa's position

The position of Prof. South Africa has been involved from the Labour Government College. The aim of such meeting events is to give power. The establishment of such acts apart, the prospects of resistance of peace and goodwill are pushed further and further away by such establishments of itself. An institution for the spread of knowledge greatly abides the honour of having no one with pictures of those who served it well. Should anybody ever picture about the standard measures of law and order and about the common and common and the power of scientific belief. Have not the young years of friendship and brotherhood that, every and political ideal not be presented to place the interests of India of learning?

Right in the South

The Supreme Council South Africa has followed a judgment following the action of the Minister of the Interior issued in August 1913, the effect of which is that after that date all Indians become prohibited immigrants under the Immigration Restriction Act of 1913 Mr C. F. Andrews was interviewed on the subject by a Government representative and he said:—

"I have very great difficulty in understanding this new ruling of the Appellate Court which is and in fact of great importance to Indians in South Africa."

When I landed in South Africa in December 1913 all immigration had already been prohibited. Deceased and deceased with Statutory Council of 1914 two people were accepted.

(1) That it is desired should be allowed to land with power to perform religious and educational work.

(2) That the work and under children of deceased Indians should be admitted.

I am pleased to see whether this new ruling allows those two classes who have been immigrants since 1913 to be admitted their position and under their representation the new order would be very serious indeed.

The only other Indian immigrant's since 1913 have been those who were sent on a holiday to India with Government permits of return. Because that that those have been allowed."

The General Committee of the Congress is struggling to get accurate information as to the feeling as to the effect of the judgment.

The Compromise

Working Committee's Statement

The All India Congress Committee met in Attendance on February 23rd, under the presidency of Deshabandhu Das, and on the motion of Mr. C. J. Jaganmohandas, resolved by a vast majority to adopt the following resolution:—

Resolved that the following terms of compromise be considered and given full effect:—

1. Suspension of General propaganda on both sides till the 23rd April.

2. Both parties to be at liberty to work the remaining items of their respective programmes in the interval without interfering with each other.

3. The Majority party will not at liberty to carry on their propaganda in accordance with the Congress programme about money and wheatmeal.

4. The minority party will co-operate with the Majority party in appealing for and raising such funds and collecting such matters as may be necessary for the constructive programme and also in working the constructive programme and other common matters.

5. Each party to accept each other's offer till 23rd April or it may be varied.

6. The above arrangement is subject to the condition that there is no dissolution of the existing Congress in any Province before the expiry of the interval for which they have been constituted.

The Working Committee issues the following statement for the information of the public regarding the negotiations which terminated on the above terms of compromise:—

At a meeting of the Working Committee held at Bombay on the last week of January Mahatma Abul Kalam and proposed the following scheme of settlement:—

1. That both parties should wholeheartedly co-operate with the Congress programme for the next three months.

2. That there should be no propaganda or talk about any change of the programme relating to the Congress during that period or the formation of a new party.

3. That if at the end of that period still disagreement was deemed open, both parties should continue to work for it.

4. That if, on the other hand, on such day was deemed possible, a Special Session of the Congress should be held in June to consider the situation.

5. That for one month before the Special Congress both parties should be free to discuss public opinion according to their views.

6. That the duration of the Congress should be agreed not by both sides, without forming separate bodies.

That more discussion the above terms were unanimously agreed to by the Working Committee, and the Working Committee was requested to place the same before Mr. Das for the acceptance of himself and Mr. J. C. Mahatma Gandhi placed them before Deshabandhu, but they were not acceptable to him. The members of the Working Committee also met

Mr. Das and had a discussion with him. He expressed his tendency to accept Mahatma's principle of settlement but proposed other terms, which involved suspension of the boycott of elections at once and without reference to any Special Congress. The Working Committee considered this proposal but found it impossible to accept it. Mahatma Abul Kalam, and however, endeavoured to place his own scheme upon the leaders of the New Party. As a result of his further efforts it was in a position to accept the General Secretary by telegram on the 17th of February that Mahatma Abul Kalam and Pandit Madan Mohan had wholeheartedly accepted the terms and he proceeded in Calcutta to discuss matters again with Deshabandhu Das. After further consultation and discussion with Mahatma Mohan and Pandit Madan, Deshabandhu Das re-stated Mahatma's terms with the addition of a clause regarding election machinery by the Special session of Congress. The terms of his draft and his letter returned thanks are given below:—

1. A meeting of the All India Congress Committee with its elected members shall with a view to arrange a special Congress about the middle of June.

2. In the interim, Congress should be managed by the All India Congress Committee, as constituted before the present, while waiting for the special Congress, and also in carrying out the programme and other common matters.

3. There should be no propaganda by either party concerning formation of a new party till the end of April.

4. The All India Congress Committee will meet by the first week of May, after the close of the session of the first session of the Special Congress, and the members of the Special Congress will be invited to attend the meeting. The members of the Special Congress will be invited to attend the meeting of the Special Congress.

5. If the Special Congress is held before the first week of May, the members of the Special Congress will be invited to attend the meeting of the Special Congress.

6. In the interim, the All India Congress Committee will manage the Special Congress, and the members of the Special Congress will be invited to attend the meeting of the Special Congress.

7. The duration of the Special Congress will be fixed by the Special Congress.

8. The Congress should meet in the first week of June, after the close of the session of the first session of the Special Congress, and the members of the Special Congress will be invited to attend the meeting of the Special Congress.

Mr. Das's Letter

344 Broom Road, Calcutta,

7th February, 1933

Dear Mahatma Gandhi,

The accompanying draft agreement, the Committee which I was requested to draw up in connection with the Special Congress, will be presented to the party this morning. I have already made a copy of the draft and have sent it to the members of the party. It is my hope that the members of the party will be able to accept the draft and will accept the terms of the draft.

(1) The Special Congress should be held in the first week of June, after the close of the session of the first session of the Special Congress, and the members of the Special Congress will be invited to attend the meeting of the Special Congress.

(2) In the interim, the All India Congress Committee will manage the Special Congress, and the members of the Special Congress will be invited to attend the meeting of the Special Congress.

(3) There should be no propaganda by either party concerning formation of a new party till the end of April.

(2) First, and this is a serious threat to the stability of the country, is the fact that the Government is not doing enough to deal with the problem of unemployment. The Government is not doing enough to deal with the problem of unemployment. The Government is not doing enough to deal with the problem of unemployment.

I further declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

1000

The new party met at Alhambra on February 17 and appointed a special committee with authority to agree on their belief in each name of withdrawal so they might agree after discussion with the Working Committee which was in session at Alhambra on February 18th. Four sets of proposals were considered during the conversation at Alhambra between the Working Committee and the new party's special committee. Two of them implied acceptance of the resolution regarding the boycott of the council elections without reference to any local Council Members. Of the other two, one was Mackinnon's proposal as modified and added to by Donohoe and the other was the following:

1. Signatures of General propaganda on both sides till the 15th April.
2. Each party to ask liberty to watch the running stages of their respective programmes in the national website interacting with each other.
3. Each party to develop such course after the 15th April as it may be advised.
4. We Request Congress

The new party, however, made all the best possible choices in the following conditions:

"Every proposal subject to the condition that there is no abridgement of the existing Councils in any Province before the expiry of the full term for which they have been constituted."

The Working Committee decided without accepting any of the two proposals. One involved a reversal of the resolution regarding Council beyond-vote membership in Congress. It decided to accept either of the other two sets of proposals but modified the terms stated by Dukakis. One is more permissive and by submitting for the world's election machinery proposed by him, a clause that the 48 India Congress Committee should provide to be meeting to May regulatory machinery for disposal of disputes regarding questions of disputes to the Special Congress or a trial and to actual outcome.

To the other alternative proposed the Working Committee added some to secure cooperation in collection of funds and collection of material.

The two sets of proposals, either of which the Working Committee agreed to accept, were as follows:

Available for purchase by the
 British Council

3. These should be no propaganda by either party concerning Russia, the U.S.S.R. or the U.S.A.R.

The *Al-Jazeera* Company Chairman said that the 2000-2001 Iraq and the world war was the worst of the world war in the century. He said that Iraq is not a danger to the world peace and people and that it is a freedom and there is no need to attack it.

1. H. J. Green, in *Ph. and Coll. Chem.*, 1966, 1, 1, 1.

© 2000 Blackwell Science Ltd, *Journal of Internal Medicine* 247: 399–405

1. The first step is to identify the variables involved in the problem. In this case, the variables are the number of hours worked (H) and the number of hours of leisure (L). The total number of hours available is 24 hours per day, so we have the constraint $H + L = 24$.

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 219. **Libraries:** _____
 220. **Frameworks:** _____
 221. **Plugins:** _____
 222. **Extensions:** _____
 223. **Modules:** _____
 224. **Components:** _____
 225. **Services:** _____
 226. **Interfaces:** _____
 227. **APIs:** _____
 228. **Libraries:** _____
 229. **Frameworks:** _____
 230. **Plugins:** _____
 231. **Extensions:** _____<

² The first two authors have been awarded an early career research grant by the National Science Foundation to study the effects of climate change on the distribution of species in the United States.

Fig. 3
1. Reactions of chemical propagator on both sides of the hole (mm)

If both parties to be as likely as well the remaining stages of their respective programs in the external school curriculum with each other.

A Magyar party will be at liberty to carry on this propaganda in accordance with the Hungarian laws on mass and religious movements.

5 The Minority party will cooperate with the Majority party in appealing for and raising such funds and volunteer such resources as may be necessary.

for his constructive programs and also in working through his constructive programs and other constructive matters.

The Working Committee left three proposals for the Council to consider:

with the Commission of the new parts for the latter to decide whether they might accept after consultation among themselves. The latter indicated their accep-

times of the house of commons No. 11 which were accordingly placed before the All India Congress Committee at its meeting of Feb 17th and criticised.

It will be seen from the record thus far that it is quite likely that unless the Government advances the date of the Council elections, there will be no fundamental propa-

pledge that the collection of money and attendance of workers by the majority party will be supported by the co-operation of the minority, and that the minority

party's efforts at launching a campaign of "Indivision." Civil Disobedience will not be approved by the school's board. It is hoped that all members will observe the

leader and spirit of the movement and help to secure an atmosphere of peace and co-operation, and induce full adoption of its principles by the German people.

such throughout the country. The collection for the Tish Savings Fund and material of papers and pictures should be sent to the following:

all Congressmen should reverse their attitudes by which alone real high and lasting standards can be achieved. *—Theodore Roosevelt*

Volterra, Arnold
V. (Vittorio) J. Pyle
Murray, A.B.

General Secretary: L. M. G.

Agents for Thompson John in all the principal places of India. Will undertake those united business for the

on applications from: **Manager, Young India,**
Alwarwad

of being a dealer, a warning against of productive transactions. (Coward) will thus reduce the direct taxes and reduce the indirect taxation which makes living an agony. Coward will save the taxes for being spent for the social welfare of the people, but as will make the Government what it ought to be, a cooperative organisation for social services, and not what it now is, an organisation to strangle, exploit, a thing to be hated by the people whose it would threaten it to come.

The Congress demand of Rs. 75 lakhs is an incredibly low sum if we think about it. If all the residents of Punjab India will not use the Post Office or the present double rates as freely as they used to when the rates were low, will not write useless letters, but write briefly once a week instead of thrice, and as a personal instead of an enterprise, the greater part of which is left blank, they will probably save enough to keep substantially to making up the Rs. 75 lakhs. However good the Government are, the people would reduce their correspondence when the postal rates were increased, but they hoped by and by to knock the post man's resolution and to tempt him back to the old mode and method of letter writing. We should vigorously be on guard and see that we do not pay more than we need to.

It also is the nature of the Railway travelling was increased here. The Finance Minister, introducing the Budget for the coming year, said the traffic receipts were disappointing. There is a lack of travelling, he is short in business. The Government estimated that in the year 1915-16, the increased fares would bring in 8 crores more, but this did not happen. We should be on guard against yielding to the temptation of indiscriminate raising about Railways. It may be noted that more 1914 the debt of India has increased from 411 crores to 439 crores i.e. by 442 crores, as less than 217 crores of this actually repaid. What is called "productive" is under the Railway authorities. How is this to be really productive may be seen from the Finance Minister's speech about Railway Administration: "Taking into account interest charges. I am sorry to say," continues Sir Basil, "that the final result for the general tax payer will be that there will again be an equally heavy burden, but a loss of about a crore." This is what is really called the "productive" part of the national debt.

The sterling debt of India has risen from £ 577 millions in 1914 to £ 747 millions. In the words of Sir Basil Blackett :-

"The sterling debt of £ 747 millions represents a claim on India's production of goods and services to the tune up to the value of the principal together with a direct claim on those goods and services for interest during interval and the principal is paid off."

The revenue of Great Britain in the financial year ending with last March 1918, already show a surplus of £ 65 millions which is about Rs. 58 crores. That, it is said, will go to reduce her national debt. On the other hand the national debt of India has since the war begun increased from 411 crores to 534 crores out of which she has paid 137 crores up repaid and she is now paying another due

in the Imperial war. In equitable adjustment between England and India, it will be seen that a year's surplus of Great Britain would cover even half the burden imposed on India by the war. C. R.

The patent Four-anna Piece

[I cannot really tell my readers this week more than what I said to the people of Banarasi who gathered to meet the Working Committee's representative during our visit to the place on the 24th instant. Things threaten to be postponed for reprinting my speech which was noted down by Sate Nandan Prasad on a very long roughed manuscript by someone else illustrated by Mr. Dasgupta. C. R.]

I should like to know how many of you have seen Mahatma Gandhi personally. I wish you to raise your hands—those who have seen him. (Almost all to the meeting raised their hands.) I wish all of you to realize fully that he is now in prison. I wish to remind you what you could have done if your brother, daughter or son were in prison. I know that you would not have slept a single minute until he or her release, and that you would have spent your wealth and had even borrowed to secure his or her release. Even if you accepted the level of a prisoner as a punishment, however, I know you would not have slept restlessly until you got your object's release. Do you also feel and know that he is in prison, not because of any crime committed by him, but because he wished to serve us and live on here on present conditions. I know most certainly that you care for Mahatma Gandhi more than you care for your children. I know also that you love Mahatma Gandhi as you love your sons, your daughters and your fathers. But there is only one way of releasing him, and that is not by going to courts or petitioning but by sacrifice and giving consent to be one man and woman. By releasing him we shall have success by that way we paid men and great women, that we truly told and India are now active we cannot release him. If he is released by any other means, namely, by the kindness of the Government or by their conditions that we are ready and happy. I know he will be in greater unity than the Government, he will suffer. You all know that if we are unable to realize and offer prayers to the true God, we set up an idol or image to offer our prayers to him through that image. In the same manner Mahatma Gandhi is made as the God of the Indian which we have forgotten. Even as Hindu put in eggs and Hindu born Hindu eggs do not know what thing is the true God, you and I do not know what freedom is. We know how to feel hungry when we have got food, how to get things when we have got water, how to breathe, but unlike other true Nations we have no hunger or thirst for freedom. Look at the Turks. When they lost freedom for how many years have they kept up the fight, how many men have they given, how many families have they sacrificed and gave they are approaching freedom? Do you know how the merchants of Turkey, the peasants, the small traders and the artisans of Turkey get little everything and fight for freedom? Do you know how the Chinese get little their business, all their trade, and fight for freedom? You must have certainly

Angels have the English, who are our present rulers put into everything, were ready to sacrifice everything, traffic rather millions preserve their freedom. But how your own houses, take the money which lying in the corners of your sofas and read how your ancestors, the Mahatmas fought for their freedom. We have lost the sense of freedom. As a man that has eyes and, between him, as a man, lives his life and becomes dead, as we have lost our sense of freedom. But as Providence intended us to obtain our freedom again, as Providence intended us to have a glorious future, Mahatma Gandhi was given to us, as there may recover our freedom through him. Thousands of you have seen him and it is not necessary for me to speak in order than the language of a child or of a mother to make you do all you can to release him. In order to do that, I don't ask you to let the world the Germany, Turkey or England, I ask you to do what Mahatma Gandhi wanted you to do, to offer sacrifice as he asked you to do, and I assure you that freedom will be won. I ask you to do what great Germany, the more great and powerful Germany, is trying to do now without arms, by powers of eloquence and sacrifice.

Do you know that every one of you is paying taxes, but that taxes are being administered not according to the will of your representatives, but to keep up an army which we do not want? You cannot get out of this prison of men, this corner of men unless you get freedom. We must be happy in this country for very long because of your values we get freedom. The whole nation will become independent unless we get freedom. In all other countries the Government is a friend of the people and the people are a friend of the Government. But in our country the Government is a friend of us and we are daily being in fear of Government. And as a result of this fear Government is administering this army. And for maintaining this army we are paying higher prices for sugar, higher prices for salt, higher prices for post cards. It is not those who pay the income-tax or land-tax that alone are not this Government and us army. But by every plank of salt we take, every ounce of salt to build our line we are supporting it. Do you want that this state of mutual fear should continue, at that our Government and we should be friends, our only friends but should be one and the same. As long as Government is afraid of us they must spend 40 crores of rupees just this army. And this 40 crores of rupees just makes us to be paid by us. I think of the annual price we have to pay for not getting freedom. Should not the Government on the one hand, and we on the other, intend to destroy this armed force on a whole, during the expenditure of money and need it for the good of the people? Do you not want all the articles you buy to be cheaper? Do you not want your neighbours to be happy and cheerful? If you do not want your happiness to be for yourselves we should all combine to win this. Hence, as much as possible, if you have wealth and property more than your neighbours it is in danger of two things. It is in danger of being used by the Government more and more. Now we are in danger of being ruled by

your people. So long as there is poverty and misery prevailing in this country, there is bound to be robbery and theft.

So much time have I taken to tell you that freedom is desirable. But I want here is a free country known by freedom that freedom is necessary. When Bhaiji went to bring back Gita, he did not wish to go to agreement with Government that it was desirable to get back Gita. I beg of you, if any one hereafter stands on the platform and asks you if you want freedom, say not tell him, "we do not want agreement on that point, we want to work for freedom." Now if you want freedom, you must understand, and for that purpose some preparations are necessary, and for getting these preparations done we stand before you today. For making these preparations there are two dates fixed. One is March 14th, which is Mahatma's day, the other is 15th April which is 15th anniversary since there were the dates appeared for completing your preparations.

March 14th is a day when we will celebrate the occasion when that Gita came back to jail for our sake. Even as Christmas celebrates the day on which Christ bore his Cross, even so we must celebrate the day on which Mahatma came to jail. On that day we celebrate the silence and hunger which we have offered to you by his fasting sacrifice. On March 15th we are going to celebrate the anniversary of the day which we have failed to do and achieve. We should celebrate the day as a day of sacrifice and prayer and we should close our shops and our business. On that day we should pray that we should be given strength to reform our ourselves in Mahatma and to reform our own houses. Every primary schools and colleges will be at home on that day which will be a Sunday, but I beg of them to observe it not as a holiday but as a day of observation for having failed to do their duty. I beg of the workmen in the workshop not to enjoy it as a holiday but to pray to God that they may build their homes in Mahatma. There should not be any violence or disturbance to mark the celebration of that day which will be observed to a second day throughout India, from the Himalayas to Cape Good Hope. Every town and village will celebrate that day, and I hope Mahatma will then celebrate it in a way worthy of the occasion and worthy of himself. My friend Mr. Desai tells me that it is the last day of your New Year/Vogad as we call it. Let me ask you to make it a real New Year of spiritual values. Let it not be a year of apathy, ill-will and indifference. May this new year be a new year inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi's name, and may we close this year, having released Mahatma Gandhi and having released ourselves.

What have you to do at once? I will tell you a few simple things and I hope, out of the love for Mahatma and out of regard for us who have some love, you will do them. I want you to find out where the Congress Office is here, and I want each and every one of you here, and every friend to volunteer to whom you can speak to—concern to pay for water and become a Congress member. Will you speak Mr. Desai to who is the Congress Headquarters at Bikaner that Mahatma has observed the fast, by every

men and women, having become a member of the Congress! I tell you that such a message will give hope and strength to all India and it will send a thrill of terror to whoever after looking it over is in England! This fear makes the man a coward, but if my appeal has fallen on deaf ears as it now does over it and forget it England will be able to say that men and women in India cared not for Mahatma. You know that now every day of our job, every hour of our struggle is being carefully watched, and it will be said that Mahatma was overruled but you—and that one year after, when the anniversary was observed every person in America became Congress member. Will it require any further argument to Government to show me a noted member? Leap out of you, has got this paper four years past or your pocket and I beg of you to put this last issue place at the side of the Congress.

I have another request to make to you to tell before this month. Have five of you collect money together and go, and bring enough Khaddar from wherever it is available, and take every one in America in Khaddar before March 15th. It will not cost you even the four annas I mentioned to you because you will get the full value of your money. You will show that though Mahatma Gandhi is in prison, his movement is alive and that every day in America is in the dress of freedom, the day which will bring us freedom. As long as we make Government believe that we will not change ourselves in Khaddar as long as Mahatma Gandhi is in jail, as long will they keep him in jail, but if we show that we shall be in Khaddar even while he is in jail they will have no object in keeping him in jail. People here asked will Khaddar bring Swamy? I ask them will Khaddar bring Swamy? Will Khaddar cloth bring Swamy? Why do you wear those things which won't bring Swamy, and not the garment only when you are told to wear Khaddar? Mahatma Gandhi wants that Khaddar will bring Swamy. I want that Khaddar will bring Swamy. Why then should you not wear Khaddar? So long as foreign cloth will not bring Swamy, demand it not on Khaddar which at least never brings will bring Swamy? "This is what I ought long ago. I will wear Khaddar when I have some things."—many people say. But I ask you, one foreign cloth have lasted four years from 1918 to 1922? I ask before that Khaddar can last for four years but I cannot possible believe that Lancashire Muslin can last for four years. As long as you have a thread coat, a foreign coat, you will have to buy a foreign coat. If you have cloth of foreign cloth, you have to buy dozens of foreign yoke and so on. So that it off at once—don't think of buying other things to wear what you have—use Khaddar and Khaddar alone at once. I ask of you to do this before March 15. Don't have your clothes if you don't like to do it. Keep them only at your house as property for your children to inherit but you yourself, do not use them.

I ask you to do two more things: pay your taxes and wear Khaddar before the anniversary. I ask of you also to remember another thing. You want Congress to live, Congress to be strong and able to tell the Government. It means eight million you

give millions more. You say you give a check to Mahatma Gandhi. "Was all that money wasted?" Why do you want money again? Your question is just. This time has been spent in order to spend the money, the money on Swamy—that more was well spent if it was spent to make the 22-centes party to Swamy. The money for Swamy, this political education has been given through the length and breadth of the country in the short period of one year. Do you know how much Government is spending in order to teach people reading and writing, and do you know how many of these learn to read and write? Government spent about of your money for the years and now, Mahatma spent only this one anna in one year and gave to our people political education, which the Government could not give them in 150 years. What has been given by his words to many people wear Khaddar and so many people don't believe cloth. Do you know how many millions it has cost Lancashire? Do you know that 800 millions yards of cloth have been sold to Lancashire for every year. If even a part of this is due to this one man, was it not well spent by Mahatma? Not only these 800 million yards—but 1500 million yards are given the Lancashire hopes to the fact 1500 million yards by his silence it through your weakness. I beg of you to have an opinion or doubt for to agree with me that you will wear what I speak by Mahatma, and that you should be ready to give as upon one anna—two annas—two hundred annas I wanted to be spent on such work.

You ought to know today that in order to spend money for the Government proposed by a stroke of the pen to make law and hold money from your wife? And we don't ask for four and half annas—was more that other but only I want. And this we ask and to cover up dishonesty but to fight the battle of freedom. Do you know that from 1914 up to now, Government has borrowed in your shoes British imperialism loans to the extent of nearly over 100 crores? This is the inheritance we are to have when we get Swamy. Do you know that they are going to show a day this year of 22 centes that you may put in 4 years hand-made savings—the poor man's money? The Government is going to ask you to give 22 centes, the Congress wants only 22 paise to take this Government, and of the 22 paise the share of your own dignity is very little, and I ask you to measure me to day whether you refuse to give it before March 15. I know you will give it, but I want you to give it before that day so that we may say it as the story of Mahatma's martyr. Out of the Rs. 15000 allotted to your district, how much will this give you? If you pay Rs. 1500 you will have fulfilled your duty and I want you to pay that before March 15—I don't want to make the calculation, but I want you that some tobacco and such harmful things you spend more than Rs. 1500 in a month in this town. How many of you pay on anna and four annas and cigarettes for the day? I want you to pay that more to the Congress and save your bodies from that poison. My friends will now go to you for collection and I beg of you to forgive yourselves of all that you have in your pockets. It may not be much I know. For you did not sleep tonight today to pay that you will pay

more at least, but I want you to sympathise 'your
 hands to pay by giving up all you have here. There
 of you especially who call yourselves of the upper
 classes should do your duty and not to cater for
 I know the poor people of Hindustan will suffer on
 the Rs. 2000. We want to drive poverty out of this
 land and I know the poor will welcome Gandhi more
 than the rich. I thank you for the patience with
 which you have listened to me. C. R.

Disquieting News from Africa

(By C. F. Andrews)

Some news which is stated to concern the
 'important document' has come from South Africa and
 I am reporting it here for cable about it. The
 Appellate Court of South Africa decided by a narrow
 majority of 3 to 2 that General Smuts's withdrawal
 of August 1913 prohibits Indians from free travelling to
 5 miles after that date. I will hope that this
 decision will not affect the wives and minor children
 of domiciled Indians who we were allowed to live
 under the Gandhi Smuts's agreement signed in July
 1914, and also that it will not affect the permission
 of 8 accredited teachers or delegates from leading each
 year, which was also a part of the same agreement.
 But we must be prepared for every other being made
 by the South African League (whose leader and
 best man was the 'Aard Afrikaanse Leier') for
 violating this decision to carry these exceptions and
 to violate them. This would make an immense
 number of costly fugitives for the Indian community.
 In 1913 a general immigration restriction Bill
 was passed, and it was agreed by compact that
 Indians were afterwards included under the general
 terms of this Bill, the condition would not be
 applied to Mahatma Gandhi, so far as I can
 understand, in this case, objected to any direct
 clause of Indians as such, as in the Immigration Bill
 itself. It should be remembered, that, in the
 Settlement of 1904, in terms for the agreement between
 Mahatma Gandhi and General Smuts, that
 Indian immigration should be restricted. General
 Smuts on his part agreed to abolish the £5 Poll Tax,
 to legalize Indian telephone callings, and to allow
 of selling Indian capital stock (but for that clause
 in the agreement is being observed only partly by
 some by the three recent attempts to take away
 Indian trading rights in Natal during the last year,
 all of which were sanctioned by the Natal Parliament.
 One of these, attempts of selling rights has gone
 still further. It has now been finally sanctioned by
 the Union Government and General Smuts blamed
 and asked them to agree in Natal ports. With
 regard to the other two Bills, which have been
 passed by the Natal Parliament. We are told that
 General Smuts's own party (the South African Party)
 has threatened revolt, if they are passed by the Union
 Government's consent then. As far as I am able to
 judge, by such acts as these the Gandhi Smuts's
 agreement of July 1914 has been broken.

We must wait with patience till we have further
 about the exact significance of this 'important document'
 of the Court of appeal in South Africa. Meanwhile
 we have had some evidence, news from East Africa,
 where the Governor Sir Robert Carpenter is reported

to be waiting immediately for England, at the invitation
 of the Secretary of State and that he is taking European
 representatives with him, elected by the numerous
 'European Communities' of Associations, whose
 inevitable influence, desired for the last 3 years has
 been. "Indian restriction of Indian immigration with
 a view to absolute prohibition." There is no mention
 of any Indian representatives, elected by the East
 African Indian National Congress, to go side by side
 with these European delegates. We have been told
 and that the one point on which the Indian Community
 the new Governor of Kenya, is now preparing to
 make new proposals, which would 'lessen the
 Europeans.' It is the further restriction of Indian
 immigration. "It is not difficult to understand to what
 goal all this is leading."

The Terms offered in East Africa

As far as we have been able to learn, from the
 different telegrams which have arrived, the general
 summarized by the Colonial Office (in which the
 European Community has so valiantly objected) were
 roughly as follows:—

A census should be taken, which would give about 25
 percent of the Indian population the vote, but would
 finally and absolutely reserve a majority of seats to
 Europeans, whatever happened with regard to increase
 in Indian population in future.

N. 2. The Europeans' objection to this system is
 its purely racial. They regard it as unqualified for
 a European population to have to increase for Indian
 votes. They believe in racial distinction.

(i) The Natives to be reserved for Europeans.

(ii) The Natives to continue as present, with
 not any further racial segregation, but modern measures
 to be strictly enforced.

(iv) No material change in the immigration regula-
 tions. But it is with regard to the last point that the
 Europeans were going to put up their hardest fight.
 They are determined upon absolute restriction of Indians
 in the near future. They will put the prohibition of
 Indian immigration forward as a common ground
 with the protest that the Indians are 'cutting out' the
 African labour and is therefore essentially harmful.
 This argument will deserve nobody in India, where
 it is well known that the real question is at the
 back of every other. But in England, it may carry
 weight. When I was visiting several army gardens
 of East and Central and South Africa in 1917 and
 1920 I worked out this question of the 'Kimmah
 Value' of the Indians, with reference to the Africans,
 more thoroughly than any other. The whole of my
 report was published in *Young India* in April 1920. It
 is being republished by the Imperial India Citizenship
 Association, Bombay, and also by the Northern Free
 Association, from both of which copies may be obtained.
 It should be studied very carefully at the present time
 by members of Congress as it is most probable that
 the "harmful effects of the Indians on the Africans"
 will form the main argument and main European
 contention for centuries to come.

C. F. A.

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Edited by C. Rajagopalachari

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Almstedabad, Thursday 15th March 1923

No. 11

Dr. P. C. Ray



12th Gandhi Day

It is necessary that we should consider during the week how far we have been able to put effect to the message of Mahatma. A very large number of workers found there was little that put an account of their political activities both before and after Mahatma was put into jail. This naturally was expected to create the growing political consciousness of the people. But we find that the country has not been frightened down by these methods. Some of the leaders and workers have fallen off from the path of sacrifice and suffering, but this only shows the power and strength of the movement. Success is not to be measured by the number of followers lost by the means of work put in, because it is not in a few months workers

protest-making India. This Khaki is not making a side show that the country has not been down where it is not education for. One must have in mind the extent to which the Manchester producers of cotton-goods are prepared to go to ruin the spinning and weaving industry of India. The wealth which a hundred and fifty years of imperial trade has put into the hands of British India merchants and manufacturers may all be employed to crush down the infant Khaki. But Khaki is the baby of a giant, symbolic of the non-co-operation movement of a fifth of the population of the world. French, silk, linen, cloth to spinning and weaving and weaving Khaki, we shall have to buy and Mahatma will be in our midst every day.

P. C. Ray

The Abuses Principle

While I was thinking over this, in the early hours of the morning at Huzarhata, about Mahabub, there came to my mind a great talk, which it was once my privilege to have with him, when we were quite alone and his mind had turned away from the subjects, that were specially before the public to the deeper issues of life. If I remember rightly, I had spoken to him of some of the words, which "were being mentioned in India, under the sacred name of my own Christian religion, while on today they were a direct denial of the spirit of temporal love and universal brotherhood.

Makotochi turned to me, with a look of escape, while nodding by his head, and said to me, that there were things being done to the ruin of his own little Faith in the present day, for which he felt that he would have to be born again so as to be able to carry out those promises which should lead to their complete removal. These things were too deep for words, he could not speak about them. We could only suffer in silence.

I too cannot speak about them in detail. I have not the right to do so. But I can say this, that one of the things that joined Mahatma's most deeply of all was the brotherhood of poor (poor) people. In the sacred name of religion. He told me that the suffering of those poor people was a mission to him.

I wish, in this short article, to raise to due regard of all these subjects, with regard to which men and women of my own race and my own religion have been guilty to a greater degree perhaps than almost any other—the killing of animals for what has been called by the name of 'sport.' It is necessary at once to make a confession before I go on. Though I had never indulged in such 'sport,' yet it is clear to me, when I look back, that I had an repulsion from it, and I want not to hide. Rather I look at as a matter of course. That my subject very early in the West, who have had now felt the inhumanity of such things, but I have not come across them, and the appeal of love had not come home to my heart in this respect.

But in India, the appeal did not have very much. As the principle of *dharma* became more and more a guiding factor, I could see how increasingly ugly, cruelly and mean with 'open' hatred, when it was directed against heretics, innocent outsiders, whom her and Ravana made complete the joy and beauty of the life at *Govd*.

It was at this time of change in my own thoughts, that I happened to read the 'Legend of St. Hubert' and it had great effect upon me. The legend tells how Hubert was a prince of a royal house, who went out hunting on one Christmas day. He was about to kill a stag, when he saw the vision of Christ upon the Cross.

"Taheri," the Lord said gently, "What have I done to them."

That then, is my brand and the way, that
 directed me!

What more shall I say, Elbert, how many more
— double do.

"The more they know and understand, the more they create."

In the stroke-based of Mahani, used the stroke

Was born this Christmas morning the Angel
of the Gloom, who.

His long neck has drooped, his knees are waddling down.

"My lord," he cried as wonder, "Let me share
The news with thee."

In all the world and here, around, beneath,
above,

There is no path to the life of God, but the

And all, who with their hand would rise to pay, and

Black sheep feel the pang of the love that they have given.

In later years, I have again and again thought over the truth and beauty of this Christmas legend. But it was Mikhaelung who brought home the significance of this truth to my very soul, so that the life of any girl in the morning and turning away and looking at her home, birds and most wild animals, understanding as a creature, has now become a home to me. I cannot say truly that I have yet understood the problem of Adam with his ability and all that it involves, whether his loss, a man is justified in taking control his under my circumstances, as he wishes that of a colon or tiger seeking to destroy everyone. (Mikhaelung would say 'No') but I have at least understood this, that to kill, burn, or kill, recklessness continues to the name of religion, or in the name of 'sport' is an outrage upon the Divine law itself.

There appears to me much that might be done for the cause of Abyssin, much that might be swept away, in the cause of the purification of the life of India which the present movement is attempting to bring about. For instance, there is a real danger in many parts of the country that class of 'upper' in shooting wild animals may become more prevalent in India, now that certain classes in the 'Aryan Age' have been modified. There is a temptation, and a fascination, in this direction among the nobility, and it would be a terrible loss to India if one of the most beautiful things in this country,—the comparative holiness of birds at the sight of man,—were lost. Again, it is well-known that, among many aboriginal tribes and other portions of the community upon many parts of India, animals are sacrificed before some village deity, more out of ignorance and fear than anything else. It would surely be possible, on the day of the centenary of the century and the service of the depressed classes, to win them over from such ignorance and fear, and to remove the influence of local

We might seek at least, modestly to carry out in action the spirit of Abraham in India, in this context, that we ourselves determine where to labour, as he did in no less, a single act of offering, through kindness to bondsmen, through ignorance or fear, such as might have or destroy any of that, reaching which any kindness is withheld. We might all agree on this.

Abstract

1000

Young India

15-2-22

The Sheet-anchor

I have refrained so long from writing anything in the columns of Young India and that for several seasons. The first and foremost reason, I have no message to give to my brethren, beyond the one that my Master gave them; secondly, I have yet to believe that I can, as a foreigner, say anything by way of warning my friend Mr. Rajagopalachari in the task of interpreting Gandhi's message. And yet I perceived myself to have something for this nation at least, because I felt that I had something to say to some of our people in the present week.

Except for the accidents of warlike I should not have been in the unhappy position of writing today, or saying anything by way of apology. The Council commanded me to go to Alibabad, and I was taken prisoner there. If I had not been asked to go there and had been working as my old job as a publisher of this paper, I should have had the much-sought privilege of being imprisoned with my Master. If not the still more one of serving him in jail. But Gandhi's demand is more, and I should not have written this plaintively but for the fact that I doubt even what I am writing this whether it is any use my doing so. The remark of suspicion is there, but there is this greater remark of the question that troubles me every moment, how best I could serve the cause that the Master had made his own.

Ever more my release from Lucknow Jail, I have been asked this question, no one here or no other, by several friends. Some of them adversely criticised the position I have taken. A friend whom I value wrote to me on terms which I was not liberty to refuse. But I think I may give him what he may want, in the return of this troubling letter. "You also seem to have gone blind," he says a whole lot, "of a man against me and has been digging my mistakes and I have been silently taking myself. Have I gone blind? Have I done your blind?" The answer to this question I partly got on the twentieth February last, when Pandit Mahatma was confined to a hospital he moved before the All India Congress Committee which met at Alibabad. In the course of his remarks he said something to this effect: "I know what Gandhi would have done today. He would have retired to his Ashram and worked away as he used to here, and thereby given his message to his country. He would have warned me I was one of the error of going to the Council, but he would not have stopped me either from doing so, if I insisted." The more things one said, I answered myself, by some of those who, I thought, "had the word of the Master, and so would live" by those who had the innermost cause straight to me this morning, with some responsibility more than the previous evening. I was going to leave the morning cell, when I found half a dozen of the members of the Ashram, newly leaving the prison. I was a little embarrassed by the knowledge that the letter I had just read was due to be immediately handed by these members,

that I perceived myself that I would give them tomorrow not having written up my present article in the Ashram. I did not know that the members had at the end of the evening papers on the Ashram bench. I spent the week in the activities which were done after the Master's lead. The morning hours were to be devoted to sweeping and sweeping purposes, the noon and the evening to working and weaving, an hour or so occupying the late morning with the members in the country, and the late evening hours exclusively to prayers. I found that I was steadily thinking about the nature of a question which the whole about atmosphere about me was becoming most eloquently. Were they asking in the course of the last question which I have referred to before, how their activity would influence the Government, how if it did not, it would lead to (being)? They were not, for the simple just reason that they knew that the high level of a pure spiritual in such a program with endorsement of "all those who may otherwise be taken that purpose." They believe that without the work that the nation has to go through—and if the nation has to do so they must first do so—there can be no (being) worth having. I felt that endorsement of peace and violence of a like nature, although they may seem the most perfect with endorsement and capable of bringing peace in the quickest possible way, they are so, not because of their appearance, character but of their being clothed with the garment of so-called duty and expediency done. In other words the truth once known to me that these activities would have been only if they were undertaken in a spiritual spirit, and that if they were undertaken solely, in the belief that they will subvert the wrong, much of the purpose thereof would be defeated.

It may be the true being appear that the whole nation, or large groups of men, may not be prepared for this more difficult kind of activity. And yet there might come a time when the individual and whole against the existing situation and crisis for action. It would then be the individual's duty to emerge in that form of activity, not because he feels that a small enterprise the wrongness, but because he feels that he cannot live without saving his soul and his conscience. But what then, why should activities which appear to be sinister, and that seem of accomplishment all men with doubts that they may be subordinated? If they do so, the better it is and understanding of the life and message of the master. He did everything, and is doing everything, because he feels that it is his duty, and knows that the fruit of it is "the cure of another thing be."

It may be that when I have written words like a trifle, I may be that a mistake, again, that the language of "blind belief." But if anyone can ever have confidence, I must do it the more things every today. If there is anything like "blind belief" there is a yet more dangerous one of the soul or "blind material." I shall be content to wait from the fact, if I am reasoning that I am not suffering from the second. There is nothing so full of value as "putting God in your debt," and I am representing the living language of Bhakti, that if you do it "every stroke shall be repaid." The hope the payment is withholding, the letter for you, for composed interest on unpaid interest in the red and blue of the cartographer. Mahatma Ghandi

was obliged to take part in the infection of that suffering, could have felt a pang of conscience.

I am certain that Mahatma Gandhi was following not as closely as possible the principles which I have mentioned above and which were represented in Gana-ba-bagh, when he launched the non-co-operation movement. It was intended to make the rulers understand the will of the rule which they were inflicting. It was intended to bring them to repentance.

I am certain that Mahatmaji knew Englishmen with all his heart and soul and that throughout all the bitterness of the struggle he has never for a single moment lost that affection. When I said to him one day just before his arrest, "I believe that you love my own countrymen better than I do myself," he answered clearly, "Yes, I think that is true."

But he saw Englishmen committing acts of cruelty under the cloak of non-resistance. It is the darkest thing of all to bring such people to repentance, because they believe that they are doing good. For very many years, hope shined on the mass led by Englishmen which Englishmen led in themselves. He believed that they were doing God's service, and at one time he agreed the words, "I am to love with the French Republic." He said this, because he believed that Englishmen loved freedom and gave freedom to others.

But certain things opened his eyes. I want tell here one incident that I have never told anybody before. Just before the War Conference held in May 1918, I stayed with Mahatma Gandhi at Principal Keshab's house, next the Radhakrishna Temple. For the first time, a copy of the "Secret Treaties" came into my hands. The hypocrisy of the Allies, which was revealed in these was so gross, that I showed Mahatmaji to Mahatma Gandhi and said to him, "This is the end of everything. The Allies are not fighting for peace at all, but for loot."

Mahatmaji at once challenged the Viceroy, but the Viceroy said that it was impossible to be quite certain about the facts. The documents had not been thoroughly examined and tested. The war must be carried through. This was what had to be done when he came back. The answer satisfied him for the day but it was really his resolution both to Englishmen's honour and conscience him. I was weak enough to surrender and I did not see that was struggle against Mahatmaji or gain the upper hand. There I was guilty, but in spite of what the Viceroy had said, I felt certain that the documents were genuine, and I ought to have grasped more clearly the issue.

After that, I have never understood what Mahatmaji did in going through the United Provinces surrounding India to fight against Germany and Turkey. It seemed to me to be inconsistent with his own principles of Ahimsa, and I wrote to him what he called, in his affectionate way, a letter of advice about it. At least his action seemed one thing, that he had no resolution back on the righteousness of the Allied Cause and of British rule.

There came the epidemic, one after another, by which (just before) was shattered.—The Russian Act, the French wrong, the machinery which Turkey,

Once, long ago, I heard Mahatmaji say to Lord Hardinge, when he was Viceroy, "If I did not believe in British rule, I should be a rebel against it."

There was, all the while, another pathway of non-resistance by which Mahatmaji was travelling to the same goal. He was feeling out at Champaran and Kaira and elsewhere, the rule which had come to the administered village life of India by the impact of modern civilization, of which British rule was the chief promoter. He learnt very slowly to believe that there would be no recovery for India unless Indians themselves led the management of their own affairs. That conviction also made him a rebel.

When his mind was finally made up, he did just what he had told Lord Hardinge and others that he would do. He worked against what he believed to be inevitable injustice. At the Amritsar Congress he was standing for co-operation in the "Councils," five months later he was preparing to launch his full non-co-operation programme. He determined to join hands with the British Government in India just as he had joined hands in the past with the British Government in South Africa.

And what a battle! One is inclined to quote with a new meaning, Thackeray's well-known words—

God of battles!

Was ever a battle like this in the world before?
For he said, "Fight on," "Fight on,"

Here was a battle royal, in which every sort of aggression was an act of love and forgiveness, an act of unity and love, in which the cause had to be brought to his knees, not by dagger and bayonet, but by prayer and reason.

"Was ever a battle like this in the world before?" I know of one such battle, in South Africa, in which gentle Indian ladies took their part, and showed their persistence. And my thoughts have gone back confidently to that text which says, "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you."

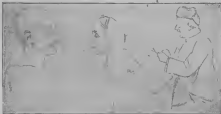
When judged by such a standard how many have come up to the level of Mahatmaji's kindness? Did Mahatmaji always reach his own standard?

In his own persistence and purity of character, yes. But in the practice of the whole movement, no. The Test, at least, appears to me to be the verdict which history is likely to give to the end for the Movement was finally weighed down from the first by those who followed in moral passion a misinterpreted and distorted resolution as a merely slogan, by those who were non-resistant, not being fully bold, but less motives of expediency, by those who were prepared to make use of the Movement for purposes of repression and constitution.

But slowly through suffering, the Movement as a whole is being purged from within. The true meaning of Mahatmaji is being learnt. And when I see one who has grown up, like the writer of the letter which I have quoted, for many through suffering to be brave and wise to be loving and forgiving, I know that the end which Mahatmaji has seen has not been to the south or north, but is already working glorious truth in the lives and hearts of men.

Before the Commuting Magistrate

[We make no apology reproducing the following report from the *Madras Guardian*. We have no good authority that it is from the pen of Mr. Stirling an American student who was then in Ahmedabad. A brief account of the case in the *Commencing Magistrate's Court* cannot yet appear. The present sketch is also taken from the same issue of the *Madras Guardian*. It is by Mr. Stirling an student of Oxford. (See Editor's P. 2.)]



Molamrao Gaudin

Mrs. Gaudin

The Trial, Prosecutor

Mr. Gaudin was arrested on March 12 about 10-30 p. m. It took place quietly. "We had had no suspicion," related one of Gaudin's near allies, "and were waiting out in the darkness that evening to go with the Mahatma. When we turned we found Mr. Mehta, the Police Superintendent, already there with his car. He was standing outside the Mahatma. He very politely informed us that he had come to arrest Mr. Gaudin, and asked if we would kindly tell him, 'There is no home,' he added. 'Let him come here then.' So we went in and told the Mahatma. The people of the Mahatma, for the most part, came away, but the ones who stayed, all the members collected together. Mr. Gaudin then led us to his lavatory house. After that all the members did their sharework to him and released his Mahatma. His pocket watch was, 'Work hard and we are not.'"

The trial before the District Magistrate took place at noon the following day in the Commissioner's Office. The witnesses were about thirty in number. They were practically all Indians and Mohammedans except all of whom were arrested in city and supporters of Mr. Gaudin. Most of them were clothed in the Gaudin style.

Before the Magistrate

In the centre of the room was the Mahatma, sitting in a chair made by young colleagues Mr. Bhandari. An oval table was set up in front of him. All round the table, a garment which is more or less more than a handkerchief, was the Mahatma had taken from his box. The head, too, was bare and his characteristic white hair revealed the features of his face. For the most part he sat there like a

beaver image, sometimes with his thin whip of hair about his neck, long (the "tail," a sign of Mahatma—like a mouse tail) which waved lazily in the breeze from the electric fan like a quill in the wind.

His Character

His whole demeanor was calm and dignified. He had a long, a prolonged study. There is not a spare nerve of flesh on it, and every line of his features indicates the powers and working. None of the sudden great action. It is the face of a man who has given up everything in the life of the highest and will. There was no trace of anxiety in his expression, but the settled look of one who has made up his mind, carried the rest, and whose nothing changed one thing.

Mrs. Gaudin

Behind and quite near him sat several Indian ladies, except from his wife. She has a kind, simple and motherly face and is uneducated as far as we know, a simple woman and family expression. Her old looks toward the society for him which he could not but be himself that her emotions were well under control.

The Trial

The trial was long, a week, and the the most part the proceedings were rather dry and technical and their content largely known to those present interested. They take a great interest in the trial and consequently packed in Gaudin's court every day.

The trial was a striking example to that of the British, which was characterized by much dignity and high feeling. But everything was carried on

in a quiet, dignified, and gentlemanly manner on both sides. Indeed it was here as before that was regarding an event which would mean in some form or other to millions of people all over and beyond India. Everything was so quiet, so unobtrusive—so dull one might almost say. The quiet conversations even of the most official and extensive, the reading of papers as they were considered—indeed newspapers here and there in the audience, the click-click of the typewriter and the murmur of what of the electric fan.

A Popular English Official

There was a air of interest when the Collector of the district was called as a witness. He had given the warrant for Mr. Gandhi's arrest and for the search of his newspaper office. He was a tall, handsome, typical Englishman, but his face—white as paper, nearly bare and lacking color. He is a private man, despite all the extraordinary difficulty of carrying out Government orders in a disturbed area. "A real English gentleman of the old type," said an Indian lady to me. "He seems different from most of the English, one makes one sure" said another, "so courteous and polite to every one, of whatever rank or race. He always reminds me of home in England." His good and ready manner reflected a glow of good feeling into the room as long as he was present. As he rose to go at the end of his conversation he nodded politely to Mr. Gandhi, who bowed in return and acknowledged his arrest in the British manner by joining his hands and bowing a little.

A Briefing Session

This friendly relation between the planner and the man who had signed his warrant was one of the striking features of the trial. One could not but feel that all British officials and many others had this man's good and friendly manner towards Indians. It would help more than a whole blue-book full of the untransmitted advice towards treating the Indian question—which is in the last analysis a moral one.

The Prisoner's Jail

The proceedings lasted about four hours. At the conclusion of the evidence the prisoner was asked if he had anything to say. He replied: "I simply wish to state that when the proper time comes I shall stand guilty so far as disobedience to the Government is concerned."

An amazing "moving" would towards the end when the Magistrate was applying to Mr. Gandhi for details as to his person.

Age?—Fifty-three.

Cost?—Hindu dress.

Occupation?—Farmer and "writer."

A series of questions were asked at this, for at least a was a reference to the well-known policy of non-cooperation which Gandhi has championed.

A Dramatic Incident

There was a dramatic moment, too, towards the end—caused by the entrance of the Indian ladies police and numerous Indian, English, Hindu. She had set off in some time. After an hour of the Magistrate's arrest and revealed all right and when he had straight up from the station she has great blood and devotion of the Mahatma. Drillingly hand-

some and intently dressed she has a presence and as they would make her conspicuous in any company. She came straight into the room and walked up to the back of the prisoner's chair. The Mahatma turned round, obviously shocked by her beauty as coming at such an unexpected and late. She moved his hands and placed them on her closed eyes—a token of affection and respect.

While the hearing was over the Magistrate and other court officials retired, leaving Mr. Gandhi with his friends, with whom he talked and shared with unaltered cheerfulness.

"Plenty of Time for Reading"

He visited his own or twice at his Ashram, but neither ago and had lost his own books. On the 1st of March he notified and said: "I have not been able to read those books yet, but I have them with me in prison. I shall read them soon," he added laughing. "as I shall have plenty of time for reading at last." "When was the book you lost?" and a burst of his to me shortly afterwards, "was it called 'The Service on the Mount'?" "No," I replied: "why do you ask?" "Oh, because I saw a book of that title in the prison room the morning."

"Back to the Service on the Mount"

After he had been about half an hour with his friends the Police Superintendent returned. "Are you ready?" he said politely, almost deferentially. "Yes, yes," replied Mr. Gandhi cheerfully. A handsome Britisher looked was waiting at the door, placed at his disposal by a rich cotton-well, whom, who is a personal friend of his (in spite of the Mahatma's policy of non-cooperation). And so, accompanied by his friends, the prisoner's journey of a 12,000 Gaucha, the wife and a his cloth, reached from night, back to prison and the Service on the Mount.

Notes of the Gandhi-Sayooli

The Chairman of the Bedford Square Association has suggested the appointment of an expert committee to investigate the possibilities of a scheme for American clothes to equip England to produce cloth at cost within reach of our millions. At present the cost of British cotton clothes is prohibitive. This enormous pressure effect is not in cheap cloth is an obvious phase of the British trade against the Indian attempt to revive her own ancient industry and produce her own cloth. We need no measure of exports to tell us how we should supply our own cloth—demand. Hand-loom and hand-weaving in India will give us cloth, not the actual date and under his all—much cheaper and happier. If we do not push the Indian movement forward quickly, there is no doubt, England will have the time to become very and even to make our struggle more difficult than it is and with the Government of India to operate at her leisure, it may soon become un-look harder if not altogether impossible to revive our lost industry.

C. R.

Wanted

Agents for Young India in all the principal places of India. Full particulars upon request can be had on application to:

Manager, Young India,

Amritsar

Inevitable Example of Self-deliverance

The higher trial at Calcutta was in such a popular and superficial way, only repeated throughout the ages, as it usually had done in the House of Commons. Mahatma Gandhi was at that time and he all over the world and an inevitable example of self-deliverance through self-sacrifice.

—Sargajit Mukherjee

The Great State Trial

(By K. V. Kelkar)

I feel inclined to commemorate the great Gandhi trial in which my impressions of the great Gandhi trial in which I was an eyewitness on 15th March 1922. For it helps me to recall a trial which shall make use of the cherished consciousness of my life. Never was freedom and unity called into a more vivid reality than in that historic episode.

As a member of the Working Committee of the Congress I had that day the privilege of occupying one of the reserved seats in the Court House. But the 'court house' was only one form in a whole series of tribunals in that episode. The reader can well imagine what ideas the name of a 'court-trial' brings in its train. But here everything was completely reversed. This State-trial was not so much a trial by the State as a trial of the State itself. And all this was entirely conscious.

The court house was not the white-washed, lighted-up, even-lampung hall that, I fancy, a personified as a great State-trial. This was a mean, white-washed, lighted-up hall, one of the two narrow Indian 4-headed roads could easily overflow it from the balconies, who for most of an afternoon there, with one eye less the farthest window up to the Judge who presided over the trial, was continuously swarmed by house-folk, but together, as a man by a real physical arena. The one, high or low, among the hundred there could keep his distance.

The judge, I thought, was the most pathetic figure among them all in that remarkable trial. Never was he charged with a more unpleasant duty. Never did he feel as he did on that day that an accused under judgment could be really innocent in the eyes of the law. The blame on Mr. Bhandarkar's face had faded, a look of pity had taken its place. Neither the natural consciousness of mankind nor the consciousness of people could keep off the evening consciousness from him. The more he observed him a Christian English Christian Judge added respectful attention to a notice in the dock before he himself took his seat on the Bench. For once was the judicial mode of a great occasion broken by the arbitrary words of house-folk. "Would I say rather at at your feet and have a little of your solace than stand you to sit in all your?"—words like these might easily have come from the inner lip of Mr. Bhandarkar when he stole a furtive glance of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Englishman Advocate-general thought that out of his element in conducting that State trial. There was no temple of a secret plot which he still should watch in the morning address. He left the machinery of finding evidence where every thing was usual and ordinary. He showed all feeling the attitude changed, as every word in that trial was

and his own manner, every speech, every word in the trial's and simple as the accused person's mental nature. He respectfully asked the witnesses, questions which he brought in with in the law Court every day as a procedure, good news for the State life of the country or legal system. But once perhaps did Mr. Advocate-general also feel that what he would change were people asked on him.

And what shall I say of the accused himself? That night in a Hindu subcontinent of the present day, there was Mahatma Gandhi, with his own in some and yet with great will in all, the great stained when a man Mr. Bhandarkar's wife gave him to try and when when he was brought there. He left to the court-house his great, looked upon him as a great of house. With his whole heart he stepped into the courtroom, and only one powerful man he at once shed a halo of the holy spirit of the liberal nature upon the whole assembly. How, which even the presence could not explain themselves. But I doubt whether they really did not like to show in that glory. The accused was not only naturally serene but looked even kindly upon a degree. Was it his trial as he was looked upon? But he was even more patient of his happiness than a Hindu-god, in that he had not even a single 'blessing' by his side. No Gandhi in action or without when appeared to him. He was himself his own witness. And perhaps as it may seem, also his own witness. He needed no life of witness, no signs of law-books, and no remembering paraphernalia of evidence. A single expression about captured the whole of his nature, the greater part of it, however, being devoted rather to a passion and an aggression of the whole than a defence in any shape or form.

Did he stand guilty in the charge? Yes, by all means. He was only sure that the great captured question he put that he might answer a thing like a shot. For once in his life, Mr. Advocate-General walked that last look of presence could be a 'thief's' talk, and the convicting judge that he could be emancipated upon honesty was no a great evidence of our great emancipation.

Mahatma Gandhi thus succeeded in completely subverting all the latest or oldest dogmatic structure in the eyes of the trial by simply reversing the double position of man in the trial. And like a child's nature, he was able to stand the trial of the trial from the mouth of judge even to feel of relief solace. The hidden surprise upon, and the power, and knowledge of, the Prosecutor and the Judge might have turned the whole drama into a farce, if there were not elements of goodness in the presence to be served out to all.

There was more the effect made by Mahatma Gandhi to keep the trial from being, the Judge could not help giving it an emotional touch when he repeated the name of India in passing the witness and trying to push it away by a procedure. And then Mahatma too could not help striking the ground, then stood and declaring that he only felt humbled by the proof that Gandhi did the moment of another great State-trial of his own years ago with him the word of unity was present; and the Judge proved an agreement, ready to to deliver the verdict in

to the living present by our lay-men. There must be surely some single crime in a sentence of ten years' imprisonment that it should be regarded by Government as an effective penalty for the violation of law, and one terrible from which and death-should accept of as such in terms and spirit. Yes, by means of constant improvement of the jails for men like these could certainly be made to cure lawless of its present malady!

I wonder if Mr. Rosenfeld did not leave the Court with a sinister feeling of self-reproach. Mr. Aldridge-Cornwall was happy for not being allowed to the bench, so he could actually shake hands with the accused, and then send the wicked monster to the work with a man or eight remain in his debt, that the miserably big and even girth continued he had given to the Minister and his co-servant. And the Police Officers in attendance, for once, felt completely scared. They could hurry business of looking after a convict this day was gone. They need not hurry him out, and they would not have done it even if they could. With the disappearance of the judge and Aldridge-Cornwall from the Court-room the assembly was turned into a social gathering, the Police being merely spectators.

And then remembered the re-entrance of a man with which I had been familiar for about a couple of years before. There was Mahaboop sitting in the centre with a coil of wire, wires and chains, engaged in talking to Mahaboop and being asked to by him in prison, with all the violence, because impossible, conversations of wit, wisdom and respect. I loved Mahaboop affectionately calling a young deity of five years in wearing a suit of foreign cloth and a fashionable neck-tie. He usually approached me old talk-hunter asking him to get off of his back at least at that age. By about legislation of courage he avoided the law before they could arrest, and in his spirit attack, the eyes of some schoolboys followed him, and to another there, more stern and practical, he would give a useful hint for further attention with which to him. The letter felt crossed by his feelings, and the man felt, they got a job of strength by shaking his simple but sturdy hands.

By half an hour the great law was over. One by one the gathering in the Court-house was dispersed. And even when the police escorted Mahaboop back to the prison containing of the jail, we all felt the hot yet slowly returning belief of a spirit of true devotion and self-sacrifice, which could only be expressed by the proceedings of the State-trial for the morning, or even by the thousands of absence of the law, fighting in them for as long every year.

Five years ago, when I had read the properties of the Bengali-Admiral founded by Mahaboop Gandhi, the one word in it which stirred my attention most was the pledge of lawlessness promised by its members by the disciples of Gopal Krishna Gokhale. That, I said, could be the only one which feature in the political design of this Adharm than the divine code of perfection that served as an adorning hospitality. And so I felt the passion of the unrepented Court-house I said to myself, 'Verily has the pledge been fulfilled.' Mahaboop had by his personal example that day cast a new type of lawlessness which neither long nor short sentences nor the law could.

An Adharm Tribune

[The following columns are from a letter of an Adharm adherent of Mahaboop—]

Tanagar,
January, 25th, 1935.

To

The Editor of "Young India"

Dear Sir,

I have for years been occupied with the problem of non-violence and have attentively followed all movements which try to gradually reduce the degrees of non-violence, those of the Russian Dikobolism, of the Quakers and of the adherents of the American non-resistance movement.

For us in Europe, the realisation of the doctrine would at the same time signify the realisation of that highest moral demand shown to us by Christ's Sermon on the Mount. For Europe, therefore, non-violence means the attempt to repeat to the advantage Christ's unity of the Church and of Christian life and the true doctrine of a great Christianity.

Some years ago I heard for the first time a speech about Gandhi and his work from a friend, a Quaker. I cannot describe what an impression this made on me who, from childhood, have been a fervent supporter of non-violence. I at once made it my task to thoroughly study the Gandhi problem, and this determination was greatly facilitated by some Hindu friends in whom I was introduced by Kuntze called at a Peace Congress in Amsterdam. It was particularly a distinguished Hindu member, Willy Kruiser Esq., who increased my knowledge in the highest way, and even was a member of English book-reading of Gandhi, through a publishing house in India. It was only then, that I had the opportunity of learning in better known this most wonderful moral genius of mankind.

I continued my Gandhi studies with increased zeal, and, stimulated and inspired by what I afterwards learned from books about his pure life and action. About Gandhi, I resolved to write a book about him to which to show Europe the real significance and greatness of this man who is mentioned as a saint in London Avenue, which naturally have a national tendency. I was assisted in this resolve by the further conviction that Gandhi has expressly much to say to us, just as this very movement, and we must not have understood, have gone over our heads the teachings of non-resistance.

My view on this question I have already published in a number of German papers. In my opinion this magnificent development of the greatest modern, this just at this very moment, in the short interval after a post-war and subsequent decade of violence, and before the outbreak of new wars and new deeds of violence, every body must become clearly conscious of the fact that all policy of violence has been upon now a failure, and that every understanding based on violence must necessarily wither and perish. All changes which have hitherto been called by war or revolutions have brought about no real progress for mankind, and by this the doctrine of non-violence must remain unshaken. While, however, non-violence has increased the belief of a few nations of ethics,

philosophies and gods, or at least the principle of some religious sect, such as, for instance the Brahma Brahmanism, the Aryanism, the influence of non-violence and the Gurus, the non-violence for the first time, by the Hindu national movement for non-cooperation, enters into history as a political factor. Never before had the attempt sincerely been made to convert the Hindus as the Moslems have historical unity, and that at a moment when the Hindu people are rising against British rule for their national liberty, therefore, is a perfectly concrete political case.

The development of Hinduism at the non-cooperation movement in India also shows that the faith in the doctrine of non-violence which Gandhi preached in India, has actually become a political reality with a people standing under British rule.

I believe that in this sense the Gandhi movement must indispensably be estimated as one of the greatest historical events, since it does not only mark a revolutionary turning-point in the life of a great, and mighty people but also a new departure from the historical line of the development of mankind. Gandhi shows the way and tells the masses by which mass and nations can settle their conflicts with their opponents without using violence, without bloodshed.

I confidently ask that you will give a detailed description of Gandhi's personality as it has appeared you when he was in India. Interview with the other leaders. What was Gandhi's work as an editor? What was his activity? his manner of writing? I would further ask, you for information about the present state of the movement. Do the people still act in the spirit of Gandhi, now that he is a captive in prison and they are without a leader? Does the doctrine of non-violence still stand at the head of the movement? What is Gandhi's life in prison? How did the Hindu movement develop after his capture? A description of his wife, his family and his thoughts would also interest me. What are Gandhi's relations to the spiritual leaders Aurobindo Ghosh and Balaramdas Tagore? I particularly need a description of Gandhi's school "Satyagrahshiksha." Is it still in operation? What are the fundamental principles of this doctrine? I should also be interested in learning the religious philosophical foundations of Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence in proceeding from the religious concepts of the Hindus.

Which role had in Gandhi's life the Holy scriptures of Brahmaism, (Upanishads?) Buddhism, Fethed, Gyaneshwara, (Gurus' words?) And what Brahmanism, (Guru Shri Radha Krishna?) further, the policy of France, I would also be much interested to learn the relations between Gandhi and Tagore, as well about Jawahar, Mr. H. S. L. Poonji, and others.

Very cordially thinking you is advance for your country and India. I am,

Dear Sir,

Very respectfully yours,
Rajendra Prasad M.A.

Bureaucracy fortifying itself

Following close upon the example set by Bengal the Punjab Council has passed an amended Municipal bill providing for temporary administration of the work of municipalities to the King, to all members elected or appointed. The Legislative Assembly the other day passed the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill strengthening the attachment of fixed property besides movable property for the realisation of fines. Obviously the bureaucracy is fortifying itself also its experience of the last year's civil disobedience struggle and is perfecting its machinery of to replace the peace and order form of repression of the last year by a more efficient and organised variety. But so far as we are concerned this will hardly make any difference. For there is hardly anything that is sought to be legalised by them is not *de facto* maintained. The authorities have not already been practising. We have witnessed suspension of municipal bodies—a number of non-municipal agencies have been over the worst State despite needed and wholly rejected whenever they become too expensive of the people and thereby tend to give offence to the masses. We have known of more than one instance of suspension of property of persons for the alleged offences committed by their non-cooperators' relatives—ways to talk of the distinction between movable and fixed property.

The only effect of the passing of these measures would be to add an element of hypocrisy to non-violent leadership. It might induce the Government the support of non-violent co-operationist countries. And in the extent that it succeeds in that it will certainly be in a better position to cope with any attempt to strengthen a non-violent leader by a non-violent of its agents. If we rely upon more numbers we will certainly soon detect that we will be able to turn their very support against the bureaucracy and hold it with the very period if we also civil resistance in a religious spirit which shows one enables one to outstep conventional and pure playing against which nothing can prevail.

Not upon the score and more reason is that we cannot but non-violently to achieve all revolutionaries in our present contextually for success. Nothing fundamental arising later than the Gandhianism, the most revolutionary passed in the Punjab Legislative Council recommending the immediate release of all Gandhi's prisoners in lieu of official opposition. These have previous in India, probably, place somewhat difference run as high and where the relations between Hindus and Muslims are as strained as they are in the Punjab at the present moment, yet the fact that all non-official members—Muslims and Hindu-voted alike in favour of the resolution, shows the wonderful degree that pure religious non-violence in a spirit of love is capable of performing. It is the more than anything else that the records of Chief Disobedience has no account of suffering with a view to causing non-violence to the support can bring about that, as I have been pressing, that recently about this situation suffering non-violence in a spirit of love.

It must be realised that the failure of our last year's Civil Disobedience campaign was largely due to this. Many of our ablest leaders, rather than individual contacts and quality of suffering and the very night again, we are about. It is impossible for the Indian film and in various hours spent, the entire a capacity in our Civil Disobedience this year 'has a whole anything like that of the previous year'. This demonstration of weakness is the greatest handicap put in the way of a successful leadership of Civil Disobedience. We must cease to think whether others will be prepared for Civil Disobedience after April or not.

If even a few among us begin to feel that they have done all that was humanly possible in time to do, to raise their countrymen and that the only thing left for them to do is to work shops in voluntary suffering, then circumstances under which they feel life impossible. It will be then they to offer Civil Disobedience, irrespective of whether any other person is ready to follow them or not. The sacrifice of a few individuals even unknown in this hour, will set up a banner that will ultimately become the whole mass but meantime of suffering unknown as a work of itself or Master will ultimately end nothing.

It is therefore left now that all those who feel the call for Civil Disobedience among us as they should set about their work even here now. They must use the pen and the tongue as their power and energy to show the message of the Congress. They should speak for the need to clothe ourselves and the hunger to feed themselves by organising foodshed and giving shelter to the street where their work. They must make the best of the untouchable, organise their bodies study their wants and find some adequate release for their. They can cooperate with them in their work of village workers. They can encourage them to set up handlooms in their homes and help them to dispose of their cloth. This work is particularly needed in the South where thousands of handlooms are reported to be in need of such help. This will maintain the most effective preparation for Civil Disobedience. One thing more, a few have said into another order. We may be sure of others following us in the path of suffering if we quietly consider for it by this act of service of love. And if we all do decide from now, we may be sure, there will be none before April 2nd to us "What now?"

To all District and Taluka Congress Committees

The issue of *Our India* of 15th March will have a supplement, containing reports of the March 15th celebration from places throughout India. It will be a four page supplement and will briefly show the numerous activities of every district in India, Punjab and amongst pastured towns with columns for accurate information into which details have been sent to Provincial Congress Committees for circulation among their talukas. I request every taluka secretary to fill in the postcard by March 20th and send it direct to Punjab India office at Ahmedabad. Provincial offices are requested to post sufficient number of these cards to every district in their charge for immediate distribu-

tion among the talukas. If Provincial offices can directly send the cards to talukas it may be done. It must have the very extent of a, hoped that the cards will be sent up to the reader all talukas without any delay.

Madras National School of Vaniyatchal (Madras)

Two students have been admitted to the Jawahar Education (Government Madras University) of Alipatti, after training up to the master standard of the University and from next June, when the school will reopen after the summer holidays, it is decided to open the first year of the college course. There are at present in all 270 students and a staff of 10 teachers including three Madras, who were clerks of the universities of Islamic Theology and Official Languages, a B. A. holder and Ponnai, London many others in the primary departments of Science, Mathematics, Islamic History and Urdu. The institution lays great stress upon the sciences in Islamic text and practice, in addition to the acquiring of a complete course in the Vernacular, English and Western, Mathematics, English, History, Geography, Sanskrit, Persian, and Commercial subjects like Book keeping, Banking and Typewriting. Arrangements are also made for the special instruction of students in Islamic Theology and Islamic History. Ample provision is made for the residential life of students from outside. It is especially hoped that the people of South India, and especially the Mohammedans, will take advantage of such an institution as this, which is centrally situated and will send their children to large numbers. Free education is offered here to all students, without distinction of caste or creed. Besides, there are many facilities for scholarship etc., to the really deserving and poor. Further particulars regarding the regulations, the courses of study and other matters during with the institutions will be found in the prospectus issued by the Council or Committee which can be had free on application to the Secretary. C. R.

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Madras & Punjab

Letters notes are requested sent to our United script in correspondence addressed to the nearest an attendance as likely to be delayed owing to difficulties of interrupting the work in our office.

Printed and published by Sankar Mukherjee, General, at Bhowanipore Press, Bhowanipore, Calcutta, 1933.

The length was 21 yards. If you add length of all the Florida tanks together would come to about 1200 yards. This is about 2/3 down 200 yards. And the ones 21/2 would have been the number of yards of down yard if it had weighed one lb. but as it weighed only 1/2 lb the same mass is double that figure = 2. 120. A leap from the other sample was 2 yards 24 inches long and weighed 120 Florida. It weighed 12 rods and calculating in the same way as before the mass would be nearly 12

Ways of this world may be living weaves in some places, but here in this part of the country peacocks weaves are made of 1.25 in 36 yards long. In some places small ways are used in such a way as to give an other comparison with of double the length.

It would be more convenient to the companies of parents when provisions in Karnataka are prepared for parents for report in the form of books. Those firms who would prefer to have it in the form of printed media might acquire one of the parents in the form of books to use it as well. Karnataka and most other places which produce year for report would do well to observe of the books.

It is important to take a certain amount of care in making banks also. It will be of great advantage if banks are of a certain size in all parts of India. It will render the distinction between bankable grain and mill grain obvious to the eye if bankable grain is made into banks of 4 feet circumference (mill grain always sold in the market in the form of banks of 4 ft. circumference). In the Khandy Talukpans every chakrab has a real consuming tax, while those that are outside and are liable. The circumference of the road is 1 ft. 11 inches. It would be very helpful if the bankable grain—where such are made—were also made of the same circumference. This would make the finding of the count very easy and simple. The size of banks will be uniform if the area of a road are paved with bankable spheres instead of a walling. Bankable counts of grain are made a very small 40 yards. This is one-fourth of 160 yards. If therefore uniform counts were used the number of bankable spheres would weigh in a mile would give the count of feet paces. Spheres should be provided to each bank of 160 such counts and that is the main line between every two banks of 40 counts each with a long chain of string about. The two ends of the chain should then be tied into a knot to prevent them from getting entangled. The advantage of making banks is this way is that it is more easy to find a regular fresh count whenever one and of it gets lost owing to leakage. The loss of getting a bank entangled is reduced to almost nothing and a lot of time is saved in finding and counting.

One of the greatest difficulties in wearing handspan gear is experienced by ascending the banks. A lot of time is sometimes wasted in providing for such different sizes and weights. Carefully prepared standard banks make the work of ascending steep hillsides and waterways a lot easier. There are many devices that enable him to wear handspan gear but none give it up. The abandonment of banks is a quite an early idea for the time as the usefulness of the gear.

Finally, the term of "defining" the water flow should be paid for, subject to a definite revision of

There becomes quite easy if standard handle. Occasional of trouble in a leg and he will be checking purpose. And the extent of gear as a part of it is of a life, in weight, extent of that zone.

Again, the well equipped calculator accurately the quantity of yarn required for making a knitted garment length, width and texture. This reduces the loss of yarn being stolen when it is given to workers to weave at home, in a minimum. And this is not a small advantage of having checked knits.

The progress of Nondurh is well be greatly accelerated if proper care and attention are given to matters referred to there, in districts where year in produced just enough for local consumption as well as it those which produce surplus can be export.

There is another important arrangement that joint-repairing regions should make. They should prevent the joint for export into border cities or to the south. Such border-making machines can be got manufactured in India. The advantages of pressing and tying joint ion border are considerable. There keeps a better condition, it does not get scratched and the danger of thread breaking is avoided. The task of transport by rail is rendered much more convenient and the danger of its being pilfered during transit is reduced to a very small extent.

European Year in Jewish

A large stock of pairs has collected at Awasit, the local center of the Maffinland Kikui Mariposa. They have about 10 diamonds for a couple pairs. It is all of about 4 mm across. It is noted cut into two grades and passed and bag up together of 10 for each. The

lot grade	kg 40 per cent (40 lbs)
1st	10
2nd	12
3rd	15
4th	20

The point of the last two graphs is to show us what kinds that can be used for making caps and cones or disks when they are intended to be used as the only outer garment. Tops (—) require stitching on the inside of the parts of the last two graphs. If the parts are dyed in dark colors such for instance as mentioned on Dr. F. C. Kay's book, the articles become as beautiful as they are useful.

The Koryu has been purchased by prominent dealers for sale. They have offered it for \$2,140. As shown above these machines are particularly useful to the exporters. And we request the readers to kindly inform us of the place—if they know of any—where they are manufactured and the prices at which they are sold or are available.

The request should be submitted in any of the above forms to the concerned directly with the Secretary, Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, Gating, or the Manager, Engadmed Kln 1 Kalyanpur, Anand, as the case may be.

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

Subscribers are requested not to use this journal's correspondence addressed to the managing editor, as this is likely to be delayed owing to difficulties of transportation that come in our office.

Young India

22-3-25

The Agra Convention

The news about conversions and reconversions published in the papers is bound to shock all those who are interested in Hindu Hinduism many. Freedom is of the essence of religious belief. We cannot put any restrictions upon peaceful effort on the part of any man to spread religious truth as he understands it. It is well known also that the day of those who profess certain religions is to endeavour to spread their creed. It is true that Hinduism as commonly followed is not a proselytising religion but there is nothing to prevent one devoted student of Hinduism adopting the policy of conversion or reconversion. Nor would it be correct to draw who the Hinduism of the right to convert others to deny the right to Hinduism as the ground that re-conversion Hinduism does not encourage conversion or other reconversion, I am inclined to believe, there is no question of opportunity or expediency. One's relation with History is among the things that should and ought neither dominate nor politics can stand in the way of one's seeking himself right with his God. Yet a wholesale change of the lower religious of the great all large bodies of people does not seem to be a good thing, by spite of the essential non-violence of those of religious belief, the question of personal belief must affect our decisions in regard to it or not, whether when we deal with the religious but the loss of religious character of large bodies of people in Hinduism Hinduism's claim is regard to the Hinduism, people is right, as it very probably is that it is not conversion has merely reduced us of our to who should follow position of Hinduism more negative rather than the application of the principle of universal non-violence. As far as of and give us go they are already there and reconversion cannot therefore be done in a wholesale and as a result matter of religious belief. Hinduism must be allowed its liberty which is free freedom by the main body of Hinduism rather than any conversion of the Hinduism people themselves. But shall it be now? Whether the right or wrong from the point of view of our not for all religious may be, feelings are at least as well as laws, and we may gladly make human wisdom in this field of our by creating better and on our own while seeking to further it by all of peace. The religious body of all religions and work itself as such free freedom that on have can result to religious and as in the great religion which Hinduism profess by bringing a large for bringing forward and others that has with belief and practice. I would therefore strongly advise a wholehearted support. "and now" C. W.

Mahatma Gandhi's Children

In the month of December, 1921, after my return from East Africa, I was very much troubled in my mind, because I had been obliged to suffer from Mahatma Gandhi's policy as the subject of the

boarding of the foreign ships, and I had been convinced that the shooting in Bombay in November, had been directly due to the pressure exerted by these constitutionalists at public hearing.

But I could not convince Mahatma, though I had written, every every argument I could, to persuade him. Indeed, I was almost alone in my thoughts at the time of amendment. He made it out, that my difference from him, even to what he regarded as we did as laws, only made the strengthening of affection between us all the deeper. He asked me in the same letter to come to his National Congress at Ahmedabad, and to speak there to some spiritual subject.

Such a wish from him at such a time was sacred. With the full permission of the great Mahatma Gandhi, I went to Ahmedabad and I was passing through I went to Ahmedabad and Ahmedabad, as a matter, for the first time. There, I was given the unique opportunity of speaking with freedom of the was trusting my word.

The subject that I took at Ahmedabad was the movement conversion between Hinduism and Christianity. I took that issue of Hinduism, which had been and threatened our unity Indian and her culture, and had reached the centre of all religious work in India, the doctrine of law, as contrasted with the doctrine of Force. Side by side with this, I referred to this issue of Christianity, which had its special importance in the Church as the Church, whereas the main doctrine of law, as presented, it was the main doctrine of Hinduism, which I had found reflected in Mahatma Gandhi's personality and I have already looked for it in the movement itself.

But an increasing disappointment had oppressed me during the whole of the past 1921 for I found, more and more that the movement as a had been taking the various shape and form of hardly either which principle. In East Bengal and in the Punjab I had found this especially but it was noticeable everywhere, in the same aspects of social boycott and non-cooperation which were not prevented by responsible leaders and could only end in our defeat.

In Mahatma's khaddar and non-cooperation at Ahmedabad, it was possible to tell how exactly all that was in my mind. I was actually warning of the that foreign ships, which he had condemned as he loved and had declared to be "and now" He asked at me when he saw me many times, and he understood, without a word being uttered, why I had done so.

For my whole mind was still full of Mahatma Gandhi and I felt that my part in the movement and social reform. Yet my own work was for only. Then, there, was our children and health of mind at its best. It seemed to me, that, before any relief could come, it was necessary for me to go out again into India and not merely to return to the parts of Southwestern India. A certain reaction had been growing stronger in my mind, and I determined to go to it again. Indeed, Mahatma Gandhi, for his doctrine. It was very close to Mahatma, where the Hindu religion was still a terrible, gross abuse and to work there would very much help.

face to face with Mahatma and he talked about the Majlis, how he came back to my country. If only we can learn to love one another with that love, Hindu Muslim unity, the foundation on which the whole Indian national movement stands, can never be shaken. C. P. A.

F. S. I. I shall write, in my second letter, remembering Mahatma Gandhi's other children,—the 'seemingly-likes of Mahatma.' C. P. A.

Mahatma's Bold and Clear Path

The following is the text of Mr. Rajagopalachari's speech delivered at Nagpur:—

It is really a wonderful thing that a man in the western corner of this country should be loved by you with passion at such a late hour—that this vast audience should wait so long for me knowing that I am compelled to speak on a subject which they almost understand. All this wonderful surge has been brought up into my view as I sit in prison. He stood against all the languages and idioms of India. In other countries they have only one language and one religion; but here we have many languages and many religions, but let us hope, one heart. I have found the legend circulating among the people in different provinces but I have found in my travels that at bottom it is one. The whole country from the Himalayas to the Cape Colony is as united as ever, its people believe in one and only a Mahatma. The people may have taken to their creed and I admit that recently there is no change in their opinion, but let me remark. The great population of our country is like an ocean. Just as the waves return for some period to the level stage, so at times our people return for a moment towards Mahatma.

Some smart things

Yet I have to remind you to-day that Mahatma has been imprisoned under unjust laws. You have read the history of India. I too have read it and let me tell you that the last three years are the most glorious in that history for the last thousand years. Mahatma started the glorious career in our history and it is now in your power to bring it to an end—here and in the rest of India. When Mahatma went to prison he went on the full confidence that the 300 millions of his countrymen will stand on one way and there will be no defection. He wrote at that time that he trusted his supporters with pleasure because the world would have no opportunity to see that the people of India stood on their own legs. He was glad he had the opportunity to discover the things that it was the worst inference of his personality that was making them. Mahatma declared when he went to prison, that the people would march on to the end. The Government of myriads of Mahatma Gandhi said and 'we will now study whether the people' Words will you come to be the truth? If we do not perhaps we shall, if we have speech and to get them the next day, if we do not get us back the Government's word will be true. There is no one to see to my call and among men and women of all the first is now we give up. If we told a person coming to us to be made part of the world that the country holds within its boundaries the freedom of men and women and that it can have people to us

when Government to improve a man loved by all these, he would not trust his eyes and ears. He would be bewildered to know that he makes people we have been doing, thinking and making money. If you only rest yourselves towards to the time when we shall have finished our best periods of life, and our children will have looked to our own children—where, you would notice that they would be surprised at their condition. I know that young a Hindu boy and girl, when they come across a passage in our history talking to him on something that from a book held long their hands on stones and while they could draw over the passage a black line and define the passage so that nobody may read it. In our school and college we are seeing terrible records of stones and destruction while our own children will have in their hands the stones.

(Here the speaker drew heavily on the forthcoming anniversary of Mahatma's imprisonment.)

Safe time

We have had much time, but we have plenty of it yet. It was only one of Government has looked Mahatma in prison but we have the keys in our own hands. It came with us to me, then. If the Government comes the people will not let him out what would be the result? It is very certain that we were so weak and powerless as we appear to be, that we were without and that Mahatma would be of no use to us, if it felt that the movement is dead beyond recovery. Government would let him out tomorrow but the Government is under no such delusion. We are glad that Government will think that we will be a great source of danger if Mahatma is let out. We stand upon the power given ourselves.

Some more clear thinking

The movement that has been started by Mahatma may mean the end or the work for good. If we take any backward step the people will stand a lot for it or a minute, but we are bound to have only to stand on the bold and clear path of Mahatma. Because it is the only way to secure the health of the nation. No king or the people reach there and we stand, so long will they be governed as they are now. We must change the nature of our thought and action. When this was told Rama did not rest content, but went and thought of making his last journey. Mahatma too became sad when the last day. It was our freedom that he was to leave. He is Rama and Janakya! But I forget that by years of slavery we have lost the very sense of freedom. As a Hindu man says our light is not as a Hindu man does not know what made us as we do not know what freedom is. Like Mahatma's wife a sign we do not know what it is to be the free and good the best. A man came to give us back that lost sense of freedom. We have neglected that man. People who have forgotten how to play in the women that make it old and that that people through it. We are unable to be drawn and broken but there is Mahatma to teach them by our to show us reason and to show freedom.

What is the movement to which the country will be subjected during the next two months? We have no parallel in the world. But we all stand for the

Congress. You think for a moment, I fancy the speech of mine, to-morrow you all must persuade yourselves that just what it will be the effect throughout the country and on the Government? But that is so easy that you can perform it within the short space of an hour. If only the necessary laws had been passed and elections could go out among you, you would gladly sign your names and pay the few annas I have mentioned. You will flood the Congress office and make it a great market.

"Do Your Duty."

Let us forget the country, for a moment, let us imagine a moment that we are citizens of a nation fighting for freedom. Would you not have signed a similar petition praying for the release of Mahatma? It could secure our purpose? I am sure you would have. But such a step today would be a disgrace. I want you to express your opinion in free Mahatma; you have signed noble names. I want you to become a person of a very different kind—a person, I have explained above. If all the whole population had yielded this day, Mahatma would have been set at liberty long ago. I want each one of you not to think of what others think or do not think, or do or do not do, but individually you do your duty. Do not continue in the habit of saying "This country is too small, it will never be in its duty" but look to yourself each individual. It is your religious duty. As you go to a temple and mark age individually having a multitude of worshippers, other prayers, and again to your God, you are required to offer prayers in the form of service at the altar of freedom.

The Congress is also in need of funds and it cannot be expected to keep the movement alive without funds. It is the only body that is fighting for Swami. When these few months we have given twenty-five lakhs. This is the amount required for the work to be done. Do you know how much the Government have helped for their expenditure this year? The amount is in so many crores that I may well leave out a few. They want 200 crores for this year and we are to pay it. The Congress asks not for a hundred crores, not ten crores, not even one crore but just a quarter of a crore. If you double the savings among the various provinces and districts, you will find that Nagpur has a very small share which even my lowest calculation here can pay. But it is neither good nor proper that one province should pay. All of you must contribute your share to it. It will show your unshaken loyalty to the Congress and trust in it. Unless we help the Congress how can you expect it to keep strong? Before the 15th of March I beg that each of you should pay your share and reduce your friends to do likewise. Your very weak-money for a month would be enough to kill your pride. What for? Because, you would pay for pleasure to injure your health, no one could would be worse than the aim required of Mahatma.

The Crore will spend

So many are, "What has happened to the one crore subscribed for you before? Even if you yourself do not believe the charge contained in the question, I want you to be able to answer it. It was agreed to give political education in the course of one year to a country which had lost the natural freedom. With this one crore Mahatma was able to make his country, 1,700 miles long and 1,200 miles broad,

strengthened with the cry of Swami. If you only would look to the Government records you would see how many crores were spent to give you a worthless education—an education which taught a few of you to read and write and that too not well, but which killed your spirit of independence. What it failed to achieve during the course of six years you can well with many crores of rupees this evening achieved with this one crore in one year. Any other nation would have given more than the amount for the object achieved. Friends, tell those who talk about the crore that it was spent thus. But there are other things also which the crore has achieved. Put your hands on your shoulders above our shoulders and you will see what I mean. It is due to the crore that we are all wearing Khadi today. If you had not worn Khadi, orders of rupees would not have been lost in London and used to India. Two thousand million yards of cloth went out of London to India in the last year. We are told that 100 millions per year have been lost on account. Even if that had been due entirely to Khadi I say the crore was well spent. If Mahatma could spend a crore and get back the same it would really do it. I want you to tell me whether or not it has, in your opinion, the crore was well spent or not? (Loud shout "Well spent.")

I want you to enhance this movement by paying twenty-five lakhs more to keep up the activities which are responsible for carrying on the movement. You will have to do it, in any case before the close of two months. But I ask you to do it before the 15th so that you may have something to offer at the altar of Mahatma's recovery on the anniversary of his departure. If any volunteer comes to you, I ask you to receive them well. Take them to your relatives and friends and make their task easy and pleasant. Do not argue over differences of opinion. There is no time for that. The Congress has accepted the challenge which the Government has thrown. It is late before the 15th a has time up to the 15th April. It might go to kill the crore, the Government may well delay us and look upon us with contempt.

One thing more before I sit down. Great sacrifices are demanded only at a very low price. All others I have asked sparingly and help I am sure you will not reject the demand of more for I know that nothing goes down any the small one even to the name of the Congress and because make a great meeting there is hope for the country.

Worse than Jallianwala

We wonder if the people can find time out of their daily work-making out of the general atmosphere of panic in most parts of the country, and out of the divided councils and the menacing southern squabbles that poison the national life of India, we wonder if the worried public can find time to follow other happenings to the country. If they did, would they still shudder with horror? Do not the Sikhs and the Mohammedans and the Hindus in the Punjab, if not in other parts of India, begin talking of the Hindu treachery enacted in the Punjab. If not in broad daylight as in the Jallianwala or Gwalior-Bagh days, at least with polished knowledge of the ever-widening Jallianwala massacre. Confronted? The domestic published daily and hourly by the

Let every thing proceed in a cool, deliberate, businesslike manner. Let no one who does not really feel the need for more progress of glory or power. There need be no mathematical calculations as to the number of men "that would be necessary to produce an impression upon the Government" nor any desperate attempts to swell our ranks day after day. Let only the best and the most beloved in the country—those who have established their claim to popular favour even by actual service—come forward to challenge the Government that they would like like benevolence to people who manifested allegiance. And let the Government then do its worst if it can. The odds are all in our favour. If we only have the nerve and grit to "play out" the game the victory is assuredly ours.

Correspondence

An English Part in Calcutta

To,

The Editor,

Young India

Dear Sir,

While reading Pargore's Golden Treasury of songs and lyrics, my eyes fell on the following short passage of the poet Wodehouse quoted by Pargore in the explanation headed "opening word" I am sending it to you and you may publish it in your journal if you think fit.

"I could write a treatise of benevolence upon the changes brought about among the villages of West-India by the abolition of the opening school. During long winter nights and wet days, the school opens which would give employment to a great part of a family. The old men, however infirm, were able to mend the roof, as he sat in the street by the fire side, and often, when a boy, have I observed the epidemics of corded wood which were visible half upon each other by his side. Two wheels were often at work on the small lane and others of the family, daily little children, were occupied in weaving and spinning the wool in it for the hand of the worker."

which I observed upon the west

India in 1870-71

W. Wodehouse

11, "Good Bally Lane," } BRADWAY FRANK KRAVAT
Calcutta. 14-3-12 }

unpleasant light, and thereby to misrepresent Hinduism. Anything that impairs the effectiveness of that struggle should be put down like hot coal. Let us therefore hand our energies to the essential task. I therefore describe the leaders in charge of both the organisations to retire from the effort now, and to leave the people to work out their own salvation, as far as their religious beliefs are concerned. The moment they do it, conditions will again be better opportunities.

Mahatma Gandhi

Let Alone

I cannot quarrel with my esteemed friend Shree Rajagopalachari on his appeal to Swami Vivekananda. There is absolutely no question as to the fact that what the Swami is doing is nothing but pure virtue as a representative of the conference leaders against the Mahatma. Rajagopalachari is the V. P. But one may not quarrel also the fact that his movement has become a motion of the community, identical with which the Swami no less than any one else is trying to foster all these years? Should he then prosecute his movement even if it endangers that cherished object? I venture to ask these questions because of the knowledge that even Hinduism has declared the movement to be justified, and will that every one is at liberty to spread his religion. Every one is at liberty to offend his religion, I think the religion that needs to be spread to-day is the religion of freedom, the religion of the abolition and liberation, the religion of religiously-communalism, and the religion of Hindu-Muslim unity. If the Mahatma Rajagopalachari do not really subscribe to "La Doka Hindu," if they do not profess the true faith of a believing Hinduism, they will by the very nature of their faith of life and belief drop off from the Hinduism fold. Where is the need of a "message" to restore them back into the Hindu fold? Nothing should stop them from offering their full support to Hinduism, and even from being out of the same state as the Hindu Rajagopalachari. What I ask is, "Is it a logical inference which is saying to being restored the very nature?" Is it an inference of the type of unreasonableness, for instance? Let us not allow our Hinduism to become to believe that a movement has been set on foot just to spite them. And if we are to put them at stop, there is nothing like leaving the Mahatma Rajagopalachari alone.

While I make this appeal to all circumstances to Swami Vivekananda, I make a short appeal to our Hinduism leaders. Their religion has as its basic doctrine the doctrine of the unity of all—i.e. doctrine which precludes all communalism. The "Hinduism" which I think sufficiently represents the community says, "If a person being a Hinduism is having reached a Hinduism in a number of years, can think of abandoning life and accepting some other faith, the answer is: leave the fold of Hinduism for ever. such a man is a source of weakness to Hinduism and not of strength and is the greatest of the community itself he should be weeded out if he proves irreparable." This is strong language, but that crystallises the attitude of a long-suffered Hinduism. If the Mahatma Rajagopalachari are in the least that a believing Hinduism should do, why should they not be let alone? If Swami Vivekananda is not so bothered to create a situation, neither should they allow themselves to create situation.

I have referred to above to the religious who, in the crying need of the hour, I would like the Hinduism of reuniting our Hinduism leaders that we are engaged in a fight to free our religion, to

Young India

25-3-31

The Workers' Secret Struggle

If the programme of non-cooperation should be completed before April 25, it has to be done chiefly through our co-operation in the coming national week, from 25th to 30th April. The last day, the 30th March has been fixed all across as a demonstration in support of non-cooperation and non-payment. The nation has rallied to resolve to follow the path of Satyagraha to show its brightness of freedom and goodness, and to demonstrate which has shown to all that have eyes to see that Mahatma's body might be imprisoned, but his spirit is still with the people, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, as free and as potent as ever. It is a pity to say that the masses have weakened in spirit by disappointment, or that their love and the same degree of loyalty to the Congress as ever before. Instead of all that has happened. They are to-day as much as ever. The workers too have not too much as the desire to serve. The secret is most cases is that they have been working all these days, slowly suffering poverty and privation. They have come in many cases to the end of their private resources, and that service in the national cause no longer physically possible. Their salaries were and are being withheld, thus have arising crises which might perhaps make it possible for many of them to continue working. The result is a compressed secret pain. If Congress Convention improve their financial position, almost all the difficulty now left will be overcome. There is a noble material way—in the way of service on the part of workers, and in the way of loyalty and support on the part of the people. Poverty, want of concentrated effort, lack of efficiency, working conditions on the part of all—this is the state of our Indian financial position, work, efficiency here of unprincipled devotion, enthusiasm all round—this is the picture of national misery. Congress should therefore be vigorously pushed everywhere. We have not been delayed by even haste. Let us not succumb to the blockade of lack of funds.

C. R.

About a Mad Woman and Some Others

It was the 15th of March. We were in one of the rooms in Khat Bangal. We had just reached our temporary meeting place; the kindly crowd that gathered on accompanying us from the Railway Station had not yet dispersed. A tall woman burst into the hall with a shriek in her left hand, making a commanding gesture with her right. She was dressed in sari when Khaddar was made red. White in her high forehead. Her voice in Bangal which I could not, of course, understand. I was told, she entered the court in elegant language to observe a complaint that would Mahatma should be released. "You have no right to get or drive with the door any hindrance," she cried. The people looked at her and gently because they said she had come out of her mind. "For how long has she been thus?" asked. "For the last few months,"

she said. "She was a very educated lady, the wife of a pleader. Her mind had suddenly got deranged without any reason."

Without any reason, indeed! Is not the fault on the one hand and the indifference on the other side at least, sources of our evil? That poor sister of Bangal had not been hard-worked on anything since. Her mind was still the mother Bangal that came out of God, and indeed when it was in and change. She threw all her parties and wandered about in pain. Our audience was not being said she was unfortunate sister of Khat Bangal.

The topic of this woman with the light shining from her eyes changed me wherever I spoke in Bangal. The crowds that gathered were common, they were like Mahatma's own common everywhere. I spoke the most things, but I spoke with as if according to the light of this poor sister was on me or not. We visited women with populations ranging from ten to thirty thousands, but the audience of our meetings was never below five thousand and sometimes went much above it. When Devadas* got up to address the meetings the audience started with sympathy but soon began to give respectful attention. He asked the audience how a more religious and deeper silence than I could obtain. "My father wants you to stop and wear Khaddar, your father wants you to be brave and go to prison, I do not want my father to be released because of your weakness. I want that your strength should obtain his freedom—this was his message, never to meet and simple. Mind so that the Bangali, both men and women, could follow him.

Wherever we went in Bangal, women started and raised their hands on the part of the workers. In spite of economic straits of every sort, private as well as public, they have been helping us bravely. I could never a few women which should be written in letters of gold for courage and sacrifice, but I do not know all of them and it would be useless. It was very pleasant to see the increasing lawyers helping the Congress. Everywhere in the place that were visited. The wholehearted N. C. D's moved among the lawyers with confidence as among sympathetic friends, and the latter had nothing but praise and appreciation for the sacrifice and the energy of the former. Bangal is working hard, but I could not help to note the flow of letters in her face all the time.

Mahatma C. P. showed, wherever we went, the need of work, hard and good work, on the part of the workers. It was a pleasure to talk to the volunteers that gathered at Bangalore. They were prepared to stay only for a short while but we actually spent a good deal more time in our transport arrangements failed miserably and we had to fall back on the train. The volunteers who were all into the rank class stood the most severe conditions—volunteers are non-vegetarian, that, with my still somewhat unimpaired system and my practice at the Bar, I could subject them to. None of them reached Bangalore, but the poor men had all raised their hands when I asked them how many wanted. They knew

*Mr. Devadas Gaudin, Mahatma's secretary, accompanied Mr. Rajagopalachari throughout the tour.

they had to give up tobacco if they went to prison and they agreed to wear dhoties from the waist even from now.

Bihar, the province which had refused Moh. Rajagopalachari, was hostile to us. We may well judge a tree by its fruits. The mahalinghi faith and the consequent struggle with this province too. Some of the Hindus have such a number of strong and heavy weapons that it is no wonder that in village organisation this province stood first.

We were somewhere near Mahanadi Ghat. The train stopped at a station and as usual there was a crowd round our compartment. An old woman, dressed in sari, had observed that her duty had been longer and had work, made her way to our compartment and got in. She went straight to Gopalani. "Is this Mahalinghi boy?", she asked, and with a mother's laugh she stroked his head and kissed his face after placing her gift for the cause of his son. Even the train agent was moved at the scene. "Mahalinghi Lord is full by the Government?" she asked of the son, and burst into an hysterical cry. Of course she knew about the imprisonment already. But she wanted the actual presentation to find out for the word of sugar. She left the carriage leaving Gopalani Rs. 5-6-0 for the food, it was all her savings probably for many a winter day. C. R.

Mr. Rajagopalachari's Speech at Patna

Below is the speech that Mr. Rajagopalachari delivered at Patna on the 28th instant:—

"Till yesterday we spoke of various characteristics pointed to the independence of the great movement. Now we have come to the other side of the hemisphere, leaving behind the light that has led us on here, but we all know that the sun will continue to give light whether it is in front of us or behind us. Whether we look forward to billions of dimes or look backward to the promises and pledges we have made, our action must be guided by our resolve. Till yesterday we all looked forward to the independence as a goal of our desire. To-day I want you to remember the pledges you have given to help you in the work you have undertaken. I do not think that a vote cast for keeping the pledges and promises to the Hindu race will not hold them. We are a nation known in the name of the Hindu tradition as a nation that did not want any document or agreement to keep its pledges. We never needed any weapon for our weapons. We are a nation which called the sun and the stars to our witnesses. I therefore feel that till the goal is reached we should look back to our pledges. The movement was not an arbitrary determination. It was a proof of the free determination of the people to enter to the struggle. Never before in the history of any country, had any nation attempted to give determination to the nation you did on the anniversary day. There were eyes heavily watching whether the movement was really dead or whether there was still the burning in the veins. The students and military organisations that governed India are heavily watching us. For they are able to perceive the strength of the struggle more than India themselves. A movement inaugurated by a great military commander like Mahalinghi can only

be sustained by other great military organisations like him. Government knows that they cannot keep Mahalinghi in jail though ever so many times that the movement is dead and that it is rapidly sinking in silence. The Government knows very well that it is not dead and that it needs only to be recognised. First a child knows that if the movement is dead there can be absolutely no harm in following Mahalinghi. But Mahalinghi himself is not dead and that is sufficient proof that the movement is not dead in vain. Even in your own province of Bihar and Orissa there has been conference of this truth by the Government. One of the members of the Government said that the movement was not dead but was merely disorganised. So long as the effort is not dead it is a poor body and only to keep him but to make him strong. The day will come when he is told that the patient alive and can very well be cured. Therefore it is not his duty to look to the present. There can be no better demonstration of the member of the Joint Legislative Council asked the Government to release all political prisoners, and that the Government refused to do so. The request of the members to release all the political prisoners, however pleasant to the weak-minded, was a confession that the movement was weakening. For spontaneity, they thought, the Government would be able to free prisoners were released. But when the Government refused to consider their request it showed that it was not able to release the prisoners.

I remind you of your duties and their fulfilment. I ask you, first, to look to your organisations and put them on a strong base. Every Congress Committee, whether in a village, in a district, or in a subdivision, must stand as strongly as the Government organisation. Our duty is to see that even now. There is no other Government office stronger in its place as our Congress Committee should be. All the talk of the weakness of the movement is due to one and only one reason as we could see everywhere in our tour in the country. There is no listening to the loyalty of the people. There is no work in collecting in the spirit of the masses towards the Congress. Whenever we went we heard the same chaotic talk in the Congress through the masses as existed before. There was no feeling of disappointment or despondency amongst the thousands of people whom we met, whatever we went. Some of the workers were disappointed and not the people. On examination it will be found that the chief cause of the despondency among the workers is due to their feeling close to the end of their material resources on which they were depending on long. You know what a store means. When a man accumulates a lot, it does not fight with the man inside the lot. It simply keeps food and wears living skins with the lot and this compels them inside the lot to surrender. Likewise poverty has betrayed our workers and we are disappointed and despondent. Government knows its hands and is simply waiting for poverty to break workers' patience. But all know that if the people resolve to be generous, the movement will be up again and Government will have to fight a great battle. If your brothers were imprisoned in a lot and if they were about the necessity to the future, I ask, will you not take food and water to them?

The majority of the workers fall into classes which do not know what poverty means. They are not taking the path of a life of abstinence of begging. Their whole pathos is now coming to an end. And unless you come to them to set the movement on foot again, if you want your organisations to be strengthened you must enable your boys and come forward with money. Your thousands of thousands of workmen are asked to beg. But we stand here abhorrently to beg, because our country is so poor. It is not begging, my friends, it is taxation. If only we had money. But because we have no power to govern ourselves taxation becomes begging. You must know how Government is begging for two hundred crores from the country. They are begging this sum to-day of the members of the Legislative Assembly. Of this 200 crores that they are begging, more than 10 crores is for spending over the money which is lent to govern this country. They are not only begging, but are preparing to raise a loan because begging will not suffice. When Government is prepared to shamelessly go to beg and to raise a loan why should we not beg? It is not the workers that are begging of you. It is the Congress that begs this sum of you. It is by your hands to look upon your workers as beggars as do the collection. If we had identity, if we were a free people, these beggars should have gone to you as tax-collectors.

In any free country every tax is a voluntary donation. It is only in a slave country that taxation becomes involuntary payment. The day you learn to not pay taxes voluntarily that day you will be near the gain of freedom. I have willingly explained to you, I think the necessity, the urgent necessity, of collecting money and I hope all will cooperate with us to make this Congress organisation go on.

I know that there is a strong temptation to leave the accounts of the income and expenditure of last year. I know that every time the Congress wants money more and more power comes out with the representatives of last year's expenditure and immediately we find leading articles in some newspapers about the danger of any further payment. But I hope you will not sit down as authors and moralise your times in book-keeping while you are fighting an enemy. If you have spent one crore you have achieved an amount of work which could not have been achieved by spending one hundred crores. I should not of any Government how many crores he would spend in advertisements to let themselves to the national movement he does. I would ask of representatives of any estate whether they have spent more or not in such on their side. In the country if I had to give a contract of advertisement for Khaddar, I think, I shall have to spend more than one crore to achieve what we have achieved within one year. Khaddar means 50 crores and to spend one crore for the spreading of the knowledge of Khaddar which will save us only even a few light even from the business point of view. Any ordinary ruler will say how much he will have to spend for running the election of thirty crores of people. And to spend one crore to spread Khaddar among them is

nothing. Looking along the marchers and considering the point of view, I ask if one crore of money is much less the point of view of a social reformer, for what has been achieved in the matter of removal of untouchability and spreading of brotherly and social relations between the different communities? I ask further if one crore is too much for giving political education to the people who have been sleeping so long? Government is engaged in giving literary and political education to the people and how many crores has it spent? But what result?

What a huge debt to achieve the result which the one crore of money has achieved! With one crore Mahatma gave political education from which Swamy will spring like a plant from the seed. This crore, therefore, has done so much work within such short time. As to the accounts, I would ask you, to look at them and make them after we have achieved Swamy. You may bring all your leaders to India and confiscate all their property. But in the meantime I want you to sit up to the utmost possible you have made. Your first duty therefore is to write your proceedings and bring this to the Congress. That alone will be enough to make the heart of the Government beat quicker. I hope, before we depart, you will have given Swamy you have with you, as a symbol of your love, affection and loyalty to the Congress and the motive to make good the advance promises made by you. I do not think that you have all assembled, here to listen to me and then go home and think that I have said you have not brought Swamy with you. But I want only a symbol of your affection. As for national centres you have had sufficient sign and proof of a Man and woman have come forward each with a rope without which perhaps is more valuable to him than thousands to others. If we want Swamy, our organisation must be strong. We want even local in the Congress. The Congress has not been enrolling members this year. In some members as it did last year or the year before last, it is necessary to enrol more members. If you want to show that your affection for Mahatma continues to be the same as before and if you want to show that the Congress is a living organisation, I know it was thought once that it was not necessary to enrol members. It was considered that every adult, male or female, was a member of the Congress when he had paid his taxes or not. Although I also thought like that I remember that the present rule to enrol members should continue for some time more. And it is necessary to have such members in large numbers. It is not right that we should allow Mahatma to be so full, by not doing such a little work as the enrolling of members. It may be too much to give a name; but I ask, is it difficult to give that name and show your love for the Congress and Mahatma? Or are you so confused with arguments of cards, I ask, that you do not know whether you should be members or not? There are volunteers waiting to replace your names and I hope you will replace us large numbers. April 10 is fixed for the fulfilment of the Ganga programme as to men and money. Whatever we have had that the work of enrolling volunteers collecting has just begun. I hope you will realise your responsibility of completing the programme

by the 15th of April. Other than the scheme known as the 1000, will remain unfulfilled. I hope the people of Bihar will not wait for me and Kapadia. Please to ask them for it. And you will have to give your quota by the 15th of April. If we fail in this, it will again open the period of uncertainty and then more time will be wasted. If you want to be saved from the cruellest state of time you must fulfil your share. This year again you will have to get a number of such new pieces so that the people may not go to sleep. If you do not do that your work will be behind more difficult next year. We have got to get more into pieces to continue our process now. We have to get our forces in full to show that we prefer jail to slavery. We have to get our brothers in jail to show that even a noble man gambles his share for India, not the scheme's share for himself, but it is a dying man's share for the life a dying man's struggle to get to the shore, like a thirsty man's desire for water, like a hungry man's for food, so must our desire be heard! Be. But you may ask, "Are we really drowning?" Why then I will tell you this. I do not know whether we are all drowning but it is a fact that the year 1934 showed a deficit of 100 crores during the last 5 years. Since the war began our debts have increased by 300 crores. We all know that 270 crores were spent not in England or any other productive project but absolutely on unproductive things. I know that for the last few years the Government which was called paternal was spending more than it was able to get from the country. But I ask why should this money spend more than it is able to get? Because it spent every year to cover down its share which would not have been necessary if we had shared. Then people would not have died on fear of Government and Government on fear of people and there would have been no necessity of spending this of money.

If they insisted on going for defending themselves against invasion they would have trained the people and left them to defend their country when there was any necessity. That is a historic empire which has no need to keep a standing army. But if it is not done so, it is because the Government didn't will not be able to resist. That is why the Government like to keep on army and the people have to pay themselves for it. That is why the poor man has to pay more for salt sugar, and matches than what he can afford. Are you not convinced that we are all drowning? But reason will not convince us. It is only the instinct of freedom that will save us. Never before did any nation know of such a close empire as the one which Mahatma has given us. If you do not want to allow this empire just you must keep it within. We have no fear of Bihar, United and separately as it is. I believe that Bihar will lead the movement in India. I am not following. I judge the time by the fruits, such could be seen as Bihar has produced in the past. If the people were not so, I hope you will fulfil your quota of work and money soon today or to-morrow. I wish to remind you again that you should not go away from here with any concern that you have with you, I have no objection to being at you. Each is not we that has. It is your country and unless your future Government, that is, the Government of you

Khadi Workers' Association

We have received a copy of the Constitution and Rules of All India Khadi Association from its secretary Mr. Nandlalal of Lahore. The association was formed by the first batch of students of the All India Congress Training and Working School of Patna, before they finally dispersed. We have served the Constitution and Rules cordially. We do believe that Khadi Association are a great need at the country, and we would heartily welcome any new associations which have its view about the promotion of the use and manufacture of Khadi. But in our opinion such organisations must begin from the bottom. Khadi means decentralisation and the organisation to be exclusively local should be made. It is at the most provincial organisations. The central organisation for coordinating purposes already exists in the form of the All India Congress Khadi Dept. In one of our lectures we have referred to the Gujarat Khadi Mandal to our opinion its constitution can help serve as a model to start with, and we would suggest to other provinces also to form local organisations more or less on the same lines, making such changes and alterations as may be found necessary for local conditions. We give here the constitution of the Gujarat Khadi Mandal for general information and benefit.

Khadi organisation can be divided into two kinds—one only for the promotion of the use of Khadi and the other principally for its production.

The former one, be open for any person, to join provided he or she fully believes in and exclusively uses Khadi. (In Gujarat there is already an elected kind of organisation and we propose to change it in next future bulletin.)

But the latter one consist chiefly of men who are doing or may have done some practical work in this direction.

Object

To produce pure Khadi i.e. hand-spun hand-woven cloth, and to spread the use of such Khadi, and with this view—

- (1) To manufacture and supply hand-spun, hand-woven, clothes, and to give them on hire or sell on hire-purchase system wherever necessary.
- (2) To purchase, stock and supply cotton and cloth and to get yarn spun by providing spindles.
- (3) To produce better quality cotton-yarn and supply them—even at subsidised rates—to farmers with a view to improve the quality of cotton.
- (4) To make efforts to increase the number of weavers, children and women of the handloom yarn.
- (5) To send visitors to observe weaving and spinning.
- (6) To arrange to get cloth woven out of hand-spun yarn at reasonable charges.
- (7) To open schools for training in spinning and weaving.

(1) To get you open, to get it woven into cloth, to purchase and sell it whenever it is found necessary.

(2) To bring and maintain propaganda.

Members

Any person who believes in Khadi and is prepared to work for it as the above have can become a member subject to his or her fulfilling the following conditions —

(1) Such a person must be a member of the Congress.

(2) He or she must be believing in Khadi as the central means of getting India and its villages clothed as having the potentiality to clothe the whole of India.

(3) He or she must know how to use a spinning wheel as a center to sales.

(4) He or she must know how to keep accounts accurately.

(5) He or her life must be simple and pure.

(6) He or she must be prepared to devote all his or her time after Khadi work.

Executive

(1) There shall be an executive body consisting of four members to be elected by the members of the Board from amongst themselves.

(2) The Secretary of the Provincial Khadi Department shall be an ex-officio member of this (executive) committee and shall act as its chief executive officer who shall work in connection with the executive committee on the lines approved by the majority of votes. The quorum shall consist of three members.

The Chief Executive Officer will have power to select and appoint candidates as well as to remove them of their names or duties there, to procure cotton, to purchase necessary tools or get them made, to sell the products, to employ, remove or dismiss paid men, to manage grants of or to raise of money not exceeding Rs. 500, to deposit money with banks or private banks, and to withdraw the same from them and to correspond or to get necessary documents prepared and to sign them on behalf of the Board. He shall also manage or supervise the general office and the keeping of the accounts.

(3) The Chief Officer shall recommend the admission of a candidate into the membership within three months of his admission as a candidate.

Finance

(1) Money required for carrying on the above activities to be got from the Provincial Congress Committee.

(2) The Board shall provide the fund funds that may have been or may be required as before to the Provincial Congress Committee for Khadi work to accordance with the conditions laid down in the respective funds.

Khadiar Centre

The Khadi Board shall run the following Khadi centres —

(1) Any centre being conducted or managed by a member on behalf of and on the responsibility of the Board.

(2) Any centre that any person or body of persons is, or may be, prepared to run on his or its sole financial responsibility.

(3) The Chief Officer shall disburse any sum required by such centres for capital investments if sanctioned by the Committee.

(4) All the centres opened or managed by the Board shall be directly responsible to the Board.

(5) The Chief Officer shall be-power to nominate, as members of the Board, not more than five persons, who may have full sympathy with the aims and objects of the Board though they may not be its members, but no person so nominated shall be eligible for the membership of the Executive Committee.

(6) The Executive Committee shall meet at least once a month and the Board shall meet at least once within three months. The members shall be constantly informed of all the business of the Board.

(7) The quorum of the Board shall consist of one-third of its total number of members.

(8) Expenses paid to the members as well as those incurred on telegrams from time to time shall be defrayed out of the general funds of the Board subject to the sanction of the P. C. C.

(9) Any additions or alterations that may be found necessary to be made in any part shall be referred to the P. C. C. for its approval.

(10) The Executive Board shall be under the control of and responsible to the P. C. C. in all its activities. It shall submit its accounts before the P. C. C. for its sanction every month.

(11) The P. C. C. shall have the power to dissolve the Board at any time.

Imprighehata, }
Banswari- } Pargulal K. Ghosh
27-3-23 } Director Khadi Information
Bihar

To all Taluka and District Congress Committees

It has been decided to postpone the publication of the special requirement to thirty days consisting the Days Programme program report at various positions in next week as several resources have not yet sent up their reports while some others have promised to do so in course of the next week. We request all the Congress Committees concerned to send in their reports or so to reach here not later than Tuesday.

The Working Committee

The Working Committee meets in Bombay on the thirteenth of April at 3 p. m.

Wanted

Agents for Young India in all principal places in India. Full particulars about service may be had on application from
Manager Young India.

Advertisements

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Enter the Lion

The week between the 6th and the 13th is to be observed as a week of national mourning and remembrance not for those who died in the Jallianwala Bagh massacre but for a nation which, in order to destroy the whole country, has resorted to the unspeakable barbarities that was inflicted upon the nation during and after the British rule. India manifested its anger (the physical anger that she suffered but it is impossible for her to ignore or forget the mental anguish, the agony of shame that the memory of our countrymen having been made to creep on their belly, of our women being having been made to witness the Union Jack under threat of penalty, belongs to the world. It is a matter of unspeakable shame to us that during British rule and dependent young men with all the enthusiasm and idealism characteristic of youth throughout the length and breadth of India and now should have been forced to witness an evil deed to witness a woman being sold as a commodity of her husband, and the humiliating of his country through him, by allowing to stay the Imperial military police and if we can have no better tradition to leave behind us for the country it were better that we ceased to be. The one unadmitted thing of this country that is exposed again and again to a thousand plagues while he was among us was that if a similar disaster came once again, thousands of young men would come forward ready to lay down with defiance as they have rather than succumb to their humiliation by allowing the Union Jack under threat of penalty, or in any other way. What is going to be our attitude now that the Government is seeking to expose the same basic lawless, though in a different form, by inventing the National Flag Bill, let there be no mistake. That situation has now arisen. The action of the Jallianwala massacre cannot be regarded as an isolated phenomenon. It is only part of a policy that has behind it the reaction of Winston Churchill. And Winston made that simply clear in the House of Commons.

We have other nations their liberty, but we lack it in various. The German workers today, refuse to succumb, by allowing a French military police, to march through their country, for during the Martial Law days it was my conviction to behold the lion and highest in our country paying obsequious homage to military French soldiers. The fact is that through centuries of despotism we have forgotten the very meaning of national self-respect. Our national tradition has to build our being with enthusiasm at the sight of the Union Jack does an English heart. It fails to evoke the same sense of patriotic emotion in an Indian as a German boy when he sees the black and white of the German flag's fluttering in the wind and hear the stirring music of the national song —

"I am a German! Know ye not my banner?

Before me flows my flag of black and white!

My fathers died for freedom, it was their nation,

Be my those colours flowing in your sight!"

We must remember this feeling which has been all but crushed out of us. Every Indian child must be taught to regard his white and National flag as his most cherished treasure. We must teach our little children to regard the national tradition with the same feeling of pride with which an English lad does the Union Jack, and to regard as honour as something sacred which they must be prepared to defend with their lives.

On the 6th of April the banner of Jallianwala was unfurled in India. On that day we took a vow to cast out all law and turned a new leaf in our national history. It is but fit that the 6th of April this year should see the national flag unfurled throughout India, as a symbol of remembrance of our national honour that was trampled under foot during the Martial Law days three years back.

It is a matter of pride to learn that the Member of Parliament duty challenged the honour of the national flag by hoisting it on the Union Hall in the teeth of official opposition on the occasion of the 30th Provincial Budget Conference which was held in it recently. The Jallianwala week should see national flags and national traditions manifested in thousands and hundreds of thousands and distributed among groups of men and children. It is a fact that every Congress Office, and if possible, every national institution will fly its own national flag during the week. It is also suggested that the national tradition will have a very meeting held during that period and that arrangements will be made to take out National Flag processions in every city, not in a spirit of lion or towards but in the purest spirit of solemn reverence, after making full preparation for all possible contingencies that might arise. For a national flag procession is a religious act and the program cannot be prevented to be carried by accidental happenings of police.

Program of the Flag

After the above was written the following note was received from the Secretary Provincial Congress Committee, United P. F., showing that people have now been given in making their day towards the nation flag.—

Under the auspices of the United Congress Committee a public meeting of the citizens of Chittaurgarh was held on the 10th March. Resolutions were passed calling upon people of Chittaurgarh to do certain things. They are hereby, it is their desire during the coming National Week from this on next April and July displaying the national flag in their homes to take up the question and render to India the National Flag as an Indian flag.

How is action

"Another feature of the United Provincial Committee Conference held at Jaipur on the 10th instant was the resolution National flag day being observed on the street and for being carried on walking sticks. They said in Jaipur, the 10th of April, a great national flag was displayed and the Congress Committee was directed to supply more."

Manager's Notice

Subscribers are requested not to use Urdu script in correspondence addressed to the manager as attendance is likely to be delayed owing to difficulties of interpreting the Urdu in our office.

Young India

S-4-23

The Punjab

Hindians Are Lost by Muslims

The Punjab is now afflicted with a greater misfortune than even what is being commemorated throughout Hindustan in the national week. The wrongs of 1919 were inflicted upon an innocent people from outside. Such wrongs make a nation of steel and which trace their fate occasion of justification and elevation. But today the Punjab is afflicted by the wrongs of her own people, which do not elevate or exalt her dignity the people down with, even knowing themselves. Hindustan, ever free from bigotry, whose true beauty, is catholicity, seems in the Punjab, under the pressure of anger, to be eager to borrow the least benefit of the governments that have suffered moral material harm. In the anger of the moment, Hindustan in Punjab seems to have lost her balance, and is taking herself into her. Hindustan feels that Islam has not stood bravely by her afflicted children of today, she feels called upon to meet Islam and show her strength and to rebel against the restriction imposed by the Congress in the name of national unity. The depth and persistence of this feeling cannot be denied. I have seen enough over in the all too short stay that I made in the province to convince me that this anger is genuine, deep, and widespread.

Punjab has ever been the defender of Hindustan against the assaults laid against the latter. Year by year history, the words to enter the field with steel and shield. There are other names that have resounded in the conquest known of today, which may be deemed artificial or secondary, but the resistance against what has been understood as indifference on the part of the better sense of Islam is strong and real, but I am certain, genuine and unshakable are integral and abiding known in Hindu character and will surely reward themselves when the present administration in the Punjab is removed. The least advance on the part of Mohammedan leaders will bring up love and good-will from Hindustan with redoubled force which will turn the present into into a very ugly dream.

Misdirection Laid in

During times of excitement, the duty of the national press, both Hindu and Mohammedan, is not to run with the crowd, but bravely to lead it. The abandonment of this duty in the Punjab is a serious and for good and evil, its power is great. If only it resolves to cooperate in here's follow, the province can be saved. Leaders of each community should ever be a commanding influence. Lately stories reported and quoted with admiration, and repeated from several my columns with further comments added, are really such as angry people here and there and outside I heard the other day a statement that a white-haired man being christened under the signature of two leading Mohammedan Congressmen. On consideration, it was

found afterwards that the white-haired leader was a discredited agent not signed by any one, but was read by some one along with genuine copies of a notice of a meeting of the Punjab Khilafat Committee. The notice was an draft signed by respectable whom but it had nothing to do with the Mohammedan leader Congress and Khilafat officers should guard against their being used as unconscious agents for the destruction of the colony.

Leaders, A. representing Punjab

It is the duty of Hindu leaders not to act as advocates of the Hindu community. If they care for unity, they should risk all their popularity and influence and try to achieve their following. The duty of Mohammedan leaders should be to restrain their following. Justice there should be on both sides but it should be asked not by each from the other, but by the respective leaders from their own community in terms of the other. The office of Hindu leaders should be to see that their people realize justice to the Mohammedans, and Mohammedan leaders should lead their people realizing justice to the other community. This is the noble way to divide the labor. It should not be the office of a Hindu leader to get justice from Mohammedans by their advocacy or skill in pathlessness. The policy of constant opposition to demands rather than claim has been followed by all Congress and Khilafat workers and leaders during the period which are greeted with and greeted enough in the nation. So far as unity is a critical point is no movement, let us not adopt in their another policy one which will make, and will keep up, separation as in the great civil strife from. The Congress Committee are now blamed by the excited Hindus of the Punjab as having done too little justice to the Hindus. The Khilafat Committee are similarly blamed by the Mohammedan community. Nothing is the only way to waive the word in the camp. The principle of cooperation is the basis of Hindu-Muslim unity. A carpenter can join two pieces of wood only by hipping and planing. He cannot let successfully hipped and joined together, get a joint and even application of the chisel on both pieces of wood should be the aim.

The Late

"Let us separate ourselves, let us be strong," say the Hindus of Punjab in their present circumstances. By all means, let us be strong. But what is the meaning of the proposal? Does it mean that each and every one should learn to defend themselves against attacks on person, property or houses, and not depend on the protection of the Government or its police? Most certainly let this be done. Then it means that in the handling up of law and give greater attention should be paid to physical culture? This is the right thing to do. Does it mean the organization of a direct guard against attack? This also is a necessary condition of self-respect and a too long neglected duty of citizenship. But let it not be a national police or a challenge or lead to any particular community, but cover citizenship without distinction of creed or caste. If, however, those who committed Hindu organizations in Punjab or otherwise think of national political organization, I say it is too late in the day for Hindus to think of it. They are the old

in working with political groups. Such organisations would be of no use to non-cooperators and it can serve only to divide. Greatest danger against which we should guard ourselves is losing sight of our goal. In trying to win a victory or being beaten on the road we should not be drawn unconsciously into the hands of co-operators. Hindus and Mussalmans and Sikhs should remember well that the common enemy we are fighting against is evil capitalism.

A Parallel

Besides the fear of a repetition of Madras, the other cause has been operative to confuse the issue in Punjab. Is the policy of the Government or its distribution of arms and police and other prizes and opportunities of the present administration. In every respect the position and the policy and the temptations of the people of the Punjab are like those of the South Indian Brahmins and non-Brahmins under the present 'imperial' administration of Madras. The Punjab Hindu's aim is in many respects older than that of the more recent South Indian Brahmins of Madras. The Punjab Hindu is not so excited by money education and status as the South Indian Brahmin. But both can remember that when we entered the battle for Swami and accepted non-cooperation as the only possible weapon for waging that battle we decided to allow the administration to be run without our aid and to forgo all the advantages of office or power. We cannot non-cooperate with the Government and at the same time have a present share in it. We must choose either the future or the present, we cannot have both. It is wonderful how the policy of the Punjab Government has confused the issue and led both Hindus and Mussalmans out of the track. To fight for a greater or less share in the power and share of office is worse than unhesitant cooperation. If we make us our tool not to fight the Government, then indeed we may as have equally to divide the spoils, putting off all thought of the best of things for which democracy, of the sons and daughters of Hindustan have already given untold sacrifices.

The Struggle of Despard

Madras and communal representatives have given a fresh and aggressive impetus to Hinduism. Hinduism which the world has understood to be a non-proselytising religion is beginning to wage in Punjab and has frightened Islam. "If you say so, Why not I? say also. You too say," say Islam. But it is common to expect to be led all the time. Islam is gripped at the transformation of policy. The issue of national trust is threatened by the religious trust, and if we go on thus we will sink together into the Slough of Despard of which we had got out after so much suffering and sacrifice. The enemy defeated Hindu we gain we lose two new Mussalmans. I can only repeat here what I reiterated before the Punjab Provincial Conference at Sargodha:—

Politics to the garb of religion

"Throughout the Punjab loudly and eloquently we find people oppressed by the thought and that is about the expression of representative that are going on. Freedom of religion is absolutely a correct and true doctrine. It is very right that we should

approach God by the nearest path and he should try to take his freedom to the same goal. But the right depends upon the honesty of our purpose. Thousands of people are honest and we grant them that right. But I emphasize as strongly as I can that religion should not be perverted for politics. The right that I said, I granted for convenience as religion I do not grant in the matter of politics in the garb of religion. But the theme of the richest kingdom of the whole world can stand in my way to take my brother to God. If I want to spread the truth in the matter of religion, it is my duty to do so according as I see it, but if you believe that in making your brother a Mussalmans or a Hindu you are taking him to any community to greater political power, I say that will before you make that step. You may make Hindu able and consequently stronger in political power or you may similarly make Mussalmans stronger in political power, but we will be so much weaker together, that on the whole we will be politically weaker. Would you like a basket-ful of water divided between you or a bucket-ful of water divided between you two? It is possible, one community can become stronger than another, it may have more office, but it will be only a division of the bucket-ful. This test that I set before you applies to every one of us who takes part in this movement. If I give a thousand rupees for a community organisation in order to take a blind man across to God, I will be doing wrong to God and religion. But if I do it to get more political power, I do damage to the cause of freedom. This I especially apply to my Mussalmans brother if he gives thousand rupees to this very purpose to any Mussalmans organisation. The history of the spread of the religions of the world is a glorious history. For spreading the knowledge of God and for spreading Truth men have died on the scaffold and have offered themselves to be burnt on the stake. But starting organisations for increasing or increasing political power is not the true history of religion. What I have said, I know, is not pleasing to everybody. But the matter is so grave that we should not try to please but speak with the truth as we see it.

I remember a little conversation. "Is it not a beautiful thing that India should present the spectacle of one religion not merely tolerating but actually fighting for a sister religion?" Mahatma's eyes flashed as he replied "Isn't it beautiful?" He was pleased to see we had understood the full religious significance of the Hindu support of the Khilafat. It was when the fight had not commenced. It was just being planned. But now what is Punjab doing? Hinduism says to one wall against Islam and Islam likewise seeks to capture for war. No one moved here as

C. K.

The Pen that Divides

It is a very old problem that India has too many communities to attain freedom easily. It is not a new discovery. Every one who wanted to maintain the empire domination noticed our attention to the fact that we had too many languages, too many communities and too many religions. If we are to be inspired by these difficulties we need not take up the battle of Swami. It is only if we are resolved to get over these difficulties that we need

hedge this counsel at all. These difficulties can be overcome if we only partly see them. If an amount of clever negotiation can be got over these difficulties the objections such as we know of in India can make this kind of dispute which we have to fight each other and to take upon ourselves the burden of others we cannot make. As soon as this community begins finding fault with the other, unity will become difficult. In this campaign of sacrifice if we call upon others to sacrifice or bargain about sacrifice we will never win. The work of bargaining is absolutely opposed to the spirit of sacrifice. It is only if each one of us comes with his sacrifice without looking back to his companion that we can win. I remember when I was a boy I saw a dove where, with the aid of mirrors, it was shown the dismembered parts of a human being. It was really thinking that it was a time when the body had been cut up, a head was here and a leg was there and we wondered at it. But one matter of fact it was actually a trick of the mirrors that made it. Every man appears in this dismembered condition. In the same manner a united nation has now been presented to us as if it were dismembered and in a hopelessly dead condition. It all depends upon how we look at it, whether we look straight with our own eyes or whether we look through false mirrors. Under the pressure of conscious sacrifices and conscious oppression we are waking. But when victory is near, almost in our hands, our attention is drawn to other things and the great and common conditions threaten to be removed from our vision. When we forget this common, direct and personal sacrifice we take to little quarrels and begin to fight with each other. The week that we are in is the anniversary of Punjab's famous sacrifices. What Punjab? It is a week that expresses the common sacrifice of India. This is a week that symbolises an hopelessly oppressed condition. Yet during the same week it looks as if we are going to celebrate it in Punjab by attempts at sedition in order to get over our mental quarrels. Is the Punjab going to invite people from all India to settle these internal quarrels, or is she going to spend the week in helping the great fight of India? If we had a winning day, a day which our people could create easily without interference from the outside, then we could devote it to our heart's content. But the spectator outside is ready to come forward and help one against the other and take the field against both. If any Hindu or any Mussalmán says to-morrow that the winning could be done on a fair field, he must give up this hope. If we only look around and see the enemy that is watching our game we will not indulge in such winning matches, however pleasant they might be for the present. If any two think the match there are others to continue the winning. And while we go on with this pleasant tournament let the People see that Lord Lawrence is looking upon us from his place in the Mall with the gun and the sword and the attitude of hunted game. We make whether we will be ruled by the gun, and the gun has decided us. It would have been far better if we had agreed to be ruled by the sword. It would have ended our

quarrels, and we would not have had to fight a slave contently. But we agreed to be ruled by the gun, because we thought it will not pain us. And the gun is drilling and dismembering the body. If we want to unity on the basis of true honour, we must forget all our little quarrels and wars. It is not enough if we throw bats on our own little basis by taking up human quarrels and fight with lower enemies. It is very tempting and very easy for one to fight with a Mussalmán brother and so also it is easy and tempting for a Mussalmán to fight with the Hindu brother. But if we are really true to ourselves, we should combine and fight with a bigger and more difficult enemy. It is because we have no work to do that we quarrel with each other. We must occupy ourselves with difficult and true work, and get helpings in easy and little work. These little engagements, these little quarrels we can find after we have established unity; but before we attain (unity) in the interests in which Mahatmaji has placed us we have no time to fight with each other.

C. R.

Signs of the Time

Some time back, when the Ganga programme was placed before the country some friendly critics expressed apprehension that the Civil Disobedience part of it would remain a mere paper-bole to the Government and was likely to change the non-cooperation side thus by providing them with foolish, unreasonable orders that could be easily isolated. We countered this fear the Indian and unreasonable orders referred to were not due in the past to a temporary situation of the Government and as was supposed but only a symptom of a deep-seated disease from which the Government was suffering. We further ventured to promise that so long as the heart of the Government remained so corrupt and unscrupulous as it was, these symptoms were bound to recur as an inevitable necessity again and again whenever our national life once more began to show signs of renewed strength and energy. Subsequent happenings since then have fully borne out our belief. Now that the country has taken to life-giving, inspiring constructive work and fresh aspirations more began to manifest freely in its activities, got a day passed without bringing some fresh invitation for Civil Disobedience in its train. Only the other day the members of the Congress delegation were harassed with orders under section 144 at Bangalore, but the valiant spirit which they displayed to choose their own time for offering India, and led to the closure of Bangalore to furnish the water, which they bravely did. In the public meeting held on the 17th when over 1000 people were assembled on the spot, Mahatmaji in defiance was prevented under the same section by the District Magistrate from holding meetings, his meeting volunteers and the crowd he gave before us. The Secretary, Rajendra Congress Committee when, "1000 volunteers have been wanted to that District alone." The Mysore City Municipality went one further by moving Mr. K. Krishna Rao, the Secretary, Mysore District Congress Committee and a member of the Representative Assembly with a notice under section 144 on the grounds of the view of Mr. [Name] in that place, requiring "not to

The sum of Progress

Province	Members	T. S. Fund Rs.	Block Rs.	Volunteers
Uttarpr.	20,000	1,00,000	60,000	180
Kerala	500	5,000	27,50	20
Andhra	1,000	24,27*	7,177.4	91
Uttar	770	770	12,000	50
United Provinces	711	485	1,4419	204
Assam	87	104	500	—
Pond.	10,100	20,200	84,00	85
Punjab	4,242	17,001	9,681	—0
Bihar	20,000	2,000	10,000	—
Central Provinces	21,771	767	30,487	103
Bengal	12,000	10,434	28,000	15-20
Tamil Nadu	6,000	12,100	28,000	1-0
Karnataka	4,670	6,000	8,000	124
Madras	8,000	20,000	12,000	10
Malabar	1,000	6,000	20,000	20
Bomb.	100	800	7,000	10
Through South Jawahar		10,000		
Congress Depu- ties in Canada (ground and paid)		5,000		
Total	1,00,000	3,00,000	1,00,000	300

Record of Progress

It is not possible for us to convey here an adequate idea of the enormous volume of work that we have received, of the volume of service during the last two months and a half. We have not difficulty been rendered any the easier by our correspondents. Some of them, for instance, having perhaps come to the conclusion that to mention the place from which they mailed would be an unnecessary (another, have straight off commenced their reports with, "In our language here, etc." leaving it to the editor's imagination to guess that list of activity somewhere did not feel necessary to distinguish between all results from absence of interference, leaving blank spaces to indicate where, although in the language of space it is apparent that blank spaces denote only the limit. With these and all others who favored us with such interesting and enlightening information as "Volunteers, some unclassified, This Service Fund, going on, Congress members sufficient."

About 400 Congress organizations have sent in their reports which are given elsewhere in a condensed form. The reports of the United and Indian Congress have not yet been received. The total number of Congress members reached 10,000.

10th of March comes to 1,00,000, of volunteers 300. The This Service Fund report sent on the 10th at about 10,000. It will add during that period has been roughly estimated to be 1,00,000 Rs. worth. The figures are far from being complete. Added to per cent taking reports received from the "This-Service-Fund" committee, various from unclassified not yet available. In some a number of places work was reported to have commenced but recently, and not just starting to full swing. U. P. was too busy with the D. B. and Madras elections to be able to furnish the required information. For instance, we have not received any report from Madras, but we know from the press reports that during the Gandhi Week alone, it collected over 100,000 Rs. for the This Service Fund. Again, at some provinces the figures have been somewhat too rapidly as to ask the This Service Fund committee give a list of work of their organizations. And, to take an example, about 10,000 Rs. worth of work in the 10th; per cent the other day Congress were since submitted over 10,000 in big donations only, to reply to the volume, Congress Committee's need check. These figures, therefore, must be taken to represent a reliable order estimate.

Bangal



11 0 SEP 1942

No.	Location	Members	1st-3rd and 4th	5th-7th	Volunteer	Quarantine	Details	Remarks
1	Chattanooga	504	100	1,200	10	2	Complete	Info. given in one place
2	London	100	100	100	1	0	D	
3	Smalltown	500	100	1,000	10	11	See 2	Will give check weekly forwarded to Bangal
4	Memphis	100	100	100	10	15	Complete	People sympathetic (Church of members and lay)
5	St. Paul	200	100	200	—	0	D	Many think people sympathetic
6	Chattanooga	100	100	100	10	11	Complete	
7	Memphis	100	100	100	10	20	Complete	Good and workers meeting
8	Memphis	100	100	100	10	1	Complete	T. S. Smith says Church would be a help. I think so. P. I. Adams is a help.
9	Memphis	100	100	100	10	1	Complete	Information given
10	Chattanooga	100	100	100	10	1	Complete	
11	Memphis	100	100	100	10	15	Complete	Many feel a lot of interest in this work
12	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	20	Complete	Work of workers
13	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	0	D	Places
14	St. Paul	200	100	200	10	22	Complete	Workers, sympathy, People, churches, persons
15	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	2	Complete	Persons
16	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	11	Complete	Persons, persons, persons
17	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	0	Complete	Persons
18	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	20	Complete	Persons
19	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	0	Complete	Persons
20	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Complete	Persons
21	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	0	D	Persons
22	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	—	Persons	Persons
23	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
24	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
25	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
26	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
27	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
28	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
29	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
30	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
31	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
32	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
33	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
34	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
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37	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
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39	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
40	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
41	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
42	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
43	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
44	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
45	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
46	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
47	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
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49	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
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66	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
67	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
68	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
69	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
70	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
71	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
72	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
73	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
74	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
75	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
76	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
77	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
78	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
79	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
80	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
81	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
82	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
83	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
84	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
85	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
86	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
87	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
88	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
89	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
90	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
91	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
92	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
93	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
94	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
95	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
96	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
97	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
98	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
99	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons
100	St. Paul	100	100	100	10	1	Persons	Persons

Gajrat

No.	District	Members	T.S.Fund Rs.	Block Rs.	Volun- teers	Meetings	Haral	Remarks.
1	Abroadabad	8400	12000	P. C. Bhambhani 82000	120		Every where	High fever still during last 10 weeks Rs. 12000
2	Kanva	7500	30000		140			
3	Broach	2400	3000		332			
4	Surat	1070	37500		192			
5	Parbhani	1000	100		8			
		20000	100000	82000	792			

Korda

1	Osler	71	75	2000	4	1	1	The office opened on the 15th. Just free from plague
2	Corben	34	4	5	1	1	1	
3	Pillai Tomy	50	..	..	10		
4	Palghat	410	375	2200	10	1	1	
		565	409	6700	25	3		

Andhra

1	W. Godavari	..	300	5000	nd	4	nd New year's day	People afraid to participate They are afraid of Government cutting off their water supply. Movement not received from villages as regard Members. Not advised to observe festival by P. C. C. New Year's Day, the release of leaders has instilled fresh hope. Depression disappearing.
2	N. Anandapur	84	201	18,000	nd	1	New year's day	
3	Gurjara	200	000	2000	10	10	2	
4	Vinayapuram	323	15	2574	nd	nd	nd	
5	Bhadrachalam	200	70	10000	..	..	..
6	Nellore	224	nd	12000	..	12	..	
7	W. Kistna	100	nd	20000	35	..	nd	
8	Anandapur	20	5	100	nd	2	nd	
		1042	5100	74774	21	24		

Orissa

1	Balaso	50	945	1000	Remainder supplied by P. C. C.	7	11	Wanted workers, people enthusiastic
2	Dalhanga	110	145	1000		7	through-out	
3	Sambalpur	100	20	1000		10	partial	1 office opened. Rs. 8000 promised. Incomplete information. People sympathetic but afraid.
4	Gurjara	25	250	1000		21	4	
5	Cuttack	251	1101	2200		11	21	
6	Puri	841	120	2000		5	42	
		779	2716	12000	90	50		

Karnatak

No.	Districts	Members	T & Fund Rs.	Khadis Rs.	Others Rs.	Weeks	Results	Remarks
1	Dharwad	544	550	5400	75	4	General	Plague and famine as I rule
2	Ahwa Taluk	25	...	...	10	...	...	...
3	Bilgaon	425	200	11440	200	4	...	Incomplete information
4	Kandharpet	...	...	...	5	1	Incomplete	...
5	Karnai	415	500	440	15	7	General	Incomplete information
6	Bomaset	155	400	100	15	4	...	...
7	Gadag	850	551	2904	25	3	...	Plague and famine
8	S. Canara	1041	115	1120	5	1	General	Work commenced
9	S. Canara	1340	1150	5702	115	10	General	Work commenced
10	Mysore	40	50	200	50	1	half day	Apathy, wanted workers
		4475	4000	20000	450	35		

Bengal

1	Bachchra	2500	1200	20045	5	3	All over	No T.S. T except from information incomplete
2	Puri	500	2000	2000	2	1	Complete	
3	F. Ward	1400	300	550	4	2	...	
4	Santa-Cruz	405	2000	2000	50	2	...	
5	G. Ward	1804	1715	2500	10	3	...	
6	Villa Paris	400	2000	50	50	1	...	
7	Mumbai	1100	2000	25000	24	2	...	
8	Gharapur	1200	12000	2000	2	2	...	
		8979	23615	142000	20	14		

Madras

1	Erroding	502	201	2024	20	2	4	Incomplete information, wanted leaders Workers wanted
2	Batu	50	50	50	50	50	50	
3	Shikhar	200	100	...	...	1	1
4	W. Khadash	110	002	1700	50	5	1	
5	Kager	200	50	100	50	50	2	Office nearly started 200 Khadash - shops as Khadash
6	Panna City	50	1200	2000	20	5	1	
7	Almashapur	50	50	15000	50	1	50	
8	Satara	...	...	...	...	...	...
9	E. Khadash	450	2122	2000	20	1	2	
		1352	4300	22804	70	10		

Bihar

1	Baid	50	50	...	50	50	Complete	Plague epidemic
2	Bokhar	250	50	7000	1	1	All over	Work recently begun
3	Anarata	45	500	100	10	15	...	
		295	600	7100	10	16		

Purbi

No.	District	March 1	March 15	March 31	Value over	Meetings	Serial	Remarks
1	Kanchakuli	1140	41	nil	nil	2	Holiday	
2	Farwaya	1175	113	1175	12	5	Complete	
3	Bhara	525	1175	1175	10	0	1	Disruption
4	Bharg	125	nil	nil	nil	1	1	
5	D. J. Khas	115	1175	1175	nil	5	nil	
6	Kashin	1175	1175	1175	1175	4	1	
7	Karail	111	1175	1175	nil	1	1	
		1175	1175	1175	1175	11	1	

Bihar

1	Monghyr	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	Through out	Mass meeting in Gogri
2	Thakurga	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	3	Serial complete and spontaneous
3	Samat Prasad	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	A backward district. Hope to finish serial in time
4	Chakul	111	111	111	111	1	1	Workers without worthy and mass-keen.
5	Darbhanga	1175	1175	1175	1175	1	1	Information incomplete
6	Banahi	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	Through out	Workers and mass meeting meeting
7	Bharnag	1175	1175	1175	1175	1	1	Information incomplete
8	Patna	1175	1175	1175	1175	1	11	
9	Chhapra	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	Complete	Very hopeful
10	Bachhagpur	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
11	Katihar	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
12	Muzaffarpur	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	Complete	
13	Bhagalpur	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	Complete	
14	Chhapra	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
15	Patna, Tany	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
		1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	

Central Province

1	Dang	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	Work recently begun
2	Danah	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
3	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
4	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
5	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
6	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
7	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
8	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
9	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
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11	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
12	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
13	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
14	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
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16	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
17	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
18	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
19	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
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90	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
91	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
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94	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
95	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
96	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
97	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
98	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
99	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	
100	Bharg	1175	1175	1175	1175	11	11	

Singapore

No	District	Members	T S Fund Rs	Black H.	Volume 1962	M. 1962	Harold	Remarks
1	Agnes	..	..	..	..	..	..	No Congress registration. Haral to all places

United Provinces

1	Ban	200	100	1971	31	4	14	Information complete. Major
2	Changpur	..	200	1744	20	1	..	..
3	Changpur	400	500	1970	20	4	14	..
4	Murchison	100	100	..	20	1	1	Buy with House and Election
5	Lakshmi	..	..	..	..	..	Through-out	..
6	Jangpur	100	100	400	20	1	..	D H Lakshmi
7	Agnes	1	1	1000	10	1	Through-out	..
		713	485	14519	134	20	..	..

Assam

1	Jorhat	20	88	..	..	15	..	Criminal Law Amendment Act
2	Goalpur	..	80	100	100	100	1	..
3	N. L. (2)	10	..	..	..	2	..	..
4	Bahar Kach	..	..	100	..	1	1	..
		37	168	200	..	18	..	..

Bihar

1	Hodanabad	400	400	1000	100	2	complete	Black women in Congress factories this year 2000
2	Sahar	..	1740	1000	20	..	12	..
3	Katwa	1571	3005	100	30	5	complete	the year 2000 words, para upon 20 sets incomplete information
4	Sahar	1000	..	..	5	1	1	Black and difficult to estimate
5	Larkhana	125	10	220	10	1	complete	Black of 200 Rs was sold on the bank.
6	Jatwada	14	649	1000	10	10	..	Most of members and officers
		3135	2005	2400	..	16	..	..

Tamil Nadu

No.	District	Members	T S Fund Rs.	Exchequer Rs.	Value sent	Meetings	Report	Remarks
1	Tamilnadu	1808	5175	1250	22	25	27	Incomplete information.
2	Pudukottai	165	21	1260	7	7	7	Gov. Pledge
3	Tirunelveli	454	425	1300	18	240/3	13	Vehicle sent
4	South Arcot	250	745	1242	11	14	11	Report incomplete
5	North Arcot	549	481	4180	62	12	11	Propaganda necessary
6	Tirupur	422	125	7580	19	34	5	
7	Salem	287	11	1097	17	9	4	One office opened.
8	North Arcot	1521	358	2720	14	23	13	progressing
9	Kannur	224	202	2870	25	4000/3	19	Wanted workers
10	Chengalpattu	34	11	4474	28	14	11	Wanted money
11	Coimbatore	322	200	2145	3	...	...	Meetings prohibited
12	Tirunayana ?	22	22	22	22	22	22	Committee to be formed
13	Chengalpattu ?	124	20	2140	12	1	4	
14	Kanchikungan	115	200	1500	3	4	Complete	Committee inactive
15	Madurai	1108	2022	6014	77	11	"	Propaganda necessary
16	South Arcot	200	...	...	80	7	"	
17	Tirupur	24	2100	2200	14	6	1	Work just begun.
18	Kovilur	...	25	2470	6	...	6	progressing
19	Coimbatore	120	22	2020	22	7	2	No Volunteer pledge
20	Tutukora	200	485	...	16	1	1	24 promise to sign
21	Nellore	26	212	...	2	1	New year	Incomplete information, work just begun
		2824	22125	62220	450	4824	120	

with them in their own life, despite the sympathy which they extend. I have met the worst afflictions about this matter but there was no form of violence which I saw have caused worse than that which assailed one day some Nyanas, a tribe in Malabar, which is supposed to be more cruel than half a dozen of other members of the human race. During long centuries of intense cruelty about unthinkable in its barbarism, they have been "baptized and introduced into the christian fold" upon possibly very dissimulating the before the actual deed, for a day may approach a man, but they cannot "be so and then not. They have learnt to believe completely in their own righteousness. I could not get at all near to them. As I could not see their stained robes and stained faces, with their hands to their mouths, begging for food. There was a little sign on the market's, in which they sold articles by their own, asking for them. The cry of these Nyanas for food and the scenes of fear of them. Christian children and other came back to my company, whenever I think of Malabar and its awful problems.

The following account has been given of the Nyanas by one who knows their condition in Malabar.

"The Nyanas do not interfere with a regular labour in their work—which is hardly a "proper" work. They live in a neighbourhood isolated. They cannot travel along the roads. They must travel at night at a very great distance from Malabar. They cannot live by labour. They must live by begging, and they cannot come near you to beg—out here is the road. So they spend a day in the margins of the road or foot path, and stand at a great distance in the wet field or in the palm-olive jungle. And they cry aloud for food—"Thana—Thana!" "Tha—Tha!" Not once, not twice, but eternally, they shout these wretched addresses to the "Indians and gentlemen" of the Hindu community who may pass along the road or foot path. Some of the "Indians and gentlemen" sometimes have the misanthropic view of the starving wretch, as the beggar cries before them and throw a piece of rice for a quarter of an hour or so (supposedly charitable) on the way. Sometimes a handful of rice or a piece of old cloth or a lump of thrown on the way.

The Nyanas themselves live in a condition, living the horror of the poor or leper. Often times the hard-earned rice is shared by the crowd. For, the Nyanas cannot come to the rooms of the rice until after the dawn has passed, before the morning rays of pollution, whereas the crowd has not the disadvantages of pollution and can pick up the rice even in the close proximity of the Sun. There can also be a part of the starvation, for dogs do not prefer the high seats by approach."

Is not Malabar's well-known prosperity, arising naturally from the fact that we shall never be worthy of success, so long as we neglect the cry of those, whom I have truly called "Malabar Gandhi's Children"? Will not their cry at last wake him out of sleep, along with the cry of those other "outcasts"? He whom he called and ordered to turn this long years in Africa—the leader of the South African for Indian Africa who was shot out by

the Indian Government of organized from the Government of India? Let us always look at Malabar's old, then, two problems of unthinkably together in one case and then in still better, and finally, he himself is to work with them. Our Indian fathers and mothers should not never be so lost, and we ourselves are not our fathers, and people of India.

G. F. A.

Mr. Yagaji's Trial

149. (United Tajik, was continued in our weekly supplement under "Notes" No. 7, 1, by Mr. H. M. Wills. The following is the written statement that he made before the Acting Magistrate. The alleged evidence was delivered at Aden in Kaim District, the most portions of which are translated below. (See Note 7, 1.)

The Statement

I am a prisoner here, put in the high court of Malabar, because of my being a witness upon some case, why I should not be allowed to come to a trial to let of my influence on the case. But I am not free to believe that Government has sought to discriminate in regard to my individual case, as in a case of my friends. I am either inclined to believe it is an attempt to find some way. Government has given some propaganda to the people of Malabar, saying that the Government is engaged to get up an office, to be a great office, to be a great office. I want that the trial of Yagaji will place the only opportunity in the case of Government to let of a capital and will not be a great trial and will not be a great trial. I want that the trial of Yagaji will place the only opportunity in the case of Government to let of a capital and will not be a great trial and will not be a great trial.

I need hardly tell you that in the words of the law, I am a prisoner here, because of my being a witness upon some case, why I should not be allowed to come to a trial to let of my influence on the case. But I am not free to believe that Government has sought to discriminate in regard to my individual case, as in a case of my friends. I am either inclined to believe it is an attempt to find some way. Government has given some propaganda to the people of Malabar, saying that the Government is engaged to get up an office, to be a great office, to be a great office. I want that the trial of Yagaji will place the only opportunity in the case of Government to let of a capital and will not be a great trial and will not be a great trial. I want that the trial of Yagaji will place the only opportunity in the case of Government to let of a capital and will not be a great trial and will not be a great trial.

It is not for me, the is great success for being of good Malabar. I am a prisoner here, because of my being a witness upon some case, why I should not be allowed to come to a trial to let of my influence on the case. But I am not free to believe that Government has sought to discriminate in regard to my individual case, as in a case of my friends. I am either inclined to believe it is an attempt to find some way. Government has given some propaganda to the people of Malabar, saying that the Government is engaged to get up an office, to be a great office, to be a great office. I want that the trial of Yagaji will place the only opportunity in the case of Government to let of a capital and will not be a great trial and will not be a great trial.

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overseas, declaring that he now feels convinced that too many concessions have been made to Indians, and the reasonable maximum must be made more stringent still.

It should be remembered, already in India, that the threat of open violence is actually being laid on airplanes, while the departments go to England. It is not given up Lord Dalhousie and others have declared openly that they reserve to themselves the "right" to take direct action, at once, if their undesirable measures are not altered by the Colonial Office and by direct action they mean nothing else except the use of force.

In the face of this danger of violence, what is the true Indian position? First and last, there must be satisfaction. First and last there must be refusal to compromise on real issues, where every compromise will only be used by the Europeans as a means of peacefully straining Indian and British imperial demands, and thus as the end increases their openly proclaimed allegations of excluding Indian immigrants from East Africa, altogether.

It seems clear as possible now in the whole world that the Indian struggle in Kenya is another perfect example in behalf of freedom and independence. It is the battle of the weak and oppressed against the strong and mighty. Whereas it is better than the very best illustrated in England, that "Colon is the rule of the big international, it is impossible which history has done a 2 a thousand times. God is on the side of the oppressed."

But every one only be easily gained a wage and satisfaction, by food, arms and truth, and by an unswerving determination to refuse to retreat unless by violence. O. J. A.

From Yestere's Jail By Mahatma's Garibaldi

As I have lived with Mahatma Gandhi as his co-prisoner and shared his isolation, the police would naturally be expecting me to make a statement regarding the prison treatment. I hope to satisfy the very natural curiosity by making this brief statement.

So far as material comforts are concerned there is very little to be said. From my very personal experience I can say that I was kindly and consistently treated by the benevolent prison authorities from the two Superintendents down to the police and warders. We were given the food we asked for. The doors of our cells were kept open. It was necessary for Mahatma Gandhi because of his bleeding habit of sleeping all in the open and he was because of my nerves. We were allowed an unlimited supply of books also from outside. Later, for health reasons we were both of us allowed cigarettes and tobacco and finally Mahatma Gandhi has been allowed the use of a common curtain, because of the trouble of mosquitoes during the season. We had all the clothes and bedding we needed and we were given the shade if we so pleased, we have our bedding also from outside. We were allowed to be hair-dressing on our own heads as a voluntary concession.

At home in South India

Mahatma Gandhi is keeping very good health. While in prison we heard that there were stories

abroad of his health and sufferings. He was kept up late about that. He said he would feel satisfied if he called from Manchester. He further said that a great number who would feel sorry if he has to go to prison, but he wishes to meet his country and do anything that would bring it on to him. He went he prepared to leave prison as his health, if he wishes his country a better above everything else. He added that if he were ill, it would not be because of any lack of attention on the part of the prison authorities, but because of his own weakness to stand against violence to his constitution, or because of chronic conditions. He is taking all reasonable care of his health.

The Dark Side of the Picture

So much for the bright side of the picture, it has. I am sorry to say, a dark side too. While actual conditions are well looked after, he is actually starved. The allowance of books is no doubt a very great credit but the necessary literature beyond upon him is severely hit by him. Immediately after our admission to the Yerwade Prison, I was taken away from him. Our first meeting there was some two weeks. He was given no food until he reached there at about 5 p.m. We had some time with us. Even then were neglected. The next morning, I reported the matter to the authorities that we were expected to be neglected. Mahatma pleaded that I was suffering from nerves and his company would help to soothe me, but all up as purpose. He has given a graphic description of this in his letter to Mahatma Ajitkumar which the Government would not send for fear very reason. He makes mention therein of Manna, Dabipada and Vaman who were at the prison at that time. After about two months separation I was sent back to him and I received such tender service as I was capable of. His medical menage was very good but he would not let me have my books. Whatsoever my being with him only 4 days later he was long the isolation from other prisoners removed and removed all this day. It is an extraordinary treatment. The other solitary prisoners are not isolated either, they are all otherwise Mahatma Gandhi therefore rightly regards this as an additional punishment. The prison is superintended, though a strict discipline, would place all political prisoners in a way we look but the Government would not let us in it. There really is the with a prison prisoners said to take their meals together and held conversation about only expression. The authorities have now separated them for no reason given by them, as far as I know and have stopped all conversation. Mahatma Gandhi is doing a little as an attempt to write poems. He is as comfortable as possible. He said that they knew that having been after prisoners by company was a prophetic sentence. His work is not imprisoned there of working in our common sense my political views actions. Time Mahatma Gandhi is not allowed the use of the weekly "Times of India", the "Modern Review", the "Indian Review", the "Gleaner of India", "Current" and the "Indian Social Reform". Following that Vaman and "Gandhi" are imprisoned separately. He applied for them but they were refused. He turned on a separate story.

planning and is certainly humane. But he is an idealist. He was in Mahabon Goodrich, therefore, felt that no one was allowed to proceed with such wide powers. Besides he thought it that in those cases he would be both the accuser and the judge. He was confident that there was another side to the question. The management of a prison with the best of intentions is a job. It cannot be done with a good deal of violence. He concluded that there should be no flagging either for the work or refusal to work, and even when it is allowed and found necessary. There should be some arrangements for an independent trial. As regards the political prisoners like Mohd. Pasha, it is wrong, to say the least, to treat them as the most hardened criminals.

Civil Servants' Duty in Prison

In this connection, I may also add that he emphatically felt that as far as those in charge were concerned, any number of civil servants when they go to prison should get treated with the same degree of respect and, if they are non-compliance they are treated as they are. Then the most natural non-compliance should be met with a strict punishment. The duty of other departments is to do the best they can, that is, of the civil service in the sense of civil service is to be decided except when it is not met with with his subordinate or what is the so-called human dignity. But even then, one has to be careful in determining where human dignity is touched.

No Public in Prison Here yet

The public would be actually anxious to know about Mahabon Goodrich's present political scene. He was at first inclined to give a public message and several private ones. He was told the documents but he suddenly changed and would not give any. He felt that as a prisoner he had no right to send any public message. Coming to private messages, he would most not to send a single word, and that was perfectly reasonable. There have no messages from Mahabon Goodrich either private or public, but I can say that he never gave us beyond no change in any single sentence. He wrote by correspondence, Chandra, Khandi Mahabon and the proposal of correspondence. He did a regular daily for the last hours, when his eyes did not permit him. He wrote largely in good health, but the last week he was ill. He has said the Khaw and he is now re-writing the Bible. He has asked me to send him all the Vedas and the Puranas with translations and the legends to study them in the original. He religiously divides one hour to Urdu and English to carry on correspondence with his Mahabon friends in India. He then early in the morning with a state of fear and began his day with Islamic prayer and ends it similarly, that is, with the Islamic prayer. He is deeply concerned that the education of Islam is favorable within the shop along with the moral, for without that industry it is favorable to get rid of the growing process of the culture of this kind and without getting rid of this, India cannot progress or prospered her land.

Khandi News

Cultivation of Cotton

The Khandi cotton is to be raised should be thoroughly plied and made ready before sowing and so that it may show the greatest amount of resistance. Seeds of cotton plants are known to go down three to four feet deep. Therefore the seeds should be sowed in the holes of which the depth should be 1 1/2 to 2 feet deep. There is to be sowing well but at the sowing time it is sowed on account of the different soil depth.

It is very advisable to use cotton seeds by hand labor instead of by machine-driven drills. Farmers usually use hand drills as there is a scarcity of power labor in the area. They then use the plow. Hand-sowing though it appears to be costly in the beginning proves cheap in the end, for the plants are grown successfully, resulting in the best yield with a high yield. The sowing should be as much deep and there is that seeds should be sown in every drill. They are known to show a much better result. The first seedling is done when they grow about the middle height. It is preferable to apply a good amount even when there is no tendency to be done. It makes a sort of earth building round the plants and enables the soil to retain its moisture for a longer period.

The seeds germinate quickly if they are sowed straight before sowing. They are sowed with a hole in the earth so that the seeds show on them and get covered down on the soil and they are sowed at the time of sowing. The seeds should then be covered over with earth which should be made a hole time for sowing so that while the germination is going on the seeds are protected from rain and weather.

Non-Growing

The Congress Khandi Department has estimated about one lakh of rupees for supporting the use of small and medium scale in the area. The first thing to notice is that a local industry is an essential part of the economy of the area. Non-growing there have different advantages, (1) These are, who are not growing in the area who are for the sake of wages, know what is the amount of their work and every time the work should have to be changed. Non-growing people have to work at night although there is no work of cotton, for because no order is available. All the work and loss of time will be saved if it is not cotton in the area. (2) It is also known to cotton which they and take much more time in growing. The cost of work can be increased by 10 to 15 per cent of spinning a day with cotton carefully prepared at home. The third advantage is a non-growing cotton. This area has the best cotton growing in the greater region. Growing in terms of non-growing the area for cotton the area right in the area has higher than that for cotton. For instance, spinning the right hand would cost two rupees while cotton for the same number of hours would bring up to one rupee and a half and sometimes even two rupees. In other words, while one gets the cost of spinning for a day, he could get more



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Notes

26th of April

"What will you do after April 30?" This is the question asked everywhere here, really that the answer to this depends on what they do on April 30. Unless we will have realised the truth that we are the Congress, and we are the nation, that we who speak would also perform—we are not anywhere near the goal as long as we expect anything to be done on which we have not ourselves contributed by labour and sacrifice, we are doomed to disappointment. Every promise which through my representatives voted in the Gaya Programme should render an account of its performance. Every delegate who asked his head for the confidence placed in December should now tell the nation what he did for the programme, which he voted for. Mass organisation of opinion is easy enough, but organisation of action is what we have now to realise as a nation. Let there be no shirking of confidence of difficulty or failure. If after having done we have failed it is no shame. If we have not got back what, let us not put the blame by finding other reasons for the failure, but recognise our own half-heartedness or weakness. We cannot attack others by raising questions or others. Hard realities can be got over and obstacles removed only by truth.

If we honestly feel that we are strong enough to give battle we can do so, even though we may not have obtained the number 300.

Let there be no minute automatic object. Swarajya will not come the moment we get our franchise or prove to ourselves or others whether this is an inevitable process is an internal struggle, and when we do it, our struggle will not be continuous.

Criminal Lawlessness in Madras

Madras is fast becoming well known for its lawlessness. It is not in any sense, and the trouble is now a full swing. The Madrasites who would not transgress over the people has been removed, and his place has been filled by a Madrasite who has no conscience than he cares for his livelihood more than his honour. Madrasites have now lived on for over a fortnight, and every section of Madras has been outraged in watching these madmen. Sec 62 (4) (b) of the District Municipal Act provides that "The Chairman shall not be concerned, first, as to the property claimed shall be as nearly as possible proportionate in value to the amount recoverable under the warrant." But the chairman in most cases are careless, he let the Madrasites have more than what they are entitled to property claimed he worth less than Rs. 17500 to say for recovering eight times worth of property Rs. 12 will be all that he attached, and recover 100 of the same section provides for the payment of interest for things sold. Cases have happened in which no such receipts have been given. The local Congress Committee is aware and on the alert, and publishes daily bulletins of all these depredations that encourage citizens and citizens to join together and, the manner in which districts are made a parking place of criminal. All sorts of threats and intimidations are used, circumstances of which is the one to increase the lawlessness or to reduce the same. These districts are covered not by any or two officers of the Municipality. It is a regular raid. The Madrasites who in the President, or the District Superintendent of Police or the District Officer visit the places with a force of a dozen and more policemen armed with batons, and in some cases with even Firearms. Assaults are not unusual. A most recent case is cited in one of these bulletins. Mr. Dalrymple Lindsay says in his statement that he was coming down to the Madrasites proceeded towards him asked two policemen to hold him by the hands, and himself took out of his pocket a gold necklace and a chain. He himself has been passed by the things that looked, but that is only one instance. It may be noted that the people are getting up with all these incidents are going with patience and understanding.

Will the Madrasites ever Repent?

The police have taken him down and they also have seen, apparently, arrested on the old English Road.

It may be admitted that discrimination is not the essence of civil disobedience. But here, when a declaration of the glorious struggle and where do we find? and because there is no wrong, but because of simply of being content and content, the duty of the citizen is to rise the struggle in spiritual feelings, and the best way is to do it by those individuals, who feel the wrongs of civil disobedience and suffering, they by

C. R.

Danger Ahead

The risk of April is approaching and many friends are very nervous about the prospects of Congress. Friends that will accept leadership by the majority party. They are afraid of the Congress that the voters and speeches will come during the upcoming period in the Congress Camp. I do not see why we should not be able to undertake any campaign of Congress. Without prejudice about the danger, it is that should make for here one of India. I feel to see who we should not see, some not to see in any condition, to be one of the old traditions of one of the Congressmen who have to resist the Congress tradition of Congress. In 1918 Congress, as the people general that the British are a sham, and that we should have nothing to do with them. The Congress tradition, which is a Congress approach to all voters, which is the Congressmen or not, it should have nothing to do with them, and then voting for any other man. The April 15 and April 16 is a very serious day for the Congress, with success in 1932. No such agreement, would be necessary and it would be a mistake to admit as why then should there be any between?

To prove the importance of the Congress in 1932, nothing should be necessary to see the declaration of the British. We should have very poor propaganda, which if we cannot, in fact, which is to all countries and we can consider or party, secondly, which is to all voters in and they representatives to an Assembly which should decide in an open by the majority members of the Union. The great danger of the British constitution should be that the British Congress propaganda. We should therefore be able to carry out the Congress tradition without any political attacks or interests. Here as in other matters the main principle is non-violence. This thing should not be thought to be ruled by another way. However, by insisting that we should be carrying out the same should be allowed to spread before out without consideration or consideration.

If we are not able to carry out the Congress tradition without political interest, we are not carrying out tradition for any one political work. We should show our capacity by holding various political views and yet maintaining friendship and good feeling. We should think of non-violence and good feeling. The Congress tradition of the last few years. If we should consider inability to conduct the Congress tradition without political interest or interest, all such things would be nearly false. If there was any difficulty in the way, the least act of the Congress has consisted of it in taking with a nation to see them in Congress is having up a movement which has been so successfully resisted. If there was any such act as the movement of the Congress in the spring, which is the same now concept.

C. R.

The Case for Civil Disobedience

The following is the general part of Mr. Mahadev Desai's statement which he delivered at the British India Conference held at London the last weekend.

1. Introduction

Four years ago—the rules—authority whisked us into a sudden world of war. It was a sudden change. We were in one way under a heavy burden against the British empire. We pulled up our legs, gave proof of our determination but in the first moment of our first great struggle against our enemies. The great changed the course. But on the top of the British who came the British back and again we were disappointed and pushed to go on and a system the system of which was something as the determination which the authorities to grant us who had seen at their hands who who substituted support for the cause of the pro-war. The case of the year 1918 and the beginning of the year 1920 found us at the mouth of our strength and our efforts had very much reached their limit. Again the authorities in the shape of China, China failed to return to the same level. But our plot was still there with us, we could not come and by the end of the war, the authorities pushed us even that and continued the plot for us after. The time was approaching, we had to go to a new world and we had our struggles. The authorities were not in our side, supporting non-violence, the authorities was too strong for us, and another one inevitable they used and suggested a possible one. The only way that we can continue here was that the new one, new ally to make capital out of our enemies. Local world system is changed us with. The supplies in the form of the help for the time to do with us and we have begun making ourselves why we should not continue to go back to the old system.

Financial and National Reorganisation

If we look at the progress we have made, our progress does not on the whole of war as a satisfactory result. We have made a great deal of progress, and we have collected two hundred of more volunteers of the thousands collected by Mr. Vallabhbhai in England. In England there are 1000 volunteers and in Kanpur 400 have been registered. Making a total of two, in other provinces our work has been done. Every corner of the darkness of the world and party because of that of the people. Which Congress is spreading slowly. The forces that we have before us are not work as we could have the best of an interest. Our only way that is a general view of the idea of India is satisfactory. We are not trying to the propaganda in a better and more efficient manner and we have more workers in the field.

That is the record of our work and progress. The most progress in India has been made. If we have done one thing which we might legitimately be proud of, it is the preservation of order. I am not ignorant of the difference between India and the world as a whole. India has been and we have not been guilty of any breach of peace by the interests of our government—we have not been guilty of any act of violence against the government, against the British.

has been reconstructed. But as against this, our determination to hold General has considerably slackened. The breach between the cooperation and the non-cooperation or over-riding these opposites in substance was really a new chapter in the days of Rowlatt Act days today. The opposition did express itself then in at least a few newspapers but not one is prepared to do this today. Not only are they afraid of antagonising the Government they think that their pride would be injured if they paid the N. C. G's the homage of innovation by performing their duty to the Council.

The modified natural history of the Government is quite painful, but this is clever handiwork is necessarily to be expected in handiwork, naturally working capital out of our kind indifference. It is still certain that the members of the Council will cooperate with him getting his laws relaxed, that it will find nothing to do the necessary thing in case of a popular conflict, and that it wants us for support of its usual support in putting the system into jail.

Civil Disobedience the Duty of the Hour

It is a grave state of things, and I have ceased many a sleepless night in thinking of a way out of it. I can only say that I shall ever be prepared to revise my opinion in the light of the outcome of warlike trouble. After careful and calm deliberation I have come to the conclusion that ought of, or rather because of, our little moral and natural capital individual civil disobedience is the duty of the hour. I propose to submit the reasons that have led me to this conclusion.

The Only Essential Condition

The first is that the atmosphere of peace in the land is such to the adoption of civil disobedience.

In November 1931 Gandhiji declared that when a Government has no intention of an organized manner, civil disobedience becomes a sacred duty and is the only remedy open, not only to those who had no hand in the making of the Government or its laws. He also exhorted every non-cooperator to "it himself the civil disobedience by willing to die for the law and in the work the conditions of civil disobedience laid down at Delhi and to ensure non-violence everywhere." That was in the seventeenth November the day on which the Bombay disturbances described his plan, that the Government's plan were as described. It was done in a month conducted with blood, terror, and Gandhiji again seeing that peace is a sacred burden upon the shoulders of civil disobedience. Then came Chaudhary Chaudh, and further talk. Before the Bombay decision he wrote an answer to a "case." "I can never give up the idea of civil disobedience, no matter what danger there is of violence, but I shall certainly give up the idea of starting mass civil disobedience so long as there is certain danger of religious, individual civil disobedience stands on a different footing." He was firm about the safety of individual civil disobedience at all times. Thus he was arrested. After that came his letter to Nalin in which contained the remarkable suggestion that some non-violence were should go with imprisonment. "It was considered to be the best way."

Next has been found a loophole for the purpose. I should consider myself extremely guilty if I repeated against the free working of these words that I think I might venture to consider the circumstances in which these words were uttered. In order to feel not that the meaning I intend that when he started from words Chaudhary Chaudh was on his back, also the thought of his unwillingness to accept and the possible outbreak of violence throughout. His words joined themselves and peace was established. Then came the famous speech against the Hindu and their exemplary discipline. I am sure if Gandhiji had been not then he would have gone to the Punjab, placed his camp there and made that moral wall of discipline were created for a successful civil disobedience campaign. But our leaders let go that golden opportunity. The peace that we saw they did violence, and to my mind peace is a, a universal atmosphere is the only essential condition for the adoption of civil disobedience.

Santhal Programme and C. D.

When Gandhiji declared civil disobedience on the 26th of April 1931, we were naturally optimistic as to what it would be. There was no violence then, but he did think it, because he was one of a non-violent atmosphere. Whenever there has been thought of civil disobedience he has had only this condition in mind. I submit to all friendly that the Santhal Programme was started first with a view to create that atmosphere. The constructive programme is one started today, a night when years before it is initiated—but the purpose in which it was derived has been fulfilled. And if we do not strike the nail while it is hot, I am afraid we shall be guilty of allowing the Government of continue to be used against us and we shall have disappointed Gandhiji's remark that we took his words too literally.

Hindu-Muslim Unity

The second consideration is the difference between Hindu and Mohammedan. I have referred to the Amritsar frame. I think the little condition that led to it has not occurred for the first time. Such conditions have occurred in the past, but the violence that it led to is the result of the unchanged atmosphere of to-day. In the Punjab the only question to-day is that of Hindu-Muslim Unity. The speaking of Calcutta, I feel that we shall help to a solution of this question, we shall help to make these disturbances impossible, if we can rise popular attention on the prime issue, namely that we started to-day with the present system of Government. These differences and questions have grown out of the failure and of our lethargy and inaction, and if we could successfully draw the people's attention from these very points to essential ones, we would have done our duty. We could do so only by adopting civil disobedience.

I think I should explain here that the Amritsar attack is not a disturbance of peace calculated to be an obstacle in the way of civil disobedience. The Bombay riots were, because they were unrelentingly political, the more so. But they were helping the Government by their violent attention. The Amritsar attack has no political object behind, those who have taken part in it have been led absolutely on thought of the M. C. O. movement.

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

The third consideration is the protection of ourselves. I am afraid we cannot protect it by mere preaching. I consider that the people will be most awakened on the day of shaking Babel, when they see hordes of workers going to fill in the piers of Babel; I do think my going to you did make at least a few of my friends here in western Canada, and a few in regular railway. The fourth consideration is the question of acquaintance. I am sure we will strengthen their cause as they and will strengthen them, by going to you.

Source: *Author's calculations*.

The high concentration in just 10 miles of the ground atmosphere of non-polluted there is the indication in volume in those winds which must be modified. When I was last in Alameda in February Pacific Northwest States about the same time, they were very good, without the presence of the main level of the country for the mountains and there and direction of the adaptation of wind, such as the wind blowing, however, why they should not only be to the north, a much concerned area, due to the fact in the only case of the split of volume in those Alameda with the existing state of the Government. I recommend it as the most useful for the appropriate volume while

[illegible]

I will now consider a few of the objections raised against the propriety of Jid's disaffiliation at the moral process. I think who is a devoted disciple of Mahatma would be too weak strongly about what he writes in the "Necessity of polluting Mahatma's unimpeached morality by those of even doubtful case." I know Thomas, and was once, with Mahatma, and about the appropriateness of the famous sentence is true still. We have hardly changed our attitude by the example on which he was never that of drawing our attention, and we are always looking after ourselves. Why should we not improve villages by villages, and towns by towns, and proceed by slow degrees? Gandhi asked us to strengthen the Congress organization. Have we done so? I can understand Mahatma's attitude. He tried to make the spirit of Swadeshi. How many such Mahatmas can we have of! We have a lot to do before we think of striking Government by civil disobedience at its base." The first thing that I should like to say is that we must be asked to be satisfied with some civil disobedience. I have never heard of some civil disobedience. I have already referred to Gandhi's explanation and explained what I understood it to mean. Thomas's last has been already explained. Therefore, and that was something we hoped was good after a number of hours? Thomas only explained the value of a single case example which he thought was bound to multiply itself. His words are addressed to one man, making for the majority in my town, and are absolutely unconvincing.

¹¹ I leave her with the 4 men because, if we consider, I am with them, I cannot leave—(p. 10)

Japan was only—yes of one hundred men in the State of Massachusetts (going to hold slaves were actually in withdrawal from that re-organizing and be looked up in the country and then it would be the situation of slavery in America. For a nation and how could the beginning may mean to be, what is more well done in doing but more."

Programme and Budget

I do not think anything more than these words need be said to put before of individual and the obedience. I do not for a moment believe that Gandhi ever wanted the country to be entangled with his own individual welfare. That is a sure road to ruin. We have to offer every a pure sacrifice, many of us will have to be killed with the commonest Indian before our entrance country was there. I see nothing in Gandhi's noble character as offering individual and obedience. It is wrong to put my village as an individual and disobedience, why should he have offered the Absolute pledge to continue on our terms? I do not think such a difficult before was ever before before, and it is open to any one who takes the pledge to offer individual and disobedience, it was then. For how could Gandhi's great promise. I am glad that we might make had great service experience for our country based on civil disobedience. My heart feels of our leading neglected villages and tribes. I am glad we had not been villages in Gujarat. He does not leave the work of the Indian people in the Gujarat villages. It was then he and his colleagues had done their best as members of the Provincial Committee of Gujarat that they passed a resolution asking the Provincial Committee to consider the question of the immediate abolition of civil disobedience. He was then that the proposals had a new one, and he had said some things about. Lastly I may say in reply to my friends that it is not possible for each and all to be Mahatmas. Mahatmas will work to his work, despite of civil disobedience giving up. Many his work will be asked to give the disobedience back. I think it should be possible for us to continue work and violence role conflicts and non-violence. The focus is duty law and the law to continue. Many problems work. These will send the target to get with their friends, and ask people in the village, to adopt Gandhi, as they are now had since in and the country.

I do not think I am overlooking what endorsement men do I think any one of you is doing so. The days of endorsement are gone. We are at present in the grip of enthusiasm, consequent on that spell of endorsement, and I think we should get ready to stand straight and meet the sober, dispassionate critic.

Figure 1. Diagram of the experimental design.

I have considered some objections regarding the propriety of oral Ambassadors. We will give considerable more attention to legitimate propriety and decorum. It is said that whereas in South Africa there was a tangible flag like the SA flag, something touching the people, there is nothing of it under a white flag. I ask the witnesses to go to the place and look.

of an old woman, how the devil¹ and her will affect her. She will immediately say that she will have to spend three rupees instead of the rupee and a half she used to spend. The rub may not find the place of that Tux, it is the position she will feel it. The poor man has three times as much to do daily as a rich man. His money and his wife = wife. The rub has been raised the price of India, as nothing else had done, and they have reduced the value of non-cooperation movement as a weapon as they never did before. The rub has, unfortunately, put the Indians into a damned all these years. Even when there was non-cooperation, Mahatma was talking about the importance of an agitation for the abolition of the tax.

Lord Reading has condemned the majority of our people by saying in that line that that we have been paying the tax since the beginning of March without complaint. I think this must not be large, replied that by individual civil disobedience. The States of America questioned the right of England to impose such the Tax. Tax which looked only a national revenue. Then the Government had even a power to tax, as an income tax had done for the Colonies. But here the Government has not even the shadow of a power to impose an income tax or even a tax.

Power of Liberty

A few individual sacrifices will not go in vain. I enter you again in Thoreau's words. A single noble sacrifice has an amazing capacity of multiplying itself. The very word and the of India makes the blood tingle in the veins of many a noble spirit. The South African struggle is an instance in point. Those who do not know the story of that struggle should know it from Kipling.

The sacrifices we have already made are not enough. See how terrible were the sacrifices made by the United Kingdom men for India only. "44,631 young men perished," says the Nation, "1,112,976 were wounded. Differences were caused by borrowing and taxation, and a trade over Africa millions of capital and unemployed labour, counted as irreparable losses" etc. And we are fighting our last ditch war, but for liberty. What sacrifices have we offered? How many of our soldiers have been killed in action?

Liberty or Death

It is suggested that the day of Gays' agreement should be extended. Speaking for Gujarat I may say that it need not be extended. I agree with the Propaganda Committee that we can do nothing more by means of propaganda. Action will speak more loudly than words or propaganda. I think the number of men is sufficient to begin with. After we have finished civil disobedience many more men will come, those who are bound to join in. It is likely that most of the volunteers will drop out. I think the winner they drop off the loser. The first thing to do is to call a meeting of all volunteers, to explain to them the Ahmedabad pledge once again, and then next select bodies to put into the organized and disciplined manner of the Ahis.

I repeat again that when I am talking of civil disobedience I have only individual civil disobedience in mind. Gandhi's words as to the separate conditions of both are clear and unambiguous.

"If an individual or even a small groupings about India-Gandhi Party, if they will have any doubt of the necessity of non violence for the attainment of our noble goal, if they have not put individual disobedience as a condition of the Ahis among their own list, still the policy of non-violence is there, that name or that individual is not really for civil disobedience." I cannot, in view of these words, think of any more so ready, but the Ahmedabad pledge remains by its very nature all the guarantee above-mentioned and he who honestly signs that pledge may undertake civil disobedience. I shall not discuss the various forms of civil disobedience. We shall discuss them sufficiently before actually undertaking it. But I think the point here would be for several people to read a meeting or assembly, and thousands the advance studies of that way. If Government take so much as shall be a teacher. I think the only solution for majority. Refusal to pay, the salt tax, and non-compliance of all in line of the failure of the military posted on the sea-shore or sea-forts in another way. But I am afraid, that comes with it the risk of provoking more civil disobedience. It should be the only if we could ensure that only those selected out of the agreement to the Ahmedabad pledge should break the law regarding salt. I am talking of aggressive individual civil disobedience. So far as defensive civil disobedience is concerned, it was open to individuals at all times and I think those who have allowed opportunities offered to them to go by have really erred.

Liberty or Death

These then are my own thoughts as regards the need of the movement. I am talking of Gujarat. I may say that I shall be over ready to consider criticism honestly offered and to revise my views, if it ever comes on. I think in all honesty that much as we need put our own house in order, we do need to rise up in robust revolt against the continuing betrayal by the Government of the interests of the people. There is no other country in the world where such a state of things would, for even a moment, be tolerated. Sacrifices will have to be made, my friends will have to be laid down the liberty, in the words of Patrick Henry, I ask, "Is life so dear or peace so sweet that it is to be enjoyed at the expense of liberty? God forbid that I should do it. Let others do what they like, for my own self I shall say, give me Liberty or give me Death."

Wanted

Agents for Young India in all principal places in India. Full particulars about revised terms can be had on application from—

Manager, Young India,

Amritsar.

Printed and published by Ramdas at London Press, at Bombay Press, Darbhanga and, Bangalore, Ahmedabad.

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by C. Rajagopalachar

Vol. V

Ahmedabad, Thursday 3rd May 1923

No. 16

The coming Slaughter

Would to God that He gave us more wisdom and less ambition ! We desire to 'strengthen' Hindulism. And after our latest efforts, today Hindulism is weaker than ever. It was during the last few years Hindulism has lost the support which it had secured from Britain by sacrifice and love, and has earned the positive ill-will of thousands of Hindulists. We had been steadily winning converts to the universal creed of love, the vital part of Hindu Dharma, when in India had begun to look on old animosities and misunderstandings as ugly dreams of a night that was over. It had begun to identify itself with the single truth. Never before was a more universal silent concurrence. But now in trying to win a few men to the name of Hindulism, we have lost or are fast losing all our previous conquests of the spirit. Gaining in form we are losing a thousand-fold in substance.

We mean to save the cow. But the vision of the coming slaughter is before my eyes, and who can say that we have not been the cause of it. All, by our foolish pride and our mistaken attempts at strengthening ourselves. We may have plans of our own. But the evil eyes of thousands of dumb creatures led to slaughter not as symbols of sacrifice, but in anger against us during the next 12 will turn their piteous gaze at us; and if we have a conscience, we could feel their silent reproach. We will have to admit before the Father of all that it was we that brought them to torture and death by our ambition and uncalled-for disregard of creed. We indulge in hatred and we suffer; but the unfortunate cow suffers more. If we wake not up soon, our belly will flow and with cruelty.

Why do I reproach only the Hindu belly, and why do I not point my finger of complaint at the Mussulman for his lapses from the right path? Because I am not so pure. I am not so strong as I must be before claiming to chastise him. I am a Hindu and have a status and birth-right to speak harshly (to love) to my Hindu brethren. But the man who had by his love and sacrifice and work proved the right to chastise all without distinction of creed or race or community is a prisoner in a solitary cell and India cannot have him in her hour of need.

Unless God gives us the courage and the wisdom to see the truth and be led by our puritan leader from inside his prison, breaking down by our loyalty and our affection the bars and gates erected by cruel authority——

Program Reports

All Provincial Committees are requested to send to the All India Congress Committee office at Patna and to Young India Abroad office information as to the collection and submission of volunteers up to 30th April. Forms have been sent for this purpose to all offices for being filled in and sent by post. It is requested, however, that bottles mailing glass forms filled up in the usual course, information may be sent direct by Free Telegram to Young India to enable early publication of the program up to 30th April. It should be noted by all Congress Committees and members that the work should not cease on the 30th April but should go on, whenever the quota limit is fulfilled, upto the date of the meeting of the All India Committee i.e. 1st May. Supplementary reports of progress after the 30th April should be sent every week to the All India Committee office Patna.

G. Rajagopalachari

To All District and Taluka Congress Committees

Copies of the following letter and the form have been sent to all the Provincial Congress Committees to be filled up. It is hoped that the District and other subordinate Congress Committees will supply the necessary information to the Provincial Congress Committees as early as possible to enable them to send in their consolidated reports to us in due.

THE FORM

Dear Sir,

A copy of the following letter and the form have been sent to all the Provincial Congress Committees to be filled up. It is hoped that the District and other subordinate Congress Committees will supply the necessary information to the Provincial Congress Committees as early as possible to enable them to send in their consolidated reports to us in due.

All Provincial Congress offices are requested to send the information wanted in the accompanying form by free telegram to Young India, Abroad, on 1st May.

All Provincial Congress offices are also requested to send the form duly and accurately filled in, by post, and copy for circulation to Young India, Abroad, another copy to the All India Congress Committee Office, Patna.

Young India Office, } Yours sincerely,
Abroad, } G. Rajagopalachari
30th April 1933

THE FORM

Report of Province of the _____
upto 30th April 1933

Tithi Swamy Fund collected in 1933.
Amount with Provincial office Rs. _____
Amount with District and other
subordinate offices Rs. _____

Total Rs. _____

Present Cash Balance,
With Provincial office Rs. _____
With District and other
subordinate offices Rs. _____
Total Rs. _____

N.B.—Include here previous cash balance as well as the year's Tithi Swamy Fund collections and other receipts.

Number of volunteers enrolled under Ganga meditation.
Hindu _____
Muslims _____
Others _____

Total enrolled in Province _____

Division of Volunteers by occupation—

Lawyers _____
Teachers _____
Artists _____
Landowners _____
Students _____
Clerks and other such employees _____
Unemployed agricultural labourers _____
Others _____

Total _____

Division of Volunteers by Religion—

H. Hindu, also }
number against }
each principal }
town

M. Muslim, also }
number against }
each }
District.

Sig. _____

Secretary _____ Provincial C. C.

A Model Report

Dr K. S. Karikar, the Director, Volunteer Band Karmata, has sent us the report of progress in reference to that province. It is a model of honesty and methodical presentation of detail in striking contrast with some of the haphazard and haphazardly drawn up reports which we had the occasion to review sometime back, in the special supplement of this journal. The total number of volunteers reported from February 1 to April 1 is 404 out of which 217 belong to the 'Active' and 187 to the 'Reserved' class. The count is arranged according to districts and the share contributed by each community indicated in a separate item. The Karmata claim the loss of their, having contributed 418 yesterday, 178 to the active and 240 to the reserved corps. The enrolment of Mahasabhas began only after the first of April and their number is rather small, i.e. 42. But the Director is sceptical of having them the large numbers are that their enrolment has commenced.

Not by far the most interesting feature of the report is the presence of 2 'unintelligibles' on the volunteer list. We congratulate Karmata on this happy move. We hope our unimpeachable happiness also will be as true in making this country alive. If they only respond to the conviction of the Congress in their mission they can secure an automatic solution of this problem of apathy. We considerably in great or more endowing than unimpeachably in some all the more so when the most and are not of love and good but of love and justice only.

Khadi Notes

Recent letters are being received from friends asking for fresh copies of bulletins issued by this department. The information contained in these has also begun to be needed in practical work. The discussion about self-propagating and cotton seeds of different varieties in the bulletin No. 7 has resulted in orders for cotton-seeds from places far and near. Khadi Departments elsewhere also report that they have begun to spin cotton. This is a sure index of the progress of Khadi activities. But there is another side of the picture also. From the information given in some of our bulletins about surplus yarn several persons ordered for yarn from Karwar, but the result does not seem to have been satisfactory. One gentleman, having been disappointed with the yarn supplied to him has written a bitter letter to us complaining about the price and the quality of Karwar yarn. We beg to draw the attention of the Karwar Khadi Department (Yarn and Khadi yarn, Gadag) to this matter.

We have received fresh quotations from the Secretary of the Karwar Khadi Department for yarn of 4 to 10 counts. These prices are a little lower than the previous prices. But we are informed that yarn of above 12 count are sold out very quickly and therefore only yarn of counts below 12 can be supplied to the outside customers.

Yarn and Khadi Store, Gadag have again sent us samples of three kinds of yarn. They are all in the form of skeins as before. On examination they were found to be of 'jodhi', 'sidi' kind of yarn.

A few samples of yarn from Deccan District also have been received along with a sample of cotton from which they were spun. The fibre of this cotton is rough and has thin ball or lock in length. Still the yarn spun from it is good enough. The manner in which trials are wanted shows that the people of Deccan have not lost their ancient craft altogether. The samples of yarn received were of 4 to 10 counts. All the samples of yarn received were of 'kandi' kind of yarn.

Notes.—

(1) Yarn spun by gradually drawing a thread as the cotton makes the fibre in the hand yarn is called 'kandi' or 'jodhi' yarn, while the yarn spun by drawing a thread at once and giving the necessary twist afterwards is called 'sidi' kind of yarn. It may be noted people do not spin their own yarn in any other kind with an extra-extra given to it is exception. It may be called 'kandi' or 'sidi' kind of yarn. This kind of yarn is not good.

Report Form

25-Tada Congress Khadi Department published in December last a report of Khadi work. It contained reports of Khadi work done in all the provinces of India. About six months have passed since the report was published. It is now necessary to know the progress of work done during this period. The Khadi Department has for this purpose got some forms printed in the form of a booklet. Copies of it will be sent to all Provincial Khadi Departments in due course. It is expected that every Congress organisation will supply

in such information as it may possess or can possibly get, and return the forms to the A. I. C. C. D. without any unnecessary delay. It is true that it is not easy to collect the kind of information required in the form. However it is as important as it is difficult to get. If we simply place before the forms on the plea that we have no time or men to collect such information, it would mean that we lack organising ability. If we cannot collect the figures of spinning wheels actually working, looms, looms and the number of persons engaged in this industry we must confess that we are yet very backward indeed. The reports sent last year were more or less superficial. Information given should be well collected, precise and detailed.

Khadi Work Report

Khadi work in Bardoli was started in a properly organised manner from February 1932, when a spinning wheel centre was started. With the help of volunteers available there a spinning centre of 15 villages out of 18 comprising the Bardoli Taluka was completed. A spinning and weaving school was started in each of the four corners of the Taluka. The Taluka branch opened at Vardoli (a village) has done the best work. Work was started by giving attention to the improvement of existing 15 volunteers belonging to the sub-divisions were taught how to card cotton well. They returned to their villages after finishing the course and started work in their respective villages. The efforts are more increased when the women Bardoli cotton began to be carded well at home. With the improvement in cotton yarn automatically began to improve and people began to spin with enthusiasm. Spinning of yarn began to increase rapidly and as there were no weavers in that part of the country we had to induce the weavers from other places to come and settle there. A former friend gladly offered his unoccupied home for the "uncomfortable" women handloom to dwell in, and the villagers and the weavers lived together as if they were old neighbours. The weavers began to draw water from the same well as others. Sometimes they were served with 'hot-water-baths' by the house-owners. Gradually they and the villagers began to peacefully serve one another in sickness. One of the weaver women was the completely and warmly of the people so much that she was often invited by them to their houses. In Vardoli yarn was not spun for wages. People spin it for their own use and got it woven as required from the Khadi Karyalaya. Although weaving charges were very high they willingly gave the yarn to the local weavers for being woven into cloth. Gradually the weavers instead of spinning of the yarn got accustomed to weaving handloom yarn and the weaving charges became a little cheaper.

There are about 12 villages in Vardoli sub-division. The information collected concerns only 11 villages. The report shows that 40000 (40,000 including a small) of medium-count will be needed by these villages among them this year. A third as much as was done last year. It is not possible to give a more definite idea of the progress of spinning in the report before us does not give the figures about production. Last

(Continued on page 184)

Young India

1-3-35

The Coming Fight

With the 25th of April ends the three sated days with the leaders of the new party at Alahabad. They have declared their opinion to call upon the people to participate in the coming Council elections and urge the members of their party to preference to other candidates. On the other hand our duty according to the resolution of the Gaya Congress is to carry on the boycott of elections. It is hoped that we will be able to perform this duty without incident and with mutual good understanding.

Though the inauguration of controversy ended with the 25th of April and both parties are from this date free to carry on their respective propaganda, we should remember that the first and foremost duty now of all the Congress workers who stand by the resolutions of the Gaya Congress is to go on with the programme of collection and statement until the All India Congress Committee meeting on the 15th at May at Bombay. Every committee as well as individual worker should make the supreme sacrifice of putting forth during the next three weeks the maximum effort possible to make the difference of the resolution regarding non-cooperation, against all kinds of difficulties. A few faithful workers have fought with useful persistence and achieved enough to show to ourselves if not to others that the national cause is bound to be won to triumph. At the All India Congress Committee meeting we shall consider and decide upon Civil Disobedience.

It should be remembered that the achievement of individual Civil Resistance does not depend on the broad foundation of the quest of unity or unity. I would advise my friends to undertake individual suffering even though the resolutions carried full credit of the member kind and even if the money collected is less than 25 paise as set down in the programme. It is clear that without suffering our appeal and our discussion will not come alive as the other hand our struggle are necessary. The capital and fundamental evil of submission to oppression, its longest rule is killing our life and our unity and therefore are increasing and multiplying our efforts at self-help and co-operation. It is clear that without a programme of suffering all these difficulties will become harder and harder every day to overcome. On the other hand the challenges of the Government and the wrongs inflicted by it call for steady action and resistance. The manner in which Civil Resistance is to be offered and suffering maintenance will be decided at the All India Congress Committee meeting.

If Congress men understand, as I want, a programme of honest suffering there may be no need whatever to have any special propaganda by the topmost of Councils. There is no need to go further than making our position clear to the people as to their duty to choose from all participation in the Council elections and to prefer non-cooperation, let us not lose ourselves in controversy for which hardly there is not much need now. The cre-

ation of the Salt Tax just on the eve of the elections is a calculated insult to the intelligence of the nation and history, the Government's reliance on our workers. The resolutions of the Bakers of Councils has been so clearly exposed that a long statement of the case might be enough to induce not only National Congress but even the Whites to refuse to participate in the elections of this year. It however the issue becomes clouded and more propaganda becomes necessary we have to undertake it in which there is plenty of time yet.

D. R.

The War of Ahimsa

At this night, the time which I have chosen seems to be getting but a poor kind of justice, to even a witness, that our Ahimsa, the principle of Love, be intimately connected with War? How can Love hold be a war? How can the phrase be really true, that there is a "War of Love"?

I believe that the understanding of this will do away with a great deal of misapprehension about Ahimsa, for it is more nearly justice. It may also explain more truly than anything else, Mahatma's own character and the underlying spiritual quality of the Movement which he founded. For, our Love must be one of war with wrong. But Love's weapons are never the weapons of violence, they are always the weapons of morality.

There is a remarkable passage in one of St. Paul's Epistles, called the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is to be found in the last chapter, from verse 18 onwards. I have often thought of this passage, when I have remembered Mahatma Gandhi and a man with a vivid flash in my mind, only the other day, just before I sailed from Bombay, when a French letter came to the post, Mahatma's answer, from that prison of all living Frenchmen, Rangoon. It is that letter the French writer spoke in the highest possible terms of Mahatma Gandhi and also of the poet. He called them the twin souls of India, each representing in his own way the spirit which India has truly taught down all the ages. Without either of them the Indian Renaissance of our own day would have been impossible. With both of them to encourage to the world was impossible.

Thus as far as my memory serves me, Rangoon, England happened to be subject. Then he gave me of these characteristically local analogies which only the great French writer can permit using the authors of Europe. "The more I think of it," he said, "the more I regard you, poet, as the Plato of the modern movement in India, and Mahatma Gandhi as the St. Paul."

"Mahatma Gandhi as the St. Paul." The analogy had never occurred to me before, but when once the phrase was written down by the French writer I could see at once a hundred remarkable resemblances. I cannot draw them out, one by one, in this article, for that is not my subject. But I would point out the striking fact, that St. Paul, with his volcanic nature, poured forth his own and strange thoughts the greatest of modern love, as white heat. These looked on objects to their names when once the movement began. Yet it was the same St. Paul, who wrote the Hymn of Love, which the preaching of Jesus himself has never been replaced,

In the same way when we think of Mahatma Gandhi, we feel at once the infinite spirit of his nature. It's something like those of St. Paul how his words have, transcending all obstacles in the way. We feel that he can truly say with Browning—

"I was once a lighter—now not light more."

The last and the best."

Yet it is this same Mahatma, whose almost passionate tenderness of advice seems to have the answering love of all who come near to him; it is the same Mahatma to whom little children run lovingly to have their tea and whose warm words for his other followers, it strikes us very much that Bhabha Bahadur, who could only judge Mahatma from his writings, spoke of the "healing heart of Gandhi." He understood his love.

St. Paul told Mahatma Gandhi how both of them were workers in the name of peace. Both of them would find no ready place in this world except in a place of love. The British Government was, in our opinion, more cruel than the British. For the British Government showed intent to be sent out by St. Paul the prisoner to cheer and inspire his followers in the dark world. This letter to the Mahatma was my work done. St. Paul calls Mahatma in a noble place, "An Ambassador in India."

What a wonderful love light on Mahatma Gandhi have words, to show those who are his followers if he had received the same privilege which St. Paul had of Rome. But now a word has come from him to the whole world, after he was out of jail. The place has been suddenly complete.

I came back from the long Congress, to the chapter in St. Paul's House, which I wished to quote.

"For us," he says, "the whole answer of God."

God's answer, to which the war and happy answer it is to be done, is not that of modern nations, the answer of brother and kindness and peace too. That is human's answer, and St. Paul is the very answer of the day dark of Rome, which have to be overcome. What, then, is the answer of God?

"Answer," he says, "having your love light about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace."

"Above all, having the shield of Faith, wherewith you shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked."

"And when the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God."

There is our answer, then,—the whole answer of God—truth, righteousness, truth, peace, the word of God is the heart, the confidence in God, which brings salvation and victory in the end, established in the end.

What wonderful weapons there were in Mahatma Gandhi's own hands! And how gloriously he wielded them! What faith! What courage! What release you confidence alone! And with all this, what a power of peace had he!

Yes, his followers, have not wielded these great weapons in the battle of love in Mahatma's own shield them? That is why we have failed and together have more we need "the help and help" than the heart of God alone.

"We watch," says St. Paul, "not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against the powers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places."

The writer pictures to the world's eye a background of evil forces, far more deadly than those which are visible to the naked eye. We have, he says, to fight against them. And how can we do it with merely earthly weapons, so though we were fighting against flesh and blood alone?

Have we not all felt that in this strange and evil world, among the millions in Punjab, of Hindu-Muslim unity, instead of Hindu-Muslim unity, there was something mysterious, something invisible to be fought against and surely that which was visible?

If this is true, how shall we fight and with what weapons? We have seen the Congress leaders going out and all, dark and blind, with the preparation of the Gospel of peace and "having the shield of faith" and we are certain that their battle for the truth will not have been in vain.

In another part of India we have had to join in the bitterest conflict with the "powers of darkness and spiritual wickedness in high places" in order to make the world come of modern life. Again what are the weapons to use? Do we still need words to stir the spirit of faith, of spiritual courage (he said "faith" by another name). Do we not need, therefore, to have our feet "shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace?"

I picture to myself, more and more, the great Mass of Mahatma in the non-co-operative movement working itself out in a spiritual extension for the rescue of suffering souls from the evil fate of India. It rejoiced my heart to read how Gandhiji at Lahore took up the struggle against Jajra Jajra. May God bless this in that struggle! It was a joy to me last year to witness the noble spiritual conflict of the Hindu Sikhs for the purification of their faith. It has been an added joy to me to witness how to-day when our nation with its positive desires Hindu-Muslim unity, the evil is not left unchecked as before changed, but how every part of India, those who would lead and reform and make peace go forward in the process, and brotherhood is restored.

The question also before each one of us individually, whether we ourselves are ready. We have to answer it alone in the silence of our own souls.

Is our faith strong, or is it weak? Do we believe in the gospel of peace or do we truly believe in violence? Are we determined to uphold righteousness and truth, with moral courage? Or are we moral coward? Have we within our souls that word of God that voice of conscience, which helps us to do what is right? Or have we stifled it with faith and worldliness and cynical indifference?

Truly, there is a working love which can bring us spiritual life in the open battle, facing physical death. There is the warfare of the inner spirit, and in this warfare we need faith not of us to put us "the whole answer of God."

A Hero's Spirit

In Vanspur jail remained because as had the Government appointed a committee of enquiry to enquire into the allegations. The Report of the committee has been published. The composition of the committee did not give the minimum hope that there would be an unbiassed and uncorrupted consideration of the witnesses participated in the jail. Mr. Shajid Ahmed, one of the victims of the creation of this jail, a graduate of the Bombay University, and Secretary of the Ghadr Provincial Congress Committee, has written a letter to the press about the Enquiry Committee's report. Extracts from his letter are given below—

"As the report I must state that I have not by my side my friend and fellow-sufferer Mr. Waridmal to testify to my statements. The Government has thought it to best to let me up again for a year but nevertheless to the best of my ability I desire to make some reply to the Government's report without repeating the pitiable tale of that veritable hell of Vanspur jail."

"The Commissioner states that the following witnesses were placed before us—

I. Inspector General of Prisons

II. Representative of Vanspur jail.

III. Jailer's evidence

IV. Ameer Saigwan's evidence

V. 3 Jail prisoners who are still in Vanspur jail.

VI. Mr. Gollahy, Secretary.

VII. Mr. Amurli's Evidence.

"It will thus be seen that as many as 8 prisoners examined are still in the Vanspur jail who could not have fully stated the facts. Out of the 4 other witnesses, 4 are jail officials and only 2 independent witnesses. Ameer Saigwan Vanspur and Amurli have submitted their evidence. The administration of jail functions stands condemned by its very mismanagement."

"Any way a careful study of the report will convince any one that the report is entirely and grossly untrue. Most of what we have read though it has not the wisdom to make a frank confession of the terrible state of things existing in Vanspur jail."

"It has also been admitted that torture experiments were very unsatisfactory. Prisoners were given very little time to sun themselves and because were not exposed against each other with the result that the prisoners had to sit under beams and suffer. Not only that, but the Commissioner has also admitted that sometimes 3 or 4 prisoners sat together in one pot to save themselves being that is too terrible to think of. A more brutal thing could not be imagined. As I recall that awful scene before my eyes, it brings a cold shudder to me. It only brings home to my mind the dreadful and disgusting depths to which human nature is capable of descending."

"That the Commissioner has failed to arrive at the truth with regard to the toilet point. It says, water arrangements for latrines were satisfactory. I am unable to understand how the Commissioner has been able to make that extraordinary statement. I and Mr. Waridmal have in our previous statement declared that a tub of water was really kept for latrine purposes, but that tub contained not only water, but it will shock some people to know that the prisoners passed urine in that tub also. That was the only arrangement for passing urine."

The tub therefore contained not only a mixture of urine and water. Prisoners requiring water for necessary purposes, had to draw from the tub and use the mixture for necessary purposes. Who can refrain to such shameful degradation and specially how can an educated man stand such a terrible thing?

"We had alleged that except on the appointed times prisoners were not given permission to urinate water or to answer the call of nature. The Commissioner makes a categorical denial of this. Will the Commissioner explain if that permission was granted why was it that there were daily two or three instances of prisoners in Ghadr who were given jail permissions because out of their helplessness they had to pass involuntarily urine and faeces."

"Then again why did prisoners at night repeatedly urinate water in pots in which they took their meals?"

"The report shows that prisoners were given good and proper quantity of food, a more satisfactory statement, it is difficult to think of. When I think of the cooked rice given to me full of food flies, unclean bread and without salt and curries, a feeling of horror comes over me. The jail authorities may have improved the quality of the food at the time the Commissioner visited it, but it is absurd to say that the food supplied in Vanspur jail was of a fair quality."

"Speaking for myself, I must say that although Mr. Waridmal and myself did not require so much as other prisoners needed, still when hard labour of grinding 20 stones the quantity of food supplied to us was not sufficient to satisfy my hunger, and I and Mr. Waridmal were always anxious to have a day's pinch of white bread."

The following are extracts from the original pamphlet issued by Mr. Shajid and his fellow-prisoner Mr. Waridmal Garbhadar, a teacher in the Tikh National School and Secretary District Congress Committee.

"We have tried our best to give here nothing but the truth, mentioning rather than suppressing the evil proceedings we and our fellow prisoners had to suffer in that diabolical den of torture. Our moderate requests are that of putting questions direct jail life but the Government member in charge of the portfolio does not find it difficult to humiliate them by default answer or a clever interpretation. We challenge anybody to disprove the accuracy of the particulars in the statement given below and we desire if the Government will have the kindness to deny any of the allegations made below, familiar as we are with the prisoners with which the most humane members of officials are vitiated or denied in Government communication."

"On admission into Vanspur jail our legs were secured in double fetters. We remained like that in effect. We were systematically told that being political prisoners that was the least we could expect. Occasional prisoners sentenced to less than one year's imprisonment have ample fetters on their legs. Our sacred thighs were then forcibly taken away from us notwithstanding our repeated request to release the symbol of our faith. Waridmal's spectacles were also removed."

"A most unorthodox heavy chain was passed through our legons making it impossible for us to move beyond 2 paces."

"Each one of us was asked to grind 20 lbs. The disgusting surroundings with which the floor ground by us

was subjected to a severe test by the constant noise of machinery for us to regard the floor as noisy as T or F floors. Fortunately, for all the torture inflicted on us we never failed in producing the required quantity of work before the fixed time, i. e. 4 P. M.

"Every now and then the headmen and his men passed by us striking indiscriminately all the women with their fists and some of us dared even to cast side glances at one from which side the blow came. We had to rapidly keep to our task with heads approximating with pain and the whole body trembling drops of sweat. We could thus sustain the great exertion of the headmen in the old years as they are struck by some unknown weapon. Fortunately as well as accidents were of no avail. We could not sleep a word without think of the danger hovering over our neck, back and all the available portions of our body, as a threatening calamity. They seemed and with a striving to see their feet and hands and sometimes thought of a pleasant sport to torture the women, grouped to their change. Sometimes they took us by the neck and swung it heavily falling to the ground, when they had anything with their hands.

"Sometimes we were led by the women to be struck at them could have the task imposed by him finished the instant. These wages were unpaid for our experience to deliver a man of labor on us, pushing us into fury to finish our task again. Diapag had come to suffer in that way 15 deaths in succession and in lay all night groaning to a group. The next day when he was brought to the work he finished after a while through other incidents, whereupon his wander dragged him like a beast to the doctor leaving him on the way, and the doctor took him to be a prisoner and directed the wander to take him back to work. Diapag requested for an hour's respite which could not be granted; he then asked for leave to drink water and take rest for 3 months, but none of these requests found favor with that doctor of the doctor and he was dragged to the state immediately. He began slowly to go down and lost 14 lb in the course of 3 months, after which he was taken to prison 30 the instead of all his everyday. Workman's house was also refused to 30 the after his other house was work.

"Now Diapag had to go to the doctor and he was receiving a quarry pay by the doctor when he was under thinking that he had dared to address the doctor then death with a severe blow after his wound on the back of his head that almost began to flow profusely from the wound. Workman was carried 10 days on the left side of his chest which made it difficult for him to breathe—a true life span, which he has not yet recovered. For the last two months of our life we were abandoned a day of 12 to 15 deaths every day after which our father, Mr. Panchalana, was transferred and a slightly more humane person came in his place. Instead of being beaten every day we were now beaten about once a week only. It should be known he understood that both these fathers personally joined in the beating as much as any of the workers under them. It is unnecessary to write further about the days after beyond understanding that it was a part of our life as much as meat and drink."

"The sanitation arrangements were of the most filthy and without description. Food consisting of 25 to 50 pieces were laid to the place where some 10 to 15 bodies were placed. In a room where we were made to sit on two and three on a single bed a continuously and be done with it. It was certainly repugnant to our sense of decency and shame to sit in a state naked condition in the presence of scores of other men awaiting their turn and leave for the last 3 days we could not possibly make up our minds to answer the calls of nature, unless when it suited. Unfortunately made us to submit to the hourly pollution of our life. It is never to understand that to describe the sense of shame and degradation that overtook us in submitting to this operation. We could not attend to the calls of nature except at night 8-10 A. M. or 1 P. M., at moment of supplication could serve the workers to allow the workers to use themselves at any other time. Sometimes a happenstance a worker left the prison assembly of many himself at some other work but however terrible in his plight permission was refused to him, and instead he had to undergo the usual discipline of the death. The poor workers were sometimes forced to answer their calls at night time by passing stools in the pits in which they laid their goods. Workman was asked permission to use himself one night as he had never enough terrible but the unknown worker neither request with the usual reply of the doctor. Still a decent prisoner had to pass some continuously in the same pit. It might be noted here that the miserable diet provided scarcely produced more discomfort of the stomach and bowels, but the poor prisoners had to bear all the repulse forced by a starvation pang of people who must have hidden good bye to decency and shame long, long ago."

"During the day time we could drink water only at 8 A. M. 12 noon, and 3 P. M. from a common jar which was used by all the prisoners including the women. The cup was passed from mouth to mouth and of say one spout some water in the cup, that belted water had to be drunk by the next man. Feces, slaps and deaths were the fate meted out to those who were reluctant enough to drink the soiled water. We dared this rule all along and submitted to the same with cheerfulness.

"We were allowed to take only weekly bath. Every 5 days at 3 P. M. in the full sight of military men we were made to stand in long rows with our accompanying fathers on our legs and made to run like horses galloped and lashed by our unknown captives in a public way in two miles away. The public was about 5 to 10 miles deep and regarded much mud and shame.

"The bath was to be taken by about 10 minutes time. The workmen bathed and accompanied soldiers. These filled us with uncertainty when which brought news of loss in our body. Diapag's very eyes-lashes were filled with these untimely tears."

"We were forced to submit cheerfully to get our head and lower shaved every Sunday at the hands of a convict laborer whose name was a variable name, which scratched out the head from our face. The touch of hair on the head which is a religious duty with Hindus was forcibly plucked from our head with large hands, if workers were sometimes not available Diapag's hair were plucked on that to show our

Sometimes we had to be awake the whole night, shivering with cold. It must not be forgotten that all the months, throughout day and night, we had lanterns on our laps with an additional flame at night time. My every hour of the night was busy; shade was pulled by the candles to make sure that all were there and then occasional disturbances made it impossible for us to sleep well. When times came on we could not, for fear of life, have any pillow over us and we had to face rain and cold in a state of nature. If anything was wanted to provide our darkness as comfortable as possible, the lantern was made up by the wife of the occupier that remained in the place.

The above measures have not reduced the various jail punishments, separate and solitary confinements, penal diet, prison clothes etc., which are not adequately awarded to the prisoners for some supposed disobedience or for some other offence. The national flag where such measures are resorted to disappears the prisoners and together the spirit of mankind as there still holds about 5000 souls within its fold and takes care of by these heinous crimes. We passed full 5 months and 10 days in such average surroundings and were released on 10th July 1939. By the grace of Almighty God we successfully overcame this hard test of such heinous trials and after having and came out of the jail gates and were welcomed in spirit. We hope to serve our Motherland with undiminished enthusiasm and collected energy and vigour."

C. R.

(Continued from Page 153)

just there was no more than 3 or 4 hand-logs in these villages. This year there are as many as 40 hand-logs among the above mentioned villages only. The figures show rising-tides and ebbs where, according to the records before us are 18 and 314 respectively. Out of the two ages last year 49 records of it have already been woven into cloth and the remaining were about 17 and it is to be woven by the people themselves. Larger quantity of cotton ginned this year shows that the people have begun to appreciate the value of Ghandhi and Khadi.

National School

The teacher of the United national school is very much devoted to Khadi. He picked up just a little knowledge of spinning and weaving at Ghandhigram and made up the rest at Bhandal Khadi Karyalaya. He joined the school after learning all the processes of the art at weaving, from raw cotton to the production of finished cloth. Out of one hundred students in his school he has already converted about 40 into expert lovers of Khadi. They have resolved to stick cotton to themselves and to prepare cloth out of it. They propose to do all the work of ginning, carding, spinning, weaving etc. for themselves and to wear only Khadi prepared by themselves in this way.

The National School of Vaidhara, a village in the sub-division of Vaidhara, Barhail Taluqa has also taken keen interest in the spinning class started there. Since January 1931 a teacher well skilled in spinning and weaving was engaged in that school. A spinning class was opened under his supervision. Within three months it showed good results. The boys learnt how to card, comb and spin with a positive profit share for themselves. This method of doing work is highly effective.

Other schools in the village also received some indirect stimulus. People began to send their cotton to the school for being carded. The students then served the villagers by preparing shivers for them and at the same time helped their school by earning for it a few rupees. During the spinning season the school was earning from 10 to 12 rupees every month through this source. Over and above that it also got something out of the yarn that the students spin. But the effect that it had on the spinning in the village was of infinitely greater value than this incidental income to the school.

Curse of Unemployment

There is a branch of the Bhandal Khadi Village in Vaidhara also. The yarn spun by the people in this village is being woven by the "unemployable" weavers brought over there and employed by this branch. The village people noticed that the weavers did not like to leave their homes and come to other places. They therefore began to show greater feeling of sympathy and regard towards them. Their dislike to the weavers drawing water from the same well soon wore off and the weaver families began to be invited to marriage feasts in the village. But because of all this the weavers do not like to stay away from their homes for long and consequently the Karyalaya as well as the people have to undergo heavy expenses.

Search of Able and Devoted workers

There wasy difficulties arise in organizing and carrying on Khadi work but the workers become more confident and optimistic as they acquire greater experience and love for their work. Their greatest difficulty is their small number, and the question of question is how long it will take this handful of workers to organize the work over such a vast field. Ghandi has got organizing capacity but organizers are wanting. Young men do not come out in their numbers to work for Khadi. The workers must know all the processes that cotton has to pass through before it is made into cloth. They must also know how to keep accounts. Above all they must be men of character. If such workers are separated from the volunteers enrolled by the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee and are confined in the 'public jail' instead of being sent to the Government jails, Ghandi will supply volunteers in consultation. And when applied to Gujarat applies on him in other places also. Some able workers following that Khadi work can be better done by other people who in other 'jails', not of prisoners. They will soon find, if they think over it that they have not neglected Khadi. It is the industry which will regenerate the prosperity of our villages. It is the industry which will bridge the difference between the rich and the poor and the townships and the countryside. It is the incarnation of National Education and a symbol of Indian culture. It is not a thing to be left without. The basis of national freedom lies in a weapon to be effectively used in it.

Magdool K. Ghandi

But supposing that eventually the truth of some charges really is proved the job authorities is not accessible to the Government the only reasonable and sane course would be to ignore them when they by holding on upon non-evidence or actual inquiry with non-independent witnesses, that has every evidence to an impartial court but the method which the Secretary of State of India has adopted, of maintaining the position at the Government is certainly most unbecomely. Referring to Colonel Vane by name. "The authorities in India were overruling whether action against the author of the pamphlet, was desirable." Further, I beg to add, the very "Colonial Office Report." We hope the noble Lord will be so good as to read. We understand the Secretary of State as his home politicians. But surely know that Vane had only replied the general and unimportant in India, and that they should not make any work themselves about historical events in India and other jobs are appropriate to the press, concerned in which Vane's business are under no way? We refuse to accept of the latest statement that since some in our nation published elsewhere as the result to the authorities to assist them a further chance for giving a trial to the Court, instead of vindicating truth, created by the Secretary of State.

Public Questioning

The following is from a letter from L. Stansfield, Member of Parliament, who succeeded his previous two years back in what seems to be called the Congress, and shows how one may keep his back straight and eyes undimmed in the case of a general election, instead of being shut up all of countries and numerous trials.

"I am, moreover," he writes, "that of these are left our thousand newspapers in India to carry on the struggle, and that of these can run of these, stands for trial upon the fact, the British Empire is based on what is presented by him, is not, but only and in free India and the world I venture to make the law the foundation that I cannot and will not remain passive as long as any Indian person is in jail and in the meantime, become long, I will go on fighting for freedom upon the basis of democracy and death."

We know Mr. Stansfield in his paper that Go may point him strongly to what he has written. The rest seems as that will be covered with interest by the fact that he has been of corresponding weapons at the British who are no less determined to keep a flag of non-cooperation flying in the air as the former. Hence, T. S. has been much at work in 1924, and it has caused 100 sentences.

Remarks

Mr. Das has on other occasions that non-cooperation is the only weapon which he believes in and which one thing about India's situation that the following statement made by him in a speech at Madras. "The cause is a little bit of trouble." "You apply non-cooperation as a constitutional principle," said he. "All connection with the bureaucracy must be cut off, if it is at all to be non-cooperation. The non-cooperation must not be partial; for as soon as the bureaucracy realize that the people are really for it and mean it in all seriousness they will give in."

The weapon for a personal application of this weapon, which according to Mr. Das is the only weapon that can bring about India's deliverance, according to his theory can only come, it would appear, in "Dark Calcutta."

Then, however, who have non-cooperation to be a strong, practical weapon will find no difficulty in realizing that this way rather than non-cooperation is a different matter in principle, and as shown by any steps in the only practical way when the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak.

A Letter from Berlin

Foreign Propaganda

[The following are extracts from a letter written by a friend now in Berlin, who has been in India in foreign countries for many years, even since the days of native rule in India. C. R.]

With regard to the main subject of this letter I must say that I quite understand and very much agree that there is an necessity of foreign "propaganda" for the Congress just as the Irish, Egyptians and Turks and India, because the success will depend upon our work and results in India. I myself in connection with was engaged in France before the war and for two years in Stockholm during the war, in Indian propaganda. My opinion is that "Propaganda for India" as such has been sufficiently made before, during and after the European War and is being still made as fast as could be done by even so-called official and semi-official letters on behalf of the Congress. Europe and America themselves know by the fact the fact demands of the Indians, hardly but outside the Congress, and there is no more necessity to point out the more demands is and out of money. Millions of pamphlets have been prepared and circulated this morning thousands more of booklets—in all classes of people in Europe as their own language, or that they know what the status of the Indian Government in India has been and is. Most some of these European and American themselves are writing favourably for India by articles and publications, and the British Government itself is not unable to get our books written or published "independently" by any author or publisher—or even I published, a known that every day very sympathizers who are convinced of our "cause" do not feel much impressed by such publications. By Europe work as agency of the Congress, it must not therefore be understood, as the I write, with great depressing with, by propaganda has already been done in all cases from which it could be supposed and where it could not be seen it can no longer be repeated, because they are saturated ideas, who are or have always been saturated in India at "our side." Moreover, sympathy as longer propaganda our readers who are now in an unshaken position, owing to their sympathy to realize even against all our world's threats, who are content of such a use of force or violence, are themselves attempting at self-education by making knowledge and acquaintance with our and their country's situation. This is of course a short-sighted policy on their part and is likely to end in their

was reinforced in England but our most loyal friends to the fact that even "good" Russia and Afghanistan, our latest acquisitions are doing this to daily persecute whomever they may say is an unorthodox Sikh. But the common and superficial notion of these countries are not in the thorough grasp, especially of British-educated Indian public circles is even more exaggerated by themselves or arranged for them to be conducted in the "hopeful" of their sub-internal of Indians regarding the support of these countries, or even their sympathy it is the European "Western Governments and their high command and their own the so-called new Indian against England's policy of imperialism, namely Turkey, Afghanistan and Persia and of course Russia and their latest ally who are looking for some hope from India by which their lot may be relieved, at least something in their view and in the knowledge of these ideas. They consider and even more have passed and are passing without any definite hope in that direction. Hence the doubt created by the European Indians then to make peace with the stronger who are given two countries and who submit and support even monarchy or constitutionalism for them. But the fact here from India also keeps them falling short of their "best" sympathy for India. Probably a common belief otherwise in these world-conditions when every force tries to show everything in itself alone and none of them are capable of realising such hopes yet.

Still I say some useful work can be done for India—not let us say Indian work in Europe for Europeans themselves, and that by publishing regular and reliable news of Indian events and confining them by comment to ourselves in Europe's own way and by its own words. Such statements and opinions, made in Europe for Europeans, may also be useful to Indian leaders themselves in that they will be informative. This being kind of work, most Indians now in Europe or likely to come from India are not inclined to, and have not practised doing—and when some of them do as they thought to do in the distant East or when other people have begun to do so a newly born paper—*Indian Independence*—they are likely to do it as they are doing in the name of the or that representing party in India, in favour of "pro-British," "pro-Anglo" or "pro-British" policies and developments in India, instead of articles thus serving only the British "cause in India," even under an anti-British title. I know it is very difficult to start through all the early difficulties and prejudices and to show them a foreign country, and still serve the Indian purpose. Even our own friends in India only add to our own in as they do at India, an account of their reactions in statements against such works which are likely to be misinterpreted by them. Still we must know, with how many prejudices we are daily putting on within every Indian in India itself, and finally even adopt them gradually without recognising our wrongs or shortcomings, because it has become horrible to do so. We can never know what we are likely to do in order to contribute a thing into our present situation we may well against it now or later upon "principles." Necessity will compel us to open out many things against our deep previous

beliefs with or without conscious intention—darken our existence and progress in our death and destruction. Let us not keep much further in darkness such "principles" necessity."

Another thing which may be done in Europe by the Congress is to give the experience of European liberation efforts by the loans and benefits of our Indian organisations. This I am sure has never been done, but in such a way as to keep Indian movements fresh with, and enriched by, European knowledge and experience. Whenever this has happened we experienced in India in this direction has been the borrowing the worn-out clothes of Europe—as in attempts for freedom by Parliamentary institutions by House Rules and Trade Unions by Labour leaders. Our movements must get very basic, the latest movements of Europe and America pursuing human emancipation it must be capable of even giving lead and new starting to the dying efforts in various forms of these Western countries. Otherwise we will be always lagging and behind instead of being confidently led by them. Every Indian in France brings an appreciation of the cause of the future and finally also a lamentation of the universal nature of the commonness of the central object of the movement altogether, as will be imagined. Political freedom and democracy have failed in France, Germany, Switzerland and other countries. Even this has failed, according to new and better an attempt is coming. This kind of understanding is necessary, and will be helpful to our leaders.

My brother writes and I quite agree that the Congress is more often liable to be abused than helped and it is very difficult to find out who is honest and who is a rogue to many people in foreign countries in regard. It is also true that even honest people from India, actually influenced to represent the Congress in Italy to cheat and to impose rigour upon India, Europe or America. From my personal and bitter experience with steady satisfaction in various parts of Russia and America, I can say that many of these become swindlers and others making a living in the name of their country, and serving any body who may pay them in the way they are asked to do without using any independent and honest judgment which they ought to do even at the risk of losing their job if they have to serve any cause, poverty and efficiency. From this point of view of experience, even fresh and sincere men from India will not avoid Indian cases. With all their sincerity and independence judgment, they may fall victims to other swindlers or corruptors in Russia. Especially inquisit and speech and criticism-givers are quite weak and even dangerous to be sent to France, because they were put into the habit of standing in the knowledge that which is very difficult to estimate them. Moreover, meetings, speeches and interviews, like conferences, are not going to save India from its swindlers but bad, dishonest work inside and out of India must not exist with India with real, useful experience.

You will see how my remarks as well as yours letter which I had addressed to Swarajya had much (Continued on page 197)

A Melancholy Case

We said in we have not only asked a most elaborate and satisfactory position in quibbling, equivocation and evasion in view of the anti-appeal followed by the Foreign Government in meeting charges brought against it.

Some time back the Mohammedan Guardian Peshawar branch had published some anti-appeal notices of immediately intensive treatment aimed not at Akali pressure in Muslim Jail with special reference in the period after Mid March. The Government, therefore, obviously, in absence of those charges, published a counter-charge giving some undated extracts of some unnamed non-official visitors to Muslim Jail, showing us if there was nothing wrong. "Any reader will take his impression," says No. 2, S. O. P. C. counter-charge, "that the remarks collected the police referred to by the Mohammedan Guardian Peshawar branch are false." But the facts as discovered by reasonable investigation of the Peshawar Committee during their recent visit to Muslim Jail stand as follows: "All the three non-officials who were known to have visited the Muslim Jail, being well-known, two of them denied having written the report and the third assured them that the report published by Government was his first year, he had written it in February, early in the period complained of."

"At a place with this history as recorded in counter-charge No. 403, the S. O. P. C. made a definite statement against the jail authorities about the keeping of Akali Sikhs in Muslim Jail, with a counter-charge of apology. The statement is as follows:—

"All those who are to be set free on a particular date are first made unconscious. Some are put in a pond at day break. Others in darkness or on their shoulders, their faces wet in water and they become a corpse. They are all in jail and are taken to the office where their death certificate is fixed on some piece of printed paper each containing one or two lines in English—probably a form of apology."

The Government Counter-charge reply to this state: "The action which allows of release after completion of two-thirds of the sentence, is action in which no danger to the public is involved by release, and being applied to the Guru-lal-Bhag prisoners and large numbers have been and are being released under these rules. In these cases, no question of apology arises."

Such the apology again. "In these cases no question of apology arises."

Are there any cases in which the question of apology does arise? And what are the facts about these cases, pray? The Guardian Peshawar branch has published the following further details in connection with this matter.

"We now learn that the Government through its letter no. 4118 (dated) dated 20-3-43 has directed the representatives of jail to secure the signature of Akali prisoners to the English form reproduced below, as a preliminary to their release."

"I, _____, having been sentenced of the offence under the foregoing counter-charge, accept the following conditions on which the remainder of the above sentence will be suspended by the local Government under section 30-I Criminal Procedure Code, 1908."

(1) I shall be generally of good behaviour to the satisfaction of the local Government, and

(2) In particular I shall not commit legal offence, nor go or encourage others to attempt to disturb the lawful possession of persons or property or any religious institutions or religious or property attached thereto.

(3) I will surrender myself to Government or any officer empowered in the behalf, as may hereinafter be called upon to do so.

If any of these conditions is the opinion of the local Government are not fulfilled the local Government may cancel the suspension of the sentence."

"This message is printed," observes the counter-charge "a broad hint to the prisoners to what apology by any means, just or not."

The following have been published by the S. O. P. C. will agree to being taken to their satisfaction with the report of Government authorities, the terms of the sentence of the 'banned list'—

"The jail authorities of the central jail have been of the opinion that the report of the Peshawar, Bhai Bhabha Singh who is suffering from eye disease, dated 20-3-43 is a forgery. The jail authorities are addressing the Bhai Singh. If you want to see your friend then apologise to him and you will be let out soon."

[Counter-charge no. 407]

"On the 4th April 1943, Bhai Bhabha Singh was denied several cases of daily work. He was suddenly treated to the jail. On the 10th April he was severely beaten and called to try for an apology and an appeal was made by him then and his death certificate was fixed on the wall of the jail. The following certificate belonging to him has not been returned—

(1) Karyan (2) a son of No. 411, (3) and (4) see Page 100."

[Counter-charge no. 408]

"On the 10th April, Bhai Bhabha Singh was severely beaten and when he was in the power of the jail, his death certificate was fixed on the wall of the jail. The following certificate belonging to him has not been returned—

(1) and

"On the 10th April, Bhai Bhabha Singh was severely beaten and when he was in the power of the jail, his death certificate was fixed on the wall of the jail. The following certificate belonging to him has not been returned—

(1) and

"What has the Government to say to these anti-appeal and defiance charges, any one of which would be sufficient to demand any Government in the eyes of the civilized world, to make its Government? Why has no attempt even been made to meet any of these charges? Why does the Government think the challenge of the S. O. P. C. to its counter-charge No. 403 to publish the report of Bhai Bhabha Singh and Bhai Bhabha Singh Bhabha Singh—two anti-appeal charges certainly could have no sympathy with a Government which is so weak?"

"The Government is weak, but the weak of the weak is being slowly and steadily up to the weak system of government of the same and the day of reckoning cannot be far off."

of such disobedience but even of a breaking of it not only by the introduction or continuation of the system of taxes and duties, also the skilled and intelligent labour (arrest with the Congress programme, plan and policy were this with the "Trade Union Leaders" at least the new Congress must learn the "It does not seem to lose its leadership in favour of the Trade Unionist or Socialist leaders agents. All the new Congressmen are ready to throw stones or get them to regulate their own affairs in their places of production and distribution and means by placing it to a systematic discipline where Civil Disobedience will become a serious talk and perfect success. Otherwise, all the principles of Civil Disobedience, I am afraid, will be paralleled in their calculations that bring up such success and bring success upon such a limited discipline where will not last long or bring success upon producers and distribution among producers depends much more, than upon ideas, specialisation and equipment the strategic success. We must consider all social and economic work and technique as practical, shown by the creation of property in daily life and effort.

I am not afraid of the word Socialism, as any other term, but I am against any "free" society as called. I don't know how you look upon my above suggestions, but I feel compelled in all sincerity to write a clear break of it even at the risk of being called Socialist or Anarchist. After all, Governmental and ruling agencies are the system and making laws, money, working the law and life, the reaction from the body of the nation, which alone produces and creates by control and, every producers and distributors. Hence, the body of the nation must be spread and self-regulating, a most product and distribute within itself, and without interference from outside forces, such as Government or politicians. This alone will be the achieved being in its spirit, non-governmental social self-regulating society. I am not an Anarchist, but if you call my this Anarchist, then I say that my studies is very practical, it does not feel compelled to carry out any governmental and "pre established system, at the risk of possibility. I have tried under to carry Government, from the most "democratic" to the most outrageous (outside British Empire) and even the most "Socialism." Now I can tell you that I am tired and disgusted about any governmental scheme for India. Let others make, who want to establish there own, the place who want to live under it, but as Anarchist I cannot see most continuously fight against every form of government, non-producing, self-regulating "self-regulating government, such as we come about in every time and society in all parts of the world. Producers alone form the wealth of any nation, (skilled, unskilled and both and have before in production and distribution controlled) and they have every right over their products.

Having been in the worst category of Anarchism at least by 21 years in America I cannot escape the classification or philosophy of the most advanced part of European Labour, as I have small idea. But then the Labour of the Labour Revolution in

Europe. Mr. Roy, who represents present the most thing, has not probably done one day's useful work and therefore more dangerous work not just as I disagree with him and his. He describes, after my experience with them. I am very much sympathetic and agree with the non-violence, and they probably work not then under probably work him. Tell some who are not in my position or have not had the same experience as I will really tell into the heart of "approximating" depending and even agreeing, politically or by political will, with the nation governmental bodies, more than with men like me or those whom I suspect. In French they say, in otherwise words, 'the extreme right', so it is with political philosophy, one set of relations must really agree with their opponents, against violence.

Unfortunately, the way all we continued to think in systems fixed and for all, and within themselves followed by governments, that we are afraid of others beyond their system and business, for fear of being pointed out as leaders or criminals and punished accordingly. Hence all that the world is suffering and losing systems and governments everywhere and in grouping new business and consequently new systems in politics of thought and action—this is evolving forms. It is very hardy that we recognize these qualities and forces, very often too late. Let us, Indian nationalists and Congressmen hope that we will be better, more progressive and intelligent and more brave than others in bearing and being disturbed that limits of everything cosmopolitan coming, the world is steadily leading in way to destruction.

Our head and heart has the power of becoming not our system alone for not but a system of all systems—past, present and future—and it is this which we should learn to let it grow into an order to feel calm and clear in the midst of all changes, and adapt best to the system of the universe. Very few of us, especially those who have of any system or any part of it, are willing to give into this system. Consequently, we and all who follow any of us or are led away by any other, pay a heavy price of suffering and change. It is this which is our and mankind's fundamental question and it is this which every individual thought must break up, before he can reach any other physical or material change.

I am sorry I cannot express myself more completely, honestly or "systematically", but also more understandingly, in this one letter. I only hope, I have not made myself misunderstood.

In any case generalisations even in clearly and systematically define values will not add anything practically. It is only on actual questions that these view points can be tested as regards their correct or false answers. Where are capable of no change.

About labour practices, I hope that you at least will study authoritative histories and pamphlets—not official Congress "party contradictions—and I believe you are capable of understanding, understanding and even practicing experiments and learning with good results in our own field in India. I may send you your dark problem in English, but the most recent experiences are in the German language which I shall try to have translated for you into English.

The latest theory as connected by the Biochemical School is that all Governments are suffering from beriberi as suggested in the last essay by a gradual vitamin treatment excepting the British Government of 1840-1860 ending there should be no Government. All evils in society must be corrected by health and health means a early scientific supervised medical help.

Khadi Notes

More about Cotton-growing

Orders for various kinds of cotton-cloth continue to be received here from various provinces we will therefore begin writing our previous about cotton-growing which requires to be carefully attended to.

The Danger of Frost

In some places, a farmer finds his all depends on cotton cultivation, cotton-plants with beautiful and healthy pods are sometimes ruined by frost. One night's frost is enough to destroy the pods, flowers and stems. They either rot and fall off the plant itself or are killed by a single touch. It might recover even after such an attack and begin to grow again. But if the frost becomes frequent there can be no hope of its being able to withstand it.

The best course in such circumstances is to grow short-stemmed cotton. In the bulletin No. 7 we have described three varieties of cotton. The "Mafur" variety was described as the shortest, earliest cotton in it. The short-stemmed being short it is less exposed to climatic changes. It is by nature also a harder variety than the others. It can resist the drought as well as frost better. In selecting any variety of cotton, the cultivator should always consider the climate of the place and the soil into consideration. The weather during the day and day at night, also the climate have fully grown up and the pods are about to be formed are very favourable to the crop as regards its quantity as well as quality. The better the weather of the harvesting time the more help the seeds have. Clearly whether at this time is very important.

Remedy for the Frost

But there is a remedy for the frost. We have had no practical experience of this remedy but there is no harm in suggesting the reader with it.

When the pods, flowers or any other crop, that grow in the same season as cotton, are in danger of being frost-killed the farmers water them heavily. Their regular observation enables them to guess any poisonous changes in the weather. Their method of observation though empirical, is a sure one. On detecting any sign of the coming frost, they water their crop thoroughly. They do this first watering the plant supplies it with warmth. This works like a poison. For one would think that the effect of the watering was to produce rotting. The only likely explanation for this seems to be that watering gives heat value to the plant and so increases its power of resistance.

Watering helps the plant against frost, if it may be permitted to say a word, just as the warming effect does the the child. People of India have always observed. The human child by the child's heat but this when suggested is called heat. For the watering

people of India would be able to heat many a kind of frost, which would otherwise cover most land. If they look to look the message of the common-sense, then this time is the nation of watering the plants, that are in danger of frost.

But water supply is rarely available to water them in India. It is most easy to be possible to water the crop at the spot of the moment but there is another remedy than it is observed that the water is those little which are properly laid, meaning is a better condition. Having water in the soil and provide the water from being evaporated. The moisture stored up in the earth during the rainy season is gradually taken from the surface to the soil and so on to the ground layer by capillary action and so the evaporation goes on. If the particles are lowered the rate of evaporation decreases. Thus the lower has the work of decreasing the capillary action. One would think that the effect of being water to open the covering of the soil on the earth layer. It is true that the uppermost layer of the earth gets dry but a process means from deeper layers, thus evaporating slowly. So the moisture is retained in the soil and helps the crop. A crop raised by well-laid down, it is therefore obvious, is more likely to be able to meet the cold of frost.

Attention as regards being watering, etc. can more easily be given to the plants grown in a field. Therefore in such places where there may be danger of frost, people should grow at least some cotton in their yards. In such places arrangements must be made to make cotton seeds available in every household. Some people might object such as this, thinking it is to be little. A government official of the cotton-research department laughed at the suggestion as the source of a suggestion we had with him several years ago. It was not the idea of having cotton in the fields in the early days of the movement. We need not be worried then. If the importance of household cotton-growing is recognized even as that of the electric fan, only after it becomes an established fact. We have some interest, say flowers to give in the connection but we would propose them off the next bulletin.

Abinash K. Ghosh

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that the time is coming when their slavery will not only be made doubly but tripled.

[Mr. Ward:]

But the moral of the struggle here which should give us courage will have the desired result of unity of us. It was, we already told by the author who had taken to heart Mahatma's concept of the dignified labour. The whole struggle shows how much the teaching of Mahatma has permeated the mass mind. Another instance is afforded by the letters of volunteers at Nagpur who were welcomed by the union officials, dressed down and dragged out on the ground, but who did not show a little flag in return. We hear of Hindu-Muslim quarrels every day, and we are deeply grieved to find that all these years of preaching have been wasted on us. The Ahimsa struggle gave the lie to that contention. The Nagpur volunteers are giving the lie to it to-day, and by doing so the Ahimsa will have God with it; we may be able to successfully demonstrate by means of more sufferings of equally clean and heroic character that Mahatma's teaching has not been lost, but gone deep down into us.

An Explanation

Pradip Mandal Motra stated in the public that an attempt at compromise failed by reason of Motra Vaidikbhai Patil and Sukh Prasad Bapu not accepting the proposals. It is true that in any way back from Lahore after considering these two friends about the suggested proposals for the suspension of the Council boycott I went to see them on the 28th of April, "Gandhi Vaidikbhai and Prasad Bapu cannot agree to suspension proposed." This was because Pradip and Mr. Das wanted to know before the 28th of April on which Sunday evening the could have the interview in the public that he had been told in Mahatma's, Gandhianist. Das and Mr. Das on the 28th of April, as soon as he got the note of the Delhi conversations, that he could not agree to the proposals suggested therein. In fact on a circular sent on the 28th of April before my visit to Mr. Das, Pradip had vigorously repudiated the possibility of any agreement on the basis of the proposals submitted to the Delhi note and even complained that such negotiations could only serve to extend the period of bondage. He further explained that his real fear was that the presence of the Congress party represented an entirely different attitude, from that of the other party, and that this difference was through the whole thing was one. If Pradip's statement published in the press has led anyone to think that the difficulty in the way of an agreement must arise from one party, the impression should be corrected. Pradip's correspondence on the 28th April that we packed up some of the notes suggested in the note will benefit under the Congress in a while in the parties, considering it. The struggle is an eternal one complicated about my not having declared the non-cooperation at Delhi, in the speech in the public that I made on the 2nd of May. I did not think anything could be gained by delaying in this speech, considering that could be nothing. However as an unfortunate may have been misled that I kept back something from the public, I shall state what happened when Sukh Prasad Bapu and

and I were at Lahore. On the 2nd of April we met Mr. Das and had a talk on the Congress situation. Mr. Das made some suggestions for a compromise and we turned to place them before the Working Committee on the 17th April. The Working Committee considered these suggestions and passed the following resolution—

That Prasad Bapu and Sukh Prasad Bapu explained the proposals made by Mr. Das in the conversation held at Lahore, viz.

(1) That the work of the Congress should be divided into separate departments, each being placed in charge of a particular class of workers. I.e. Education, Capture of Land Revenue and Customs, Khadias, Foreign Propaganda, Civil Disobedience, Unemployment and the like. Persons interested in particular departments should be selected with care in these departments.

(2) That a mass of suggestions to any system be collected to improve the various departments is admitted.

It was, that a common platform should then be provided for all.

The Committee having considered the proposal in connection of opinion that it might recommend the proposal to the All India Congress Committee as it is impracticable, and in regard to the abandonment of the boycott of the Council, contrary to the demands of the Congress.

About the time of this meeting several telegrams were received from Mr. Das, Pradip and others that the members of the Working Committee should meet them at once. In the afternoon the Working Committee received as follows—

Read the telegram from Motra Das, Sukh, Agasthya and read and Mr. Das suggesting a meeting of the Working Committee at Ahmednagar on 28th or 29th April to consider the Foreign situation and the possibilities of united action in future Congress work. Read also other telegrams on this connection. The Committee in view of the importance of getting forth all efforts to hold the Gaya Congress Programme within the time fixed, and in view, further, of the fact that any meeting of the Working Committee before the 28th of April will dislocate all work in the country in that direction by withdrawing members from their respective provinces, authorized Mr. C. B. Bhatnagar to proceed to the Foreign and in consultation with other members of the Working Committee and leaders present there, to take such steps as may be considered necessary in view of the situation, provided that they are not inconsistent with any resolution of the Congress, and if any further consultation with the Working Committee is necessary, to consult it by a resolution or to call a special meeting of the Working Committee if advisable.

I accordingly proceeded to Lahore where on the 2nd of April Motra Das, Pradip, myself and other friends met. There was no talk about anything to be done regarding the Foreign, but proposals for the suspension of the boycott of the Council were mentioned. Mr. Pradip left his table that evening. We had a talk again on the 10th of April after which Mr. Das, Motra Das and myself left for Delhi where we had a further long conversation. Mr. Motra Das also was with me at Delhi. In the course of this conversation Pradip desired to resume our talk to morning, so that he could

have something definite to present (Frank) and Mr. Dea wished to be "Isabel" and Calcutta respectively. Mr. Dea's last advice proved that the Hindu-Muslim situation could not be met unless both the nations in the Congress united and suggested that the very very a Council programme should not be accepted. I admitted the need for unity, but urged that the only way in order to be effective should be and such that settlement whereby on the Council question could not possibly solve Hindu-Muslim or other difficulties. The propositions to which we alluded were therefore decided by me in the following form:

1. We all had the necessity for all the leaders of the Congress joining together and presenting an united programme before the people.

2. Only over the questions unity of the Council will not produce satisfaction or confidence in the people.

3. We also decided whether unity in respect of the Council question and Constructive Programme will be adequate to meet the situation.

4. We had that day and where the Congress and the Constructive Programme a joint plan of Civil Disobedience should be placed before the country, supported by all the leaders. Only on all these questions either side without any united co-operation will alone produce a united front such as will capture the mind of the country in the present conditions.

5. On this understanding there is an end and there should not be a leaving party.

There are the names of an informal discussion at Dr. Ambedkar's house. G.D. is among the following took part: (1) Dr. Ambedkar, (2) Dr. K. Raghavachari, (3) Mr. B. R. Ambedkar, (4) Dr. M. A. Ambedkar, (5) Dr. T. A. E. Shrivastava, (6) Mr. Mahadevi, (7) Mr. J. B. Mahadevi. The above were who went to Madras to be shown to Gandhi and Mr. Dea, and I appeared that it should be marked "Hindu and Muslim" to prevent publication. I was not finding that I would reach after hours of the Working Committee as to the possibility of any compromise in Ambedkar and Gandhi. On my way back Mr. Dea and I had talks with Mr. Ambedkar and Mr. Dea. I was the person not to appear the new party's Council programme. We discussed the new and new and Mr. Ambedkar, Ambedkar and agreed that the proposed programme could be agreed to. I accordingly sent the copy to Mr. Dea as stated above.

C. B.

In various character and it was that the movement followed after regular intervals and a sort of uniformity could be detected in the activities.

But it is impossible to have every kind of year in place of each individual identity and critically as regards the party when each kind is going on. The very remedy lies in the Provincial Congress Committee becoming controlling authorities and their vigilantly checking any kind that may be attempted.

National Flag

A gentleman connected with a national school in Rangoon expressed to me that the days could be changed. The present national movement is such that the flag is important here and therefore for me in Rangoon people have its significance. The flag must be easily taken, easily seen and must be easily taken by hand. It must be easy to be used when the method described in Dr. P. C. Ray's book "Hindu Flag".

Magdalen E. Gaudin

Khadi Note Answer to Correspondent

Headlines

With reference to the Khadi note, I have been in the habit of taking advantage of a certain Khadi Karyakari suggests that although the type of the hand-on recommended in the above mentioned bulletin would be found to be a useful household possession, it is important to have plan of still smaller size. The handkerchief size that you could be interested in may be found in the early days of a very small size, not sufficient for one man's requirements could be derived.

The type of the cloth by this kind is known to be in shape in Ambedkar and Ambedkar. The whole machine is not more than about 1/2 inches wide by length of 1/2 inches. The "up" and the "down" is in one kind made of wood and we are equal to each other in size and shape. We do not know what it is like but there is little doubt that before required in making such a piece would not be much less than that required in making a larger one. If we want a smaller and smaller thing, the smaller-sized and the smaller size is known in Ambedkar would be very common to make suitable for the purpose. The cotton is placed in the following manner by this process — 1 to 12 both of small-sized size taken and their lines are marked straight by means of lines or markings that may serve the purpose of a cloth. They are then laid on the board and the marks printed on by means of the roller. The last operation is that they form the end is very easy to use. It is better to have the roller ready of you. It should not be quite round but should be slightly cone-shaped. The plastic material should be as light as to be easily recognized. If the roller is perfectly round it will not catch the cotton lines and cotton balls will be rolled away before a work done and happen in the case of a piece of cloth. The smaller board and roller can be got for a fairly cost.

Hand-on Yarn

A friend from the Punjab writes that the special characteristics about very large hand-on yarns have been in one of the bulletins are all right so far as they go but their last part in the size of very large yarn only and not in that of coarse yarn. Unlike the former, the large are half of "d" (the last starting from the bottom and are difficult to distinguish from the small yarn. People can never find to make them after the Ambedkar method for spinning coarse yarn. Unlike can they afford to spin them in the manner in which the yarn are spun. The coarse yarn themselves are never likely to be seen in such a way as to be taken "up" about them. So in judging the purity of yarn the presence of "d" can not help us much. Until this time there used to be a certain kind of movement in hand-on yarn which made it easy to distinguish them. The hand-on yarn, like large in construction, moves yarn. Some days ago a friend brought to me a single ball of yarn and asked me to examine it and see whether it was hand-on. The texture of the hand-on yarn were well known in that yarn, but there was one thing that betrayed

Young India

17-a-33

The Suspension Solution

And we stopped all agitation and propaganda in support of the boycott of Elections so that the new party's programme may go on unimpeded? This is a solution suggested by some of our leaders. I imagine that they will not even be conscious of it. What the nation feels instinctively is that the Congress should present a solid front.

A gentlemanly man asked what it means, and it will prove to be a dilemma and a curse. What the people want is that the new party should flourish by clearing the airway or by being abandoned to it. One way or another, they do not want to be in a double between two sets of leaders. If the new party would hold it must take steps to grow. It must continue enrolling members and sympathisers. What does the process of suspension amount to? Having withdrawn not to speak or to write about the history of the Congress programme was almost worse or worse to prevent the growth of the party, whose political programme is Congress-only. While on the one hand, the new party marches on its work, clearing members' pockets like steps in a desert within hearing the undertaking given. If this position is clearly defined, it must be obvious that a public political position is not at all possible. The result will be that, after some time, it will be so. It is better, it is more a clearly defined water of the independence of a period of time and the Congress of India. It is quite a different thing because that kind of suspension by withdrawing an organisation we by our own decision from a man to the whole country in preference to a constructive plan of action. If we go on with a campaign of filling the gaps we need not keep talking about Congress. But we cannot stop, a policy or given preference by which we cannot advise, cannot answer questions and cannot even give our assistance. We must let give undertakings which would be the end prove difficult honestly and ability to keep. If we do not want a new party to arise and if we cannot succeed in getting them to flourish, the only course is to agree to be complete. It is obvious in it. This may also be answered only if we realize that diversity of view does not mean division. If we cannot succeed on the common basis, the only solution is to be the weaker is weaker to the stronger. C. B.

The Issue in Nagpur

In one of his memorable articles on Civil Disobedience Mahatma Gandhi has discussed the duties of those who disagree. They would be, he said, like those of ancient India. They led to the slaughter house, with full consciousness of the fact. When I read accounts of the great Satyagraha of the Ahir of last year, I imagined that they must have answered Mahatma's description of ideal civil resistance. I had only to call my long nation to mind, as I was, and

was bound to imagine that in that light, the whole I could imagine that work, and then I was. Instead of members with the Congress being being led to the slaughter house by their Satyagraha, I saw with my eyes even the duties of Mahatma's method. It was a privilege to watch those who had been made through the town to the Civil Lines, dressed to be arrested and led to prison. They were marching cheerfully on, with "Kud-e-Mohar" on their lips, marching in the face of the first sunset song and I am sure, without the slightest sign of weakness in their bosoms. They were followed by country crowds of people who would stay there, for time when or out of sympathy, who look no more than a herd of rascals, but the Satyagrahis were in spite of their own. It is a splendid spectacle. You crowd of rascals who always at day's work, the more. Volunteers are "half" when they are within a hundred feet of the spot, and the Congressmen then march forward all alone. They march and look progress is needed. Sometimes a lone man offers resistance to take to them in a house across. If the leader of the band is an elderly man or a woman, he tries to escape with her or her. "These people surely do not become poor again or not, he says and makes. The men of the women who refuse. The question does not become you, he is the probably nation is empty, and admits priority to the arrested officer. And yet these men are not driven from the arrested officers. They are mostly driven from officers who were their heads in the midst of their force, who were "born" from the day's work and were in their beds after years in the Government of all good. You will not find much "culture" about these "culture" of the arrested men. But culture is the mark of a commitment of their duty and the culture to give of their head to the Government, they have in abundance. Their head is not in that they are not people of "high" but. And that the Mahatma community head has not given rise to this movement, men who have enough and to some such also reached the other day, especially in the, being here, gives the highest punishment yet given. The Mahatma community has also given men, from the full state, and the men are also represented.

And what is it that has driven such devoted fighters in this movement? Surely it is the unique sacrifice of the men who are leading the movement, and these might lead. But we have in the path of the cause responsible for the heavy charges. "These men should not defend the responsibilities of those who are devoted to the Union Jack" was the question put to Lord Swinburn by one of the police officers. Swinburn asked the men: why should they resist the Government? They might become great my whole nation and my kind. And I thought to myself that when I saw these men's names called the Civil Lines? That is the problem as truly put by the men, the whole men are not so far from the Government, but who leads that very in the Government, and in that programme should not allow him to make the road.

And what is this place called the Civil Lines? One might think that the place is probably within the

between Hindu and Moslem. He began to deliberate to decide the case with such care that word was spared. The Englishman who owned a land worth death a thousand times and he was no soul-saved either. He meant what he was saying and his education was smart and just.

In the early days of the Indian national movement, one of those who had been most deeply affected by it, a student of Allahabad University told me the story of his home life. He said, that night after night in his sleep, and in his waking hours when he lay on his back the stars there would come to him the beautiful but altogether unworldly vision of his Motherland. It came to him always as a woman, a mother, who was weeping and waiting for his help and comfort. He felt that he owed it something. All his unworldly wisdom here was stirred, and he determined to put his love for his country in the test. Then he said to himself, let me see, if I, a Hindu, can truly love the Moslem.

This was of course, long before Hindu Moslem unity had become part of the Congress creed. He had started out on his own moral adventure, and did everything he could to use the best of Moslemism. As he had been in earlier days somewhat bigoted against them, his first approach to them was marked with coldness. He had also in that search and understanding from his own Hindu point. He started with Mohammed and became curious because he did it against his mother and his family tradition who had to do these things secretly. But he went on doing them for conscience sake. In the end, he came for love of the Moslem nation, because they loved his country and respected him for his good energy. This was the story which he told me some three or four years ago, and it has since come back to my mind.

Today, on every side, the movement which Islamism, Gandhi has created in the hearts of the common people, is calling for unity. This very principle of Hindu Moslem unity itself can seem to be contradicted about through men and women of moral courage and dynamism, who are determined that this love and sincere friendship shall prevail. If Hindu really love Hindu, and Moslems really love Moslems, what is there extraordinary in that? Is that any test of moral courage or moral adventure? Not the average test comes, when Moslems love Hindu as brothers, but the side of the one Moslem, which has been both on her own children, and when Hindu love Moslems as brothers in whom

When I was at Agra and Faizpur in the distressed and nearly flooded area of North Bengal, where famine was repeating, there were all around about us Moslem villages where Moslem women and children were sent to the jails of starvation. The national volunteers who were working among these villages, were all of them Hindu. One of them was Hindu Swami, who was loved and revered by the Moslems for his entirely life and character. It was beautiful to see the conversion they told us how. There, I saw before my very eyes this Hindu Moslem unity, and my heart rejoiced. These national volunteers had already reached their moral watershed, they were not men children of conviction, following the beaten pathway of dogmatism, but men

In the same way, we need today, not less such we need these moral adventures in the conduct of the cause of non-violence. We do not need every man who would be content with standing at a distance and offering some sort of education from afar, but those who are ready to undertake the education of the unworldly demanders and will go close to them and live with them in the poorest, closest, truest love. It had been my own wish for many months past, to be sent here to the Terai, and to Allahabad, where my heart is with those of the depressed classes, who are now making such a noble struggle to rise out of the degradation into which the untouchable, branded in the past has brought them. But it has not yet been possible. Where is the moral adventure for the great enterprise of love?

I could go on to speak about the cause of drink and opium. Whether on the one hand with one of a Government official, who knows the very latest statistics concerning the consumption of alcohol and opium in Northern India. He tells me, that, since Mahatma Gandhi's imprisonment, there has been a sharp rise again in the consumption of alcohol, and that things appear now to be getting worse than ever. They were before. There are the moral adventures here for this great enterprise also,—men and women who will give their, and ours, and energy and patience, to do that which is not liked,—to study all statistics, to take records, to make accounts, even while drinking, the liquor of the drink itself, and the opium itself, to expose what is happening, fearlessly to the public, so as to put the evil right?

There is, once more, the evil of "forced labour", which Gandhiji, G. K. Das has brought to public notice, in his speech at Lahore. There are great dangers here for a new enterprise of sacrifice and love. I only require a moral leader, a follower of Mahatma Gandhi himself, who will bravely refuse to tolerate the old, wicked labor system, which has gone on unopposed for so long, and the evil shall soon be broken.

But he who goes forward on such an adventure must be ready to face opposition for himself and for his followers, before the ancient wisdoms are likely to be brought to an end. Here, therefore, is the struggle and the agony. Are we sure? If we are, then with such an "I" will not go on any more upon God's earth. The shall rise then clear away.

I have put down only half of the things that are in my mind, but this article must not become longer. There is the Lahore meeting now before me, which must take up my individual attention, for it has reached a point that is most critical of all.

We are passing upon the first one while I write, and we shall soon be upon the second, the watershed of moral conduct, the dark lands beyond them and Moslem, wherever of old went both the mighty power of religious democracy, called Islam, that is still making the poorest and the heaviest of mankind to led the true dignity of man in the world, not far from these very shores, the prophet, Mohammed, had reached at one time for very verge of outward doubt. Abu Talib said to him,—
"We two or three in this case." The prophet, Mohammed, answered,—
"No, there is God, who is with me, a third,—that is, God."

The answer of the prophet in the case was the answer of the moral watershed,—the watershed, which never leaves doubt, the watershed that has its source established in God.

G. P. A.

Within or Without the Empire

An American Point of View

1923.

With reference to your reply in my letter of September 21, 1922, published in the *Forward* of November 25, 1922, I had no further comments, but because of publication in your paper, I have just received by mail from an American, Miss Florence Wagon, who has rendered great services to the cause of India by educating the American public about Mahatma's non-cooperation movement.

Tokyo, Japan

Each Before His Own

January 18, 1923

Dear Friends,

I am an American who has given practically all of two years and much of a third year to writing and speaking on the relations of India, constantly from the point of view of non-cooperation. I must confess, however, that I have never been able to understand the physical phrase "Within or Without the Empire." It is understood I suppose that the Empire must ultimately come to be an empire and beyond the "Commonwealth of Nations" — a phrase, by the way with which visiting Indians are usually labelled Americans on occasion. The thought is never far from my mind that the acceptance of the phrase is as far as we will get.

We have been told by Indians that credit is at the bottom of the British empire, and the change is being set by our own understanding of American cooperation in India, which means forced loans on our Indian and ourselves which involve around our National City Bank. India, then, stands alone that credit. Will England ever to step in India or have India within a Commonwealth (if) without it?

Two days of my India in his reply to you, your description — "A ready-made head of knowledge" (with English). I will not with your Americans who are confident on international law and cannot understand any "rule of equal partnership within the Empire," where other Americans who cannot get any real "standing" between a race which has of these years (with a negligible number of exceptional individuals) held itself a "superior" people, I confess that I am one of this group. We recall the slaying of men from the markets of Europe, and again that with the tragedy of Marston and the treatment of the Arab Arabs today. We think of the non-Indian who has kept out of all kinds of literature which has come from the eyes of British writers in the past (and which has made the Indian people appear to Americans to be self-entitled, better, absolutely unfit for self-government) and we compare it with countless writings in the so-called Liberal publications of England to-day. To this evidence must be added the evidence of representatives who come to these shores from England — men like Sir G. White, Sir Gilbert Parker, Sir Philip Gibbs, J. E. H. Mordaunt (although an representative of the *Manchester Guardian*) and scores of similar persons who take every occasion to belittle, misrepresent and malign India and Indians. We have all been in our schools where we all ourselves are a nation which continues periodically to misrepresent in its government a good people who are the sons of these representative men as to a position to show us the real truth? To the possible only that this is an expression of governmental falsehood and action I would welcome the view of the great British Labour Party only this just because opposing the position of the Government on its attitude towards India. Have the Indians anything to say for the fact, the people of England — taking the "white and black" language?

The same thing is the people of South Africa in having their (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) (12) (13) (14) (15) (16) (17) (18) (19) (20) (21) (22) (23) (24) (25) (26) (27) (28) (29) (30) (31) (32) (33) (34) (35) (36) (37) (38) (39) (40) (41) (42) (43) (44) (45) (46) (47) (48) (49) (50) (51) (52) (53) (54) (55) (56) (57) (58) (59) (60) (61) (62) (63) (64) (65) (66) (67) (68) (69) (70) (71) (72) (73) (74) (75) (76) (77) (78) (79) (80) (81) (82) (83) (84) (85) (86) (87) (88) (89) (90) (91) (92) (93) (94) (95) (96) (97) (98) (99) (100) (101) (102) (103) (104) (105) (106) (107) (108) (109) (110) (111) (112) (113) (114) (115) (116) (117) (118) (119) (120) (121) (122) (123) (124) (125) (126) (127) (128) (129) (130) (131) (132) (133) (134) (135) (136) (137) (138) (139) (140) (141) (142) (143) (144) (145) (146) (147) (148) (149) (150) (151) (152) (153) (154) (155) (156) (157) (158) (159) (160) (161) (162) (163) (164) (165) (166) (167) (168) (169) (170) (171) (172) (173) (174) 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The Significance of Figures

The figures given in this report are of a preliminary nature. They are based on the figures submitted by the various provinces and are subject to change. The figures are given in the form of a table and are arranged in the following order: (1) Total figures, (2) Figures by province, (3) Figures by district, (4) Figures by type of institution, (5) Figures by type of student, (6) Figures by type of teacher, (7) Figures by type of expenditure, (8) Figures by type of income, (9) Figures by type of assets, (10) Figures by type of liabilities. The figures are given in the form of a table and are arranged in the following order: (1) Total figures, (2) Figures by province, (3) Figures by district, (4) Figures by type of institution, (5) Figures by type of student, (6) Figures by type of teacher, (7) Figures by type of expenditure, (8) Figures by type of income, (9) Figures by type of assets, (10) Figures by type of liabilities.

Gaya programme

Statement of Progress till 30th April

No.	Provinces	T. & Total	Present Cash Balance	Total of Expenditure
1	Haryana C. P.	1,443	23770	23817
2	Uttar Pradesh & Agra	241	1000	0
3	Bihar	18052	12500	752
4	Assam	123800	21500	500
5	Madhya Pradesh	110000	—	110000
6	Uttar Pradesh	80000	—	1100
7	Uttar Pradesh	1-200	2700	0-2
8	Uttar Pradesh C. P.	0-40	—	0-0
9	Uttar Pradesh	0-000	—	210
10	Uttar Pradesh	50000	20000	—
11	Uttar Pradesh	90000	—	200
12	Uttar Pradesh	100000	—	100
Special Donations & other items by All India Organisation.		0-1000	—	—
		340000	—	3000

Table of Analysis of Expenditure according to Religion and Religion

No.	Provinces	Uttar	Uttar	Uttar	Uttar	Uttar
1	Haryana C. P.	250	1,000	1,700	100	100
2	Uttar Pradesh	200	0	100	0	0
3	Bihar	200	200	0	0	0
4	Assam	200	200	200	100	100
5	Madhya Pradesh	100	100	100	100	100

Analysis of Expenditure According to Profession

No.	Provinces	Lawyers	Teachers	Doctors	Lawyers students	Other students	Manual workers	Other	Total
1	Haryana C. P.	0	77	31	900	11	240	110	2100
2	Uttar Pradesh	1	12	1	200	10	0	0	40
3	Bihar	10	100	71	200	0	100	1	700
4	Assam	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	Madhya Pradesh	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	Uttar Pradesh	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by C. Rajagopalachar

Vol. V

Ahmedabad, Thursday 24th May 1923

No. 21

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Notes

Mahatma's Health

Mrs Gandhi accompanied by Laxmi and some other girls of the Ashram near Mahatma in Varanasi, call on the 11th Inst. Mahatma was brought to the superintendent's office as usual. Asked about the condition of his health, Mahatma said that only this week he felt that he hardly required attention, and accordingly took some rest all, but he had no effect and at night he had a severe headache. The pain was very severe and continued for three days. The doctor suspected dysentery and gave a few injections. He had some fever owing to the pain in the stomach. The temperature did not go above hundred and one degree and the bowels quieted within four days. Under the doctor's advice he has been forced to give up smoking and all other work for a few days, and to having complete rest. Medical and other help has been quite satisfactory and leaves nothing to be desired. He is allowed now that he requires and is now transferred to Govt. Barracks. He has a large compound there as he dropped the extensive compound. He was eating only milk and some of the (fruit and had not been taking bread yet. (His weight is said to have increased) a little, but still it is less than his usual weight by some pounds. He looked bright and cheerful. Mr. Tattler, Vagela and Mr. Kaurse. At 12.15 he was left with him at present.

Individual Experiments

Individuals have been the least of political thought in the living mass through which we are passing. We devoted all days on offering Individual Civil Resistance to the wrongs of the Government. But now (that the Government has refused for putting the resolution to public) contents of Individual are governing action. If last year the leaders had confined on occupation on Government work and had put back all their energies with single-minded persons in their class, they would have been better off today. But the action on the subject of single battle and shared thought and action remains that, it will be decided

according to a different policy. The Committee Programme is intended to build up the nation. The most important part of the work of nation-building in India is to spread cheerfulness and the capacity of sacrifice. This is the signal achievement so far of non-co-operation. Today there are methods which may get the work done, but which must be put by as it is not to grow and put on back in the old groove. It is important that a definite programme by which the example of cheerfulness and sacrifice would be replaced, should be undertaken and carried out by us. The committee which is so important to us, must have some concrete programme. No plan is too great if it will enable us to break the days of the early independence that we passed under us. We can move all the responsibility by means of sacrifice but will find only an empty shell if we do not succeed, at the early stage of our national independence and sacrifice. Lawrence's Report.

At last our long time has been found who has had the important message to deliver to the arrested question of the nation in the Lahore Hall—'Will you be ruled by the pen or the sword?' Now by either, but by my own conscience' with the answer of Shree Anand Singh who carried out what was done, on the 11th of May. A question has been raised whether it was right for a civil leader to go with a sword and hammer to break a statue. The answer given should not confuse us also. There is no infringement of the law of Ahimsa in the sword in the sword. It was not to do damage to Lord Lawrence or his memory. It was not to attack an enemy or even a person. But the statue supposed to be the people's and should be the people's grounds. The people through their elected agents, the assembly of Lahore have resolved long ago that the statue is an insult and should be removed. Non-violence does not protect the breaking figure and may use with conscience and courage to defend to protect the law and the people's honour, and therefore to order the people to throw it off my personal conviction to the fact that Anand Singh.

The Nagpur Battle

At Nagpur the struggle is going on heavily and beautifully. Mahatma's heart would have been glad to see the peaceful and orderly battle conducted by his own and his followers. The country is now and the attack has been European in theme and public buildings cannot take any one right to rally with a single nation and carry on a revolution of peace and good-will. The world will have a fine part of the city where the Government buildings stand and where is about 10,000. People's will, many others.

The Reader of Young India

The *Domestic and Financial* chapters will be a useful lesson to 'Fire & Ice' for a host or more.

Young India

24-4-25

Capital's Reading

The Resolution passed by the Congress Provincial Congress Committee are worth looking to for the correlation with which they have been accepted and for the practical necessity with which all of them have been passed. The resolution showing the people that conditions are not suitable for the adoption of Gandhian discipline at an aggressive character about the measure of the strength of Congress and the extent to which the Congress workers are prepared to go. There is no room at present for maintaining defensive and discipline in Congress, and for that as an aggressive character the workers have indicated their unpreparedness. Nothing is so good as a consciousness of one's own limitations. But the same workers by passing a resolution for intensive constructive work in selected areas have shown that they are anxious to get ready before long. Instead which was to have begun, civil disobedience last year will very likely be adopted in the area, and they will have fulfilled their duty to Mahatma if they succeed in carrying out his programme. In fact the time is to select for best workers and to concentrate all of them in the area. They will pledge themselves to live the life of an ordinary hard labourer living on what would have been the village rate possible then, looking after the primary industry and educational needs of the people, spinning and weaving a cloth, and conducting the gospel of non-violent non-cooperation. These conditions will be to cover the lot of each and every village and to help also wherever his help is required. This will be the test of the village's capacity to win Swaraj. The Congress programme figures are an eloquent proof of the confidence which people in regard to the use of the workers power to work in these villages is less anxious to go to jail, but he is also conscious that if he can help in progress even for a longer programme he will have done a higher duty. If the response is not, individual civil disobedience will be their duty, and they are prepared for all contingencies.

The resolution for sending a strong contingent to Nagpur to lay the basis for the flag is (as it should have been) Tamil Nadu has already Nagpur as one of the areas of an civil disobedience programme. John Shyam Sunder Chatterjee, from whom we see enthusiasm over the need of constructive work, has dropped the struggle. The Congress party is indifferent, but the All India Congress Committee might have it to take a definite attitude towards it. Even the Congress has declared it to be the clearest possible struggle. To build who began under better auspices and now had the promise of a better result.

The Word of an Englishman

The following is the story of events related to by the man 'The Word of an Englishman' — (P. 191) 1925

January

Secret agreement with Maratha (Grand Sheriff of India), "Honest Maratha underwrites to form an Independent Arab State, Independent from every point of view, internal and external, bounded eastwards by Persian Gulf, westwards by the Red Sea, Egypt, and Mediterranean, northwards by Aleppo and Mosul, etc.

(This 'order' absolutely refused by Sykes-Picot Treaty for year 1916) Of the "Arab Kingdom" promised to Hussein and Feisal for their services against the Turks, nothing remains except the empty names of the Kingdom, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, emphatically assumed by France and England, without any "consent of the governed" or any kind of "self-determination."

March 4, 1925

People in Iran, Constantinople and the Straits, and in general a considerable attitude towards the political aspirations of England in Persia, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Egypt. The neutral point of Persia is to be handed over to Great Britain.

(This is note of Treaty of 1907. The Persians were never consulted and their aspirations to Persia were ignored Congress. "This was a war for the construction of world order" — *Englishman*, November 8, 1924)

April 26

Secret Treaty with Daily Office of London. Daily proposed later also the Dalitization, and a vast area of Arab States (India, No. 1, also Volcanic). The rest of Africa to be divided between Montenegro, Greece, and Serbia.

Congress: "The spectacle of E. M. Government for the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people." P. O. letter to Miss Gurney, January 16, 1924

1925

April 26

Secretary-Telegraph Agreement. Heads given 40,000 copies after between Persian border and Black Sea. Italy and French have areas of Asia. Where is war and work.

May

The Sykes-Picot Treaty. France gave all Syria east as far as Amman, all the ports and a vast independent in Syria, including Mount Great Britain shared Asia and India and Mesopotamia between England and France. Gulf.

"We are not fighting for additional territory" — *London Mail*, February 12, 1925

1927

August

Agreement of St. Jean de Malabrey. Germany gives to Italy

1928

January 4

Confidential Wireless. K. P. 2011 is accepted by Allies as basis of peace.

1 Jan, "The Secret Treaty," by F. Seymour Chas. (P. D. O., Oxford House Great South Street, S. W. 1) P. 100

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At Athens—

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Mr Lloyd George, House of Commons

March 26

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April 26

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[22]

February 21

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July 4

Lord George's address. Heister reported that Mr. Lloyd George's speech, delivered in December 1929 and in the House of Commons that the House of Commons was a thing of the past and Lloyd George was now confined to the "old habits of his victory" despite all "victorious" results of the League.

1932

January 22

"Lord George's speech in the House of Commons on the evening of January 22, 1932, was a masterpiece of oratory. He has been a model for the language of the House."

February 22

Letter of George to Lord George. "My dear Lord George, I am very glad to hear that you are well and happy, and hope you are enjoying your life."

(Lord George's letter that he had not seen Lloyd George's letter, but that he had not seen it.)

August 2

Lord George's letter to Lord George. "My dear Lord George, I am very glad to hear that you are well and happy, and hope you are enjoying your life."

August 22

Lord George's letter to Lord George. "My dear Lord George, I am very glad to hear that you are well and happy, and hope you are enjoying your life."

August 22

Lord George's letter to Lord George. "My dear Lord George, I am very glad to hear that you are well and happy, and hope you are enjoying your life."

September 22

Lord George's letter to Lord George. "My dear Lord George, I am very glad to hear that you are well and happy, and hope you are enjoying your life."

October 2

"The volume which led to the defeat of the League of Nations was very obscure and controversial. I have no knowledge of any evidence except statements in the Press that the British Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, had been the cause of the defeat of the League of Nations."

October 2

Letter of Lord George to Lord George. "My dear Lord George, I am very glad to hear that you are well and happy, and hope you are enjoying your life."

1933

February 2

Letter of Lord George to Lord George. "My dear Lord George, I am very glad to hear that you are well and happy, and hope you are enjoying your life."

March

"My dear Lord George, I am very glad to hear that you are well and happy, and hope you are enjoying your life."

April 22

Letter of Lord George to Lord George. "My dear Lord George, I am very glad to hear that you are well and happy, and hope you are enjoying your life."

April

Letter of Lord George to Lord George. "My dear Lord George, I am very glad to hear that you are well and happy, and hope you are enjoying your life."

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"My dear Lord George, I am very glad to hear that you are well and happy, and hope you are enjoying your life."

1934

"My dear Lord George, I am very glad to hear that you are well and happy, and hope you are enjoying your life."

"My dear Lord George, I am very glad to hear that you are well and happy, and hope you are enjoying your life."

These findings, however, should not be regarded as a design to be made a precedent for the future. The findings of the present Commission are not intended to be a precedent for the future. The findings of the present Commission are not intended to be a precedent for the future.

These findings, however, should not be regarded as a design to be made a precedent for the future. The findings of the present Commission are not intended to be a precedent for the future. The findings of the present Commission are not intended to be a precedent for the future.

These findings, however, should not be regarded as a design to be made a precedent for the future. The findings of the present Commission are not intended to be a precedent for the future.

There is nothing able of the language held on this occasion and the benefits of criticism and measure presented by powerful expatriates in its support, it is clear that the whole American nation has the back of this movement to suppress the opium menace by checking its production at the source. To accomplish this, they must have harmonious co-operation, and any nation that attempts to work this movement is certain to incur the displeasure, if not the active enmity of, the people of the United States.

President Harding and a majority of his Cabinet have endorsed this resolution, and the following letter from Secretary of State Hughes to Chairman Porter speaks for itself:

It is regretted that there has been no time to discuss the matter with the Commission, and it is the opinion of the Secretary of State that the Commission should be given the opportunity to be heard in this matter.

This course against opium and other drugs has been most actively promoted by William Randolph Hearst, through his daily papers the most influential, either in the United States, through his several monthly magazines, and through his three news services, which altogether reach something 25,000,000 readers. He has successfully done much to awaken the American public to the extent of opium than any other individual.

Within six months after the passage of this bill, that is before September 1, 1933, an International Opium Conference will be called by the United States Government to meet in Washington, D. C. In this Conference India will be represented. Because of the immense importance of India as a producer of opium her delegates will receive special attention. It is imperative, therefore, that the cause of the people of India should be properly represented.

At the last international conference on the subject held under the auspices of the League of Nations, it was an Indian delegate, Mr. Banerji, who pleaded the strongest case to destroy the opium menace by checking the British Government's opium policy. Mr. Banerji has stated very emphatically in his testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee that the action of the Government did not represent the opinion of

the Indian people, and that they were in no way responsible for the statement in support of opium traffic made by Mr. Dumas in a booklet, "Truth About Indian Opium," published by the India Office, New Delhi. It is requested that the real voice of the Indian people on this subject should be heard.

It is wished that under present circumstances the official delegates from India to the coming conference will be the British Government's spokesmen who very soon oppose the American proposal of restricting production of opium to strictly medical and scientific purposes. This would be most unfortunate. We are certain that Indian people do not want to repeat the present situation in India by which not only the Indian people are being damaged, but Indian opinion is dragging the world. It is very desirable, therefore, that Indian people's representatives (representatives of the All India National Congress) and Indian spokesmen should participate in the coming conference, even if they come in an unofficial capacity. In the meantime, it is very desirable that Indian leaders who are in favour of suppressing the opium evil in India and who are in accord with the resolution of Mr. Porter should send their opinions to Mr. Tanssick Doo, 312 A Street, N. E., Washington, D. C., so that the American people may be informed of the real sentiments of the people of India.

There is no time to lose. For the good of humanity and the salvation of her own people, India should cooperate heartily with the people and the Government of the United States to destroy the opium menace.

The Word of an Englishman

We cannot give a more effective reply to the judgment delivered by the *Alfred* case which we have dealt with in detail elsewhere than by publishing the actual evidence of England's dependence upon the opium between 1903 to 1921, that has appeared in a diary kept over the signature of Mr. E. N. Sargent, by the master of the *Alfred* of Foreign Affairs, The Editor of *Alfred* was ordered to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment because he published a translation of an article in which England was referred to as "Opium-owning Africa." A glance at the diary of events published elsewhere under the caption "The word of an Englishman" will serve to show the part that she has played in recent history. Referring to it is a preliminary note Mr. Russell says:

"From among the detailed records of international morality to-day, the diplomatic record of England is conspicuous for its emptiness, greed and shameless lying. For the century more or more with respect to Turkey there was not even the pretence that any work was done in order to remove them as a cause of discontent and. They were merely instruments for international loot."

There is hardly anything left so essential to the maintenance subsisted to the members of the peace conference at Locarno for publishing which the Editor of *Alfred* was sentenced to the above punishment of an Englishman.

Printed and published by James "Charles" Smith of English Press, 10-11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

there and an incident which during the freedom struggle was the cause of the decomposition of Hindu-Muslim-cooperated Parties, really is to be looked on largely as between brothers, on their subject, surrounding leaders, standing together. Again, the mass of gradually and united, with which the presence of Gandhi often played on the formation of the word, the highest and the defenceless against the brutal assaults of violence, irrespective of all considerations of caste and creed, was approached by both the Hindu and Muslim leaders. At Amritsar it is a matter of history today and, therefore, a plea of coming to the possible consequences and goods of Hindu-Muslim unity in the rest of their lives, be told.

Rebellion

(Dr. P. N. Chatterjee)

I have been blamed a good deal for using the word rebellion in connection with the discompositional programme of the Congress. Congress party like this objected to the word in the course of my speech in supporting my case of their programme that they were not rebels. Friends in the meeting in connection here, were shocked that I had referred to their language. But I want say that all this criticism has not absolutely answered, and I want still to explain that the Congress was really against the Congress when I spoke, and say so still.

The form of the matter was clear. The Congress passed a resolution condemning the Non-cooperation programme and directing that nobody should take part in the elections in the year of the year, under the British Act. Mr. Das and his political friends holding a contrary view pressed for the revision of the proposal. The speaker was cancelled, naturally I think in view of discompositional was explained, but at the end of them. All the Congress considered the matter and told Mr. Das was a rebel. He promptly resigned the Presidency of the Congress, and formed a party for doing the very thing prohibited by the Congress. The party proceeded to publish a programme for the elections. A public campaign was started in that behalf.

I do hold that there were all sorts of rebellion against the authority of the Congress. The thing is clear on the face of it, and Mr. Das also says it. But he says that he is only maintaining the unqualified right of individuals to conduct themselves into opposition. He may demand that proposition, but I deny that the present case comes within that principle. The first principle will be preserved in the light of an analogy. The British Parliament is a deliberative body with legislative powers. The will of Parliament is expressed through bills and answered to by the Crown, direct or indirectly with a certain limit. It was for instance that a certain law should be passed, or that the only of absolute power to young people under the age of eighteen. The authority of Parliament will be done badly with it right in continuing against the law. It may hold that the rule of law is young people over the age of sixteen brought with no harm, it

may oppose the proposals of the Parliament by all lawful and constitutional means. But a spirit of all opposing the law, amounted to be the cause of breaking the duty of the country, as much as of the society to pay the law. In the whole, the law of regulated rule of law, it is not possible that it will be ruled with will become a law, and the members of the opposition who are in the law, the law, law will be law, as the law is the law, the will of the Congress is not strong as the force of the law having been expressed of the regular and constitutional way. The action of Mr. Das is good to the election with an act of rebellion.

The duty of the discompositional program in the case I have said, would be to pay the law and keep the law, paying attention to change the word of Parliament and the elections. The principle of constitutional authority in connection with a society, then, is that it is a power, but not a power. 'No' says Mr. Das, the act of opposing my power, is not wrong, but. That is true, but a force and effect on opposition. An act of rebellion against the State is a programme, which is essential will put the rebels in the state of power, and the point is that as long as the rebellion is, the rebel is engaged with the constitutional intention of conducting the society, which is a society, but he is not and does, as he is not. It is not right to think that Parliament and the law are the law, the power of constitutional authority. A great other thing, they will be with a certain of the High Court of Parliament before going, which by its policy and action, rebellion, will take the democratic right of being a law, but it is not. Mr. Das is not a rebel, but he is not, but he said that he would present a rebellion with another Congress declared his party, only in the wrong. The Congress is a national assembly with a much right to work in the case of India, and Congress will say my Parliament to speak on behalf of the people. It was that law that we had in the Congress before the birth of the Congress party, and built up as national authority on that. I had a popular assembly that co-ordinated that of the British Government. The rebellion is loyalty to the Congress, but because one of the people, always of national psychology, and I think that the Congress is in difference and division, and in all kinds a Government of India in Parliament and Congress are in England. The only difference is that the Congress does not submit to the law by physical means. Mr. Das may well be shocked by it, and it should say much whether he would have been physically punished or whether he would have been the All India Commission.

What the Congress said. I was in order with an unqualified right with the rebels and to with the Congress on the law. The Congress's duty was to carry out the policy of the Congress, if necessary on the basis of the rebellion. It had not been law to do it, it would have engaged in a help and left to the contrary, and the Congress the business of doing and then and judicial means. It is worse for a nation thought what exists in the duty of the Congress, in the law of the unqualified authority of the All India Commission is a rebellion with the Congress.

Young India

21. 5. 35

The Silver Lining

The only result of a non-co-operation action that has killed the All India Congress Committee that met last night in Bombay was the resolution about the Nagpur Civil Disobedience. But that resolution was able to escape the general wrong character of the proceedings of that assembly. None of the objections before were more serious than those about non-co-operation and non-violence. We need not discuss them here. It will be sufficient to mention that they were treated with the contempt and neglect that deserved. It was I, not Isha, to begin at that time of the day, that the silver lining of the Nagpur flag was revealed out of the composition of a vote which was a vote not against but in aid of the 'Nagpur flag'. The moment the objection was raised, a loud cry went forth from all the corners of the hall that the Government have better than the Nagpur flag. Isha could believe that when the same speaker stated that he did not know what the Nagpur flag was for. But the whole house closed with unanimous votes of non-cooperation by one of the three or four dissenters that the Nagpur flag was wrong or wrong with a view to such the Government's policy as in the present. The speaker unfortunately did not know that immediately after the flag was hoisted in Allahabad, many houses refused to take notice of the flag for the first, captured flag provisions and hoisted the flag on the national standard. It was a shocking time in the hall of party state. The speaker had to let us to forget the fact that the flag was hoisted in Nagpur on the Allahabad flag and in order to show Nagpur against the Allahabad.

We would have been dealt with some of the other objections, but it is useless to do so, especially because none of them was taken seriously, and when they were taken on benches were so shallow that generally the whole house was for the resolution. The dissenters were few and odd, and those who supported the resolution included some of our leaders of the Congress party. We did not stand for the whole house and I think was very interesting feature of the day. At proceedings of the All India Congress Committee a vote the resolution which condemned the Nagpur resolution and called upon the Government to be made to give the struggle nothing could be a more noble of the fact that through the country in the midst of a crisis, millions of people, its attitude to the Government of India with the moral authority of the people, is one of powerful but certain resistance. It may be noted that even those who that opposed the resolution did not do so because they did not accept the principle of Civil Disobedience or other, principles of the national Movement of the people, but because they had other ideas. The Nagpur flag, the flag of the Nagpur resolution as a protest in a step, and also a step of disobedience, and to establish its independence and its character.

We do not think the struggle could have been better described. It is because of its moral character that the resolution was adopted by practically the whole assembly.

On the morning of the assembly of the struggle in the morning of the assembly of the struggle, Mrs. Naidu told us the character of the struggle in regard to the resolution, that she was surprised any day to give Nagpur to fight the battle for the flag. We have many men who could be found to support the Nagpur flag, and when he goes home with his hands empty, nothing remains. Men, Tandon, Prakashan, Joseph, Vallabhbhai Patel and some of the members have been fighting in the Nagpur to release things for the members. They have already 150 members ready to march at any moment. We have no doubt that other persons will quickly follow up and light the battle in a successful manner.

— Nicholas Dossal

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The Old Working Committee

The first announcement of the new Working Committee makes out that their predecessors in office resigned because of a small difference. It is perfectly true that there is no difference of opinion, in principle between the old and the new committee. But we do maintain that the difference is dated or dated into collectively accepted as partly programme. It will not do for the new Working Committee to reproduce the language of the step for which they are responsible. They are parties to the practical realisation of a Congress resolution which, at first they also considered important enough to justify taking important Congress leaders being left in a minority. They may maintain that circumstances justify this surrender, but they are not entitled to the consolation that it is the example of a traitor.

It may be that Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Gandhi required also to keep their heads low to decide upon their line of action but even if they have no opinion of carrying out anti-Congress propaganda against the A. I. C. C. resolution, their resignation serves a useful purpose. In so much as it constitutes the existence of an irreconcilable group in the Congress, which will never allow the Non-co-operation programme to slip all generally into a programme of Responsible Co-operation.

Reasons for Resignation

Mr. Das in his opening speech appealed to the Committee to agree to a compromise in the interest of unity. Has the "compromise" brought about unity? No. If it had, Mr. Das would not have resigned and the Congress party would have been represented in the Working Committee. Their leaders resolute action. There would be unity in the Congress if the Congress gave up its non-co-operation policy and resigned light in the United Kingdom to the department of ex-servicemen. If a minority unopposed minority performed the duties of the various branches, there would be unity and a united flag. That is a highly democratic programme, but, the national discipline that is needed to make a minority of one there yet. The only other way to prevent a united front is to stand by the Congress resolution in its entirety. This Congress resolution will win wide-spread approval, but it will also be repudiated. If for the sake of unity, Mr. Das could have made a generous gesture and declared that he would rather have a united Congress to build the unity than risk that on the doubtful chance of retaining the Committee, he could have created a tremendous wave of enthusiasm in the country which may have given a new start to the whole movement. But, Mr. Das's appeal for unity was meant only for his opponents. His appeal for unity from those of the majority, who asked for a compromise, equally carried greater weight though no greater conviction.

Trade-Union Unity

Unity in the Congress was considered by many workers to be essential, particularly because of the Hindu-Muslim situation in the Punjab. While a real unity would certainly improve the situation, as far

as unity is concerned, the recent support to the Congress party is going to create more harmony in the Punjab in our view, whether it be Congress party or Hindu-Muslim unity or a mixture of both, why Mr. Das who spoke on their unity with such passionate determination, did not immediately give up his own programme to serve unity. Instead of appealing to his opponents, a logical one, compromise. If his position would be intelligible even if he had intended to ultimately give up himself when he found the other party unwilling. But that obviously he was not prepared to do, for he would not even give an undertaking to abide by the decision of a special session. Under these circumstances, his appeal left no effect.

Don't Tell

But Mr. Das contended, in his famous dialogue with us that he was not going to give up anything. We were free to retain our convictions against Canada, but we must not ask people to act according to their convictions.

Our Canadian Offer

Were we asking him to leave, says? We did not quarrel with his conclusion against Canada himself, we did not quarrel with him in respect his propaganda against Congress leaders. We merely asked him to correct public opinion based on doing it. But Mr. Das had never considered an discussion simple because we asked him to accept his own advice. We are grateful to Mr. Das for the compromise he gave us in the debate, and the generosity of his reference to us in his closing speech. We must put it down to a lapse of memory on his part, that after working us so hard our programme after harvest of Canada, on his reply, he accused us of unbecomingly wandering from the point at hand in the programme about which there was no difference. It stuck us at the time as rather unfair.

Where Do We Stand?

Many people are naturally anxious to know what line of action the new majority is going to adopt. Our view is the central is that if they decide to stand by the Congress resolution as against the A. I. C. C. resolution, the Congress majority, who have all about defied the Congress Congress, cannot blame them. Nor can the new Working Committee, which is in power yet because its members in a way, follow the dissenting minority in its rebellious career, but both with their action. But these considerations will not justify the new majority in disregarding the A. I. C. C. resolution. It is decided if the A. I. C. C. was wronged rightly by Mr. Das about his position to reluctantly modify the Congress resolution and tactically, it may also appeal that he stood by the Congress resolution he would have a strong case. But, if we understood the sentiment in the country, people expect defiance, no longer grounds of national enthusiasm unless they understand conviction.

Loyalty to the Congress

People will not with their decisions resting on mere words of law. While there is a considerable division in the country in the Hindu-Muslim

the members of Congress in the Congress system are also very strong. Action that would limit Congress makes him these groups instead of two, will come with general disapproval. Is it not possible for someone like Gorkost, for instance, where there is an appreciable difference in position, and an (thousand of thousands), to see us with the heaviest pressure on the way

a departure from the A-Z-C-E. Practically, the word provides a space for the full trial of Webster's program, as was originally proposed by most of our leaders, when the movement was reactivated.

We trust that whatever steps are being early
 alert will be made to avoid conflict with the new
 Working Committee.

Statement of receipts and disbursements of the All India Congress Committee Department
from 15th December 1921 to 30th April 1922

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I beg to certify that all my requirements, as an author, have been complied with.

I recall that in my opinion the above refers to people and departments within a free independent view of the state of the AE 1994 Congress. Under Department's efforts, according to the best of information and intelligence given to me and as shown by the results of the above Department.

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La. Wood Conglomerate, 100 ft. thick			
Bank of Bayou, 100 ft.		100 ft. thick	
Central Bank of Bayou, 100 ft.		100 ft. thick	
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Bayou Bank, 100 ft.		100 ft. thick	
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Madison, Wisconsin, 1-ant, 1-male, 1-female, 1-juv. Antenna
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Sd. M. N. Fedotkin, Sd. Journalist Sergey
Kuznetsov Nikitin, Tver

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profitless and unwise, and dishonouring has been the exception. It is time we adopted a different policy and gave battle in Government.

"Every Vote a Trust"

Dash Handley Day said at Madras, referring to the coming Legislative Council elections, that every vote was a sacred trust. Every vote is in a sense a trust and should be given against the present system of Government by being truthfully withheld. Dash Handley said to the people of Madras: "Let the Council be not belittled and let the Assembly make the speed at that time." Handley, indeed, whose every rule and every suggestion is directed to secure the Government from defeat or even reconstruction? The use of dignity of speech has its advantages, but also occasions much dishonouring. To break, or to destroy or to wreck is a planer constantly employed in regard to the Council. What is useful is not destroyed, but only dishonoured. The question is Has there not been complete dishonourment already? Is any further process of dishonouring necessary? "They should make the importance of this fight," says Dash Handley about the battle for Council seats, "so there when they would get honest Parliamentarians can go on further."

C. R.

Antisocialism

Elsewhere 'The New Nation' have dealt with one general issue of Mr. Das's Madras speech. Coming to the details we find a lot of statements that almost take one by surprise. "That is the fundamental distinction between us and that of Mahatma Gandhi," says Mr. Das. "I do not think the Parliament will alter anything of our line and of love and of generosity." As a matter of fact Mahatma Gandhi never said any such thing, as everybody knows. He described Parliament as 'unholy mess'. Naturally had he said this in its generality, he also said that an policy of truth, long as it may succeed with a lie was never best of winning; that the English people have kept in their themselves and yielded only to superior suffering of others, and he exhorted his countrymen to co-operate that while they which could be defence to the Indian that can be interpreted as the non. Yet the article Mr. Das said said as that of 'truth as the superiority of Parliament'.

Sympathy for Imprisoned Leaders

Mr. Das is reported to have said in one of his electrifying speeches that the Congress had told him that the Liberals were responsible for Mahatma Gandhi's imprisonment. "It is a terrible charge," concluded Mr. Das "that at the time when the Congress is referring to the conduct of the non-violent party in the Madras Legislative Council he is reporting on how disturbed they are the reconstruction of Mr. Chakrabarti, and exalted the people and to have done something but to remember this fact in the coming elections."

We asked that every body has a right to make the people not to consider those who are responsible for the imprisonment of the leaders. That would be a highland way of expressing sympathy for those who are not any more than receiving those who are the same. But the leaders have to be a

Non-cooperation. But it would be a strange kind of sympathy that can see the wrong of politics as an instrument of propaganda against the very people for which they are suffering. Now, Mahatma Gandhi's views on Council entry and governmental parties are well-known. As for Mr. Chakrabarti, he is reported to have said that on the basis of the majority report of the Civil Disobedience Inquiry Committee, that it was not worth the paper it was written upon if the public does really feel for the sufferings of the leaders, it will be in their duty to non-cooperate in respect of both, the Liberals and the Congress alike. But for any one to accuse the Congress of securing votes for the party or that, appears to us to be hardly justifiable or moral grounds.

Still for Special Session

Mr. Prabhakar is still for a special session. Considering the fact that Mr. Das has already expressed his hostility in whole by his decision, we do not know how it can bring about unity unless the members were decided to surrender completely. This might enable those who are tired of such work but are troubled by their loyalty to the Congress, to make, to square their position with their conscience. But is the road worth the trouble?

Mr. Prabhakar has confidence in the majority of anti Hindu-Muslim action, and is support of his proposition made as a motion in which Mahatma Gandhi gave up the position that he had taken up, we being informed that he would not be able to carry the Executive Committee with him. Even taking Mr. Prabhakar's statement as it is, though we accept it only with some reservations, we cannot see how Mr. Prabhakar's point. For if we accept his plan, he would probably be the movement for respect of the suspension resolution. As we only has the Central Hindu Committee that not at liberty, passed an independence resolution but on the contrary so far as we are aware, was strongly opposed on ground of principle to maintaining any political programme that involved the taking of the oath of abstinence.

True Politics

It is interesting to observe how differences in non-violent work themselves out in practice. Both the Indian People's Congress Committee and Mrs. Jinnah plan to be sceptical of the temporary resolution of the A. I. C. C. that while the former has accepted the resolution only because it believes it does not go against the non-cooperation programme, the latter does so non-co-operation only because the method of Congress was almost at present appeal to her as adjustment. Mrs. Jinnah's attitude is a source of interest. It is clear that the non-cooperation that might arise among the masses that depend on the Congress had been removed the day, as an action, thought it only to discourage those who were in favour of carrying on propaganda in the future as capitalists and others will continue about the utility of Congress as at present existing. A more understanding of these responsible differences we suggest will continue to find ways for action, they are due of mutual sympathies or work, peace, and unity.

The New Psychology

The Interaction of Science

"nothing more's to be said", and finished by saying that he had spent thirteen on the "Life Way". Then the people were asked to show their hands. The whole speech has a religious character of the work. The movement of science is then stamped on the entire face of it, reaching as it does immediately to the masses of Canada. And we do not quarrel with his remarks. For the only fault Mackintosh's own party will not completely live on the performance, which, as far as we are concerned, will not even move his own cause. For the inevitable impressionism is not repeated even in a satisfactory speech. It will always be the symptom of a weak adherence of the Canada only. But they could not have been prepared for Mr. Tann's splendid criticism to persons and things, and for the case of science that he has found in the Non-cooperation movement. They can understand the body when Mr. Mackintosh speaks every one of the programme without making mistakes. But they will not understand Mr. Tann's hostility to Non-cooperation and an absolute condemnation not only of the movement but of the action thereof. If they don't, let their criticism be well told them that at the back of it all is the science of Mackintosh, the law that science could make a man of Mr. Tann's spontaneity and timidity as he forget himself as to only remarks which as responsible men would be, please comprehension.

The gist of the last part of his speech is that as long as he was out every thing was going so alright—the strike began, Chas. Mackintosh and all the time went to jail, and as soon as he was released from any work, re-organizing Mackintosh who was then leading me—brought and encouraged? a lot "The time went to me" he presently catches, "and I forwarded them to the head quarters, because at that time I was in jail. If I had not been in jail, I would have heard the money to accept that." Such a great protagonist of democracy like Mr. Tann must know that his opinion did not mean the opinion of the country. Mackintosh who was at the head quarters had to receive exactly the last many others directly and make plans. And what were these plans? Some, and the money which started them? The money was the return of a hundred thousand dollars. And the object was to divide Britain and the world that India would be a greater witness to the future. Mr. Tann, we are now, knows that the time was called by one of the worst men in the Empire, and if they appeared as having to him, the Swiss Party should not hold high hopes as Mr. Tann's power as a diplomat that he has inspired the strength of the movement. Another charge that Mr. Tann has told at Mackintosh's door is that on the top of Mackintosh's success was he not as a politician in Switzerland, and then told down him, with the British decision. The why and otherwise of the decision he does not touch upon. But he says

Malcolm and Mr. Brown and other friends who were sent to the location, will at least do what is the obvious duty to be assigned him with the circumstances that compelled him to take that decision. Mr. Mackintosh M., we are glad, does so.

But Mr. Tann is concerned that it was all laughing and re-organization during his absence and the criticism made was that whatever influence there was in the country, was struggled in death. The only remedy with which that criticism can be removed in the Canada programme. It is not that he is concerned of the Canada. He knows the whole Non-cooperation programme. I am not against any one of these things I should love to see all these resolutions carried out in the spirit and in the letter. I should love to see every last court report. I should love to see every Government school and college empty. I should like to see that not one of our universities go to these discredited Canada and the more discredited Assembly. But then, why not try to achieve all these things? Because the people are in no mood to listen to you. If they are in no mood, what then is the plan in the shape of a working programme in the Canada that will win back the people's confidence. When the moment arrives, "assign your position in the Canada, start up every shop, let the law courts be deprived of lawyers and judges and the schools and colleges be emptied—and then those dirty little of yours will stop paying taxes to the government." The Canada are to be the Open Houses for Chas. Mackintosh. Mr. Tann told Chas. Mackintosh, as he himself describes in his autobiography dated, in 1911; but he had not then to order any Open Houses. Why then is it necessary today? Because of the people's mood. And who is responsible for that mood? Why, we! The "we" does not include Mr. Tann of course.

Regarding constructive activity he says: "I don't quarrel with your Constructive activity." It is not he at all. The Canada, poor thing, came when the war was hot for a light, and that abolished all activity. People would be in the shape of a light, and you came along instead in the shape of a Canada.

Mr. Tann who has come out from jail heard the point to be put of justice—so he speaks from his speech—and he actually got nervous to not have right. We wish him all success in his effort. But why should he get impatient with those who do not want to go through the world game alone that he sometimes? Why should he ask them to do more? They have no more right to call a spade a spade as he.

Towards the Abyss

Mr. Tann changes to describe his policy as "Direct Action". Now, considering that he is a well-recognized method of constitutional practice, used by all constitutionalists ever since the days of Burke and even earlier, Mackintosh has returned to describe it as "Direct Action." In Western countries the method often proved efficacious in the settlement of liberty issues and its name after as Mr. Lord Campbell has nearly said it is something like this: "It is a self-sufficient job that, every citizen (on the

Indian paper) is a substitute for a sword, and one fighting man is as good as another. The efficient method of physical force is always there should the Government refuse to yield to a majority vote, meant to 'Direct Action' become necessary. But creating a deadlock does not by itself create 'Direct Action'. The latter begins only when the former ends.

But says Mr. Das, "Creating deadlocks in the Council is 'Direct Action' and not Parliamentary action because the Assembly is not Parliament, its power is less, it is not free to alter its constitution. This is rather a curious argument. One may not like to have it stand if it stands in these very Act of Parliament against a 171 significantly weakened Mr. Das who has nearly proved young students for if we remember Gokhale's insight, the argument carried but little conviction to the young nation.

Swapsa physiognomist, what a store of 'Directness' is the 'Direct Action' of Mr. Das? We cannot see that store. What is the compelling force behind his policy of deadlocks to make them effective and prevent them from degenerating into mere bluff? That physical force? For Mr. Das professes to be an act and not enemy of non-violence. Civil Disobedience? 'Most probably', one would think. But, how has another rule, Mr. Das does not realize, as he once wisely remarked, that disobedience by itself is either a private or public virtue. But there is order to be made and it requires discipline and training, and Mr. Das is opposed in all previous preparation. He has characterized Civil Disobedience conducted under the conditions of the Ahimsa pledge as "Disobedience something in the role of those as 'unorganized' and as yet he has a theory of his own Civil Disobedience in order to be genuine must be spontaneous like a revolution. He does not consider it as a 'preparatory political revolution' conducted according to an organized plan, as Mahatma Gandhi conceived of that by 'La hore' or 'La there' its coming must be sudden, swift and instantaneous even like the Apocalyptic coming of the Son of Man. What sort of thing that "Civil Disobedience" will be, by Mr. Das himself explain.

"If Civil Disobedience is at all possible in this country—first thing that it may be necessary—I say that first thing that it is necessary there will be with confidence and such variations in the country that even a lone rebel like me stands from the thought of it."

Probably this may mean that of the H. C. C. programme to regard Civil Disobedience as a last only to be kept before the people for their future education and warning, and not as practical policy.

As, the whole matter after all seems to this act by 'Direct Action' of any sort but simply by observation in the Council Mr. Das will generate such consciousness inside the Congress as will spread out in the whole country and emerge in "The activity begins must start on the activity itself, and the activity itself must start on the activity itself." "Have you not noticed", he proceeds to ask, "that when the Non-cooperation movement was at its height those people who went into the Council disbelievers?" "Quite so the non-cooperation, it is a well-known matter, of British practical

policy that no great ill at non-cooperation is proved by the Parliament act, as better has been thought and was made in the country. The houses of Balaram Hill, Chhatra Chhatrapati Hill, Peshwa College Hill, all can be judged out as witnesses of this last Parliament is a more enlightening body, a because that definitely against the constitution in the political atmosphere outside, but to imagine that changes in the political atmosphere can be effected by the non-cooperation of the Government, as the height of history.

As much for the practical side of the question. But our conviction in Mr. Das's party's programme is not based on the power of its healthy ideas. Of course the words of truth and energy involved in this anti-government is as he decided, but what is to be decided and what more is the psychology that is behind it and of which Mr. Das has not given an adequate in Madras the Non-violence party is exposed. But what is a witness to, Mr. Das would welcome the house if a hope has and quietly private the other. The Congress then, has no on President term and so he expects it to follow too. But should it refuse? Well, what does he care for the Congress? "I have a large field which I have very little of money I make up against in this large number—larger than the number of members in the Congress today." The Council campaign has not justly commenced but the centre of gravity is already shifted from the Congress in the vote-counting. And why? Because the latter have received a nomination of men by an Act of Government. I cannot understand two-party, the violence party members of India, all go by the hand between, tomorrow, they have no vote. This is the beginning of Mr. Das's 'Practicalism' (what?) "Once you are inside the Council, what matters the Congress then? Are there not the vote-counting then?"

The question that confronts Congressmen today is not of mere moral demoralization into a wrong programme. The question that they have to decide upon is whether they can achieve policy in power which must come in the long run, representation of the Congress by the vote-counting. Every member of the Congress who intends to go to the polls in the coming election naturally becomes a member of the vote-counting, which can be applied to over the head of the Congress. In the Congress to as still while the Swamy party gives no warning away to members can also realize, into a real organization? Must it not take on little steps, even in self-interest? It seems absurd. Yet this is exactly what the Bombay A. I. C. C. resolution would have it do. Let us be frank. There is no one in Congress. If we really think it is desirable to let the Congress be run in the interests of the Swamy party or be absorbed into that party itself, let us openly declare it. But for those who think otherwise, the day is clear. They must fight the Swamy party's propaganda or that of any other party for the matter of that, for that very existence. Every man who can be dissuaded from participating in the election will be a sharp sword to the back of the Congress.

"The New States"

Young India

3-2-25

What a Fry

In the last essay among others I have shot myself off from the world to select a week's rest of myself. I got no letters in newspapers. Yet what life I saw abroad in my journey before I reached here, was enough to enable me to guess the results of eggs I have asked during many of my travels and colleagues. They have declared on unhesitating terms that I am dividing the country, and have unhesitatingly confirmed me. The press is almost unanimously against me. The papers which all through asked that the country should accept a Congress programme are naturally silent over the Bombay conference, and are in a rage at my attempt to rob them of their last won prize. But I see that a section of the press which is identified by the Congress movement, has also turned to the present policy of the A. I. C. C. majority, and is accordingly castigating me for consistency.

Inside of all this I fully believe that the country approves of, and wants a boycott of the elections. I believe that we have no right to allow and yield to the modification of the voters' position of the National Congress, to partly such a momentous question of duty. My colleagues naturally bring forward the most varied of all opinions and reasons. Mr. Bhide and many other friends have by their eloquence and by their enthusiasm of appeal to Hindu-Muslim unity, given to my opposition to the Congress, the colour of superstition and indifference to national unity. I wonder why they are so unable to see? Does any one believe that the Congress programme tends in the least to make Hindu and Mohammedan better friends? Will standing for elections and spreading the law or fear of Congress help to remove Hindu-Muslim differences in the Punjab or Agri or anywhere else in white India? What is this conclusion of them so deliberately and craftily used against me? If it is only a mere pretext and suggestion to keep workers busy or weak, can we not as sincere appeal to Hindu and Muslim and Mohammedan to give up their journey to the Congress stage, if we are sure that Congress will not make its commitment early? Can we not appeal to them in the name of the most sacred of all things—Hindu-Muslim unity, the foundation of our programme—to give up their worldly heat and work for Hindu-Muslim unity? I wonder why they keep on my poor head all the no and all the superstition of our country for Hindu-Muslim unity? I wonder all the more when the Muslims themselves begin to appeal in the name of Hindu-Muslim unity. I was surprised that Mr. Bhide, Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. T. T. Krishnaswami do not put their feet down on caste-differences and say to Dadasaheb Phalke, your Congress programme has at least an

equal danger of failure and Mohammedanism is of no account. The white or 'protein' need in the leading of Hindu-Muslim differences does up your party and, come, close up with the Congress!

I see Gandhi Trilok has called a terrible change against me. This journal has since November last been under the Das curse in which, claiming he understood the right sort of help of leaders of colours, but instead of uniting workers from within as well. It claimed that result was a kind of reaction and offensive programme. I have not been the lucky grandson of the Teluk, but I distinctly remember that when disappointed with the question of unity in Congress I boldly assumed on behalf of its views that only in the Congress was now to be found the best and best results and differences in programme would be the result of it. In the last but not the least page has been up a terrible onslaught against me as an enemy of the country, as to much as by my refusing to accept the Congress programme I have divided the country. Truly as it is in strange days and better springs ahead, before whom lately has become the greatest offence against the State. I was told that on the distant morning I was given a chance to serve my people, but in every one of those five minutes I proved that in the name of unity.

How? My refusing to accept the Congress programme at the Civil Disobedience Conference, was my first offence. I betrayed the nation by not signing the Patel-Nehru chapter on Hindu of the Congress programme. At the Gaya Congress next, it was my offence. I did not accept the Congress programme, and thereby betrayed the nation. At the Conference at Allahabad next, it was my offence, I made a mere truce instead of saving the nation by doing something more positively towards the Congress. At the termination of the period of truce I again betrayed the nation by not having Congress entry on my platform or at least an explicit programme to furthering Congress entry. Again for the first time at Bombay I was guilty of treason, in the space of the Teluk, because I refused to stand against the Das programme.

The Teluk says that if we accept the Bombay A. I. C. C. demands and submit to the consequences as a celebration of it in December to transfer the date announcement of the Kaira. As proposed by the Das party, we would be helped at our very goal of freedom. The present is decided at my staying in talking at such a glorious victory as a victory. There is only a slight error in the statement. The adoption of resolutions by Congress of the Das party's programme is very different from the celebration of the same offered by the Government. The latter is something like our goal, the former would be merely the celebration of the former party's celebration of the Congress, but as far from our goal as ever. The Press has been divided by us on the law and constitution and president. I do not think the meeting at which Civil Disobedience decided on at Bhatia is any celebration of it. It is very thing for the members to stop a war after starting it to be a while, and when it becomes necessary to stop it. It is quite a different thing for the members to cancel altogether a definite step ordered by the Congress in

reference to a definite matter in the house, viz. the Council election of 1932. But I do not think we should ever discuss such questions in party at large, or schematically I maintain that it would be a calamity to lead the people to the Council and I maintain that this is deliberate. They were though indirectly, by an appeal to the honour of the national leaders. I maintain that it is not duty to govern this country and that it would be an improper relinquishment of duty to stand by, when people are led on the wrong path. The nation as a whole may refuse to accept my view and may not heed the clericalism, but it can turn to the question with me whether people aware of what we discuss. I say and do a thing because I am honestly convinced I am right. I say we want that the people will approve of what I advise. I think I have done well if I tell them what I feel is right. If the people will not heed I am to no further. But I cannot be a party to compelling them by a committee decision to abandon a programme which they had decided on, and left it to us to execute. The decision of the A. I. C. C. is a direct effect of will upon a complete reversal of the national programme.

L. R.

The Real Question

The Council party is actually placed very much with the backing of the All India Congress Committee, to suspend boycott propaganda. If any one argues that such can be studied by half-measures, he is mistaken. If we want unity, he should say, and the terms under which alone we can effectively leave it. After the Gaya resolution was passed, the 'Congress Khilafat League party' was formed with out full the sanction which the union should have extended to a matter of such vital importance to unity in the Congress. Yet it is said that "by my discipline and my unimpeachable integrity and the industry few men."

I want which I did not only rather two weeks we should have not to be in the face of the independence of the leaders on the other side, when that step was founded on an eroded theory of freedom of individualism, and whose present leadership is party of all its flesh and bone. The responsibility of the spot is glowing. But what does that matter? What is important is that we should clearly understand the great matter which we are here the united front that all speak about. It is this. We can have only under the Council party's flag, or we want, have therefore. This is the only sloganism offered by our friends. We want to reach that position, the 'Yes' and let God and so on. But there is not one to go 'let God' for God, if we agree to surrender. The whole position was accepted by the new Working Committee across a free man of the country for the Congress party's programme, without demands or protest. We want to set up our hands on this great name. Shall we have unity under the Das programme or shall we have the alliance here of a previous opposition? We want to make the old programme if we want the kind of unity for which the approval is necessary only.

After what I have said, one will be able to understand what the chief feature of the new party means

when it refers to the Bombay resolution as "the first milestone on the long and tortuous road." Yet according to this point of the resolution is "weak and wavering." After examining the resolution the Indians significantly remarks. There has been after the Indian have to work, work and to maintain their programme and principles. The meaning of the Indian was obvious when the journal corresponded. Dr. Ambedkar's courage in stating that he would go back even to the Non-cooperation policy in order to bring about unity in the country.

My advice is clear. The Council position is a great convenience that we have reached that policy for long time, and it is no time to do a complete change for the life of the Government. The only policy and the only programme that frightened the Britishers, are the policy and programme that we adopted at Calcutta in 1930. It is the only programme that shook the throne of arbitrary power. If we have not yet succeeded in getting up the complete capacity to carry it out or in getting into the pushing line all the nation and all the people, it is a problem of will and time. It is not for us to throw away the new weapon and take to the old one again. C. R.

A Real Conversation

"I think, Sir, the Das programme is the right programme—I want to discuss it with you."

"I have not clearly understood the Das programme, so you will help me. May I ask you some questions?"

"Very well."

"Are you one of those who believe that some of us may go into the Council and some may remain outside—happens, or do you think the Das programme is so good that every one should accept it?"

"I think all should adopt the Council programme—the whole Congress."

"You know then, that on behalf of all of us a decision is to be made by Sir Das. Will it be the same as the present Congress demand—Swami and Khilafat—or something else?"

"Something else."

"Tell me now, Sir. What will be the real position, so we understand the Das programme? You know the Congress demand is full Swami?"

"Yes, we won't ask for full Swami. The modification will probably be *Practical Autonomy* and all Central power, except army, navy and foreign affairs with a clear hint to further development."

"What about the Khilafat?"

"Very probably it will have to be given up."

"The Self-Government demand will have to go, you have to Parliament?"

"Yes, and through the proper channel—the Viceroy and the Secretary of State."

"The only will take time even if every one actively helps and expedites the proceedings?"

"Yes, I think it will take three years, the full period of the New Assembly."

"Meanwhile do you understand that the Das programme is that members elected should all be for Council?"

"Yes."

"Siding seriously made a new demand do you agree that the reasonable man we should not sacrifice a school, but wait for the result?"

"Yes, I think so."

"Then in the interval what is your programme to the Assembly and the Council? Do you carry on business as a reasonable man, participating in good motions and opposing bad motions?"

"Yes."

"That is to say, you want all of us to participate in the business of the Assembly, as well as of the Provincial Councils, as well as in legislation?"

"Yes but my attitude would depend on the attitude of the Ministry and the Government. If they support our demand, we will believe well. If they oppose we will modify our stance."

"Suppose the Ministry and the Government clearly support our demands and do not tell us what their own recommendations or views are. I suppose the reasonable man we should go on with because all Parliament depends on our demand?"

"Yes of course."

"Now, is not what you describe, just the same programme, as that of the Moderates?"

"Yes, it is exactly the same. But they have faith in the British Government. We have no such faith."

"Do you mean that we need no our demands knowing full well that our demands will be refused? And yet we should wait for three years for the reply as if we did not know what the result would be?"

"Yes, I think so."

"Then what is the object of waiting in this manner for three years?"

"To gain time, to consolidate our forces and build up the national strength."

"This is important in your mind, object, is strengthening that strength, that we should gain time by building up national strength?"

"Yes, just that."

"What you make the demand, and say you will wait for an answer, meanwhile carrying on the Moderates, do you not lead the people to believe that you are actually expecting something better out of your demands?"

"Yes."

"Now, when you turn the people away from their present struggle by saying let something better out of your demands in the Legislative Assembly do you not think that their self-interest will attract?"

"People will get stronger by the political education they will get in following the lines between Government and the members of the Legislative Councils."

I walked at this time but the blood was quite warm.

"What do you think our representation will do in regard to the national schools?"

"They will move for grants and get them repaid."

"So they will get absorbed among the State schools?"

"Yes, it is so here."

"So we will make the best use of the Councils. Do you not agree with me that it is only every struggle and sacrifice that will build up our national character and strength?"

"Yes, sacrifice is necessary."

"If we keep up the struggle whether we win or lose in our battle, we go on building strength. But a young man taking women if we settle down one peace and keep hoping for something from the Councils, which we know we cannot get, the people will get weaker and weaker."

"But during the three years they will get stronger."

"This was his last idea, and in my opinion how they would get stronger, he could only say. The Legislative Council proceedings would give them strength."

C. R.

Resolutions Passed by the Karnataka P. C. C.

The Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee has passed the following Resolutions in its meeting of the 4th instant—

(1) That the meeting of the general body of the Provincial Committee having carefully considered the resolution of the A. I. C. C. held on the 24th, 25th May 1925 at Bombay regarding the suspension of propaganda in furtherance of resolutions no. 24 of the Gaya Congress, resolves unanimously that the members of the A. I. C. C. withdraw their and is authorized to notify the effect of the Gaya resolutions.

(2) The Committee calls upon all Congress Organizations in the province to safeguard the Gaya resolutions wherever necessary.

That meeting further strongly recommends that in view of the situation created by the A. I. C. C. Resolutions the A. I. C. C. should meet without delay and reconsider and remove the said resolution.

The second draft of the report by the Congress Committee, for the year 1924-25, was passed by the Congress Committee.

By another resolution, the Committee strongly approved of the Sagar National Day Observance and passed a vote of sympathy and offered fifty volunteers as a first contingent from Karnataka.

To Readers

We regret that owing to the peculiar conditions under which this journal must proceed being published this week's issue could not come out as time.

Manager
Young India

Wanted

Agents for Young India in all principal places in India. Full particulars about needed to be sent by mail on application from.

Manager Young India,
Allahabad.

'Give us a trial'

'You gave a fair trial to Mahanah's proposition of boycott of Canada, why not give our Councils (especially too a similar trial)? That is the gist of a speech that Mr. Amos of Vancouver delivered immediately after the A. I. C. C. meeting at Stanley. Why may not the representatives of a policy of violence actually agree? You used Mahanah's non-violent Non-cooperation for three years, why not give our violent Non-cooperation also a trial for the same period? Mr. Amos might probably reply straightforwardly that he would not submit anything in the latter respect, if there was no evidence anything like a violence party. But the consequences of that compromise are not difficult to imagine.

The question however is: Have we indeed given the boycott programme a fair trial? Have we had the patience to carry out that programme to its entirety? Can we seriously say that the programme has been fully tried and has been found to be a failure? We are afraid we cannot say so. The response to Mahanah's call for a boycott of the Canada, on the part of the violent, violent, unrepresentative American-Canadian large majority of voters did not go to the ends at all. We succeeded in destroying the prestige of the Councils, and in an extent which was appreciated by the responsible members of the British public. Mrs. Geo. Col. Walwood and Dr. Valerius Chert admitted that the Councils did not represent the people of India. We think we did not succeed in demanding for Mahanah from going to the Councils. To that extent we could not achieve what we wanted to. But what does that show? It only means that we had to get back a greater effect this time. A very large number of the Mahanah Councils believe today that the boycott was a large success, a very large number have used the influence of the Indians, fairly enough, to be so a better mood to bring to us. Is it wise to give them up as lost? Would it not be better to bring the overwhelming prestige of public opinion on them, and thereby bounding them from walking into the trap?

The chances of success in the direction are: we admit, better today than they ever were. When we boycotted the Councils three years ago, the majority behind the boycott was potential. After the boycott came the great revival of violence which took out a few of the Mahanahs by surprise. What have we done to make that violence right? In the teeth of the epidemic for Council-busting that has striking was a trial and failure to give Mahanah, we venture to suggest that the whole Council programme of the same way to make that majority ineffective. If only we can as leaders could make up such words to increase the readiness of violence that they retained, if they could make up their minds to keep the magnificent status of violence, was a yet larger number—violence out of their minds and their indignity, but a number of their judgments, even the same would ask. A number of them admitted their judgment in 1911 to be false, but the language of their desire to go to the Councils was not so much in evidence as it is now.

The people know that there is no honest coalition in the ranks of many where several unity and they

they would never have by going to the Councils, then by boycotting out. Is it now to hope that even the handful of men that went to the polls would not do so, if those who have got their hearts on Councils could sacrifice their judgments and their indignity with a view to a better Government, via a complete boycott of Canada. Would any sensible Indian dare to go to the Councils in face of such overwhelming public opinion made unrepresentative sacrifice? We think not. Why not try that method and pay in Mahanah the only real tribute that you can pay thereby? The doubtless you will achieve thereby will be the same real and effective thing the Councils you demand you can create that having gone into the Councils.

Richard Daint

Noblest Oblige

Of late we have been hearing of several proposals to secure the release of Mahanah Gandhi. The Congress party has declared its intention to make his release an 'essential preliminary condition' for agreement with the Government in the Councils. We consider we are ourselves anxious for the release of Mahanah. And if he were free to express his opinion from the jail today, we should have nothing to say on this point but that it was so. And in an absolute we feel the public was a moral duty to him in which situation could be done.

In every civilized country death is supposed to confer certain privileges or immunities on the deceased, whose society makes undesirable to protect. We think it is not that these immunities should be extended to civil leaders, in full also, who are known supposed to be in a state of absolute. For instance Mahanah Gandhi for could not be left in the care of any prison who required to suffer his efforts on private hours, and indeed even Mahanah Gandhi expected that notwithstanding the intended opinion. It would be the duty of the public to make that opinion wrong is not postponed upon him. He could not make representations about himself while he was free, but it would be the duty of the public not to lead him to be in opposition with unrepresentative now. Similarly it is no to the public to see that his cause is not mixed up with a political programme to which he was unrepresentatively opposed on score of conscience. It is a simple matter of humane oblige.

In saying so we do not let a moment forget that the country has not paid of Mahanah's presence in this hour. We fully share his view that his cause is a word to respect the public will, and the necessity of making his release an integral one as an otherwise unrepresentative political programme, natural and well worth considering. We are conscious also that by accepting this attitude we lay ourselves open to the charge of such weakness, as the latest Royal Highness of having Mahanah do to full rather than desert from the jail rules of Non-cooperation. But we are fully of opinion that in the matter the one thing that ought to prevail, is, inspired by the epidemic and principles of Mahanah himself, and the last thing that he would like is to see his name down as self-serving before the public for disowning purpose.

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as, selfish Indian, nor does not survive, but on the contrary rises on India's neck like the terrible Old Man of the Sea, and not a brother, but a scourge, of warning and reproof about the back of India's nation soul is "an insupportable burden upon posterity!" We can only describe the nation's life's own reply as intolerable hypocrisy. But will we let ourselves be such cheap slave-drivers so long as we have nothing better than money or even more vile to set against the "hardest blow" of the "most determined people in the world?"

A Message From London About Kenya

What I had feared was that you, who are clearly being ground in this country and the whole weight of outside British imperialism against you. Yet I am thankful that I came, for it has been possible to make clear to friends and great hearts that the Indians are not out 'to exploit the African natives' and that the game of 'Christ might say to be degraded by being mixed up with a 'wild policy of reaction and racial confusion. I met Dr. Ashby, the Kenya Missionary, an Englishman. He did not join the Declaration though he came out with it. He also did not accept Government money, though he was offered it. It is my great hope, that I have been able to break from his mind, and from the mind of the Bishop of Uganda, some false ideas about the Indian cause. They are both of them good men and men of prayer. I have met these both and I trust that they will understand better.

We are set out for 'Ghana' as I believe can be further from our thoughts. We must make clear to the whole world, that we would never strike them before the African natives, who are so justifiably weak and helpless, and who have suffered from oppression, even as we have suffered ourselves. God forbid, that we should do one single thing to harm the African people! He is our brother, and we must care should be for him and his interests, not merely for ourselves.

I want to tell you in the town, how very deeply I have admired Mr. Gandhi during all these days and how I have rejoiced in the first step, he has made against those in authority, who have tried to bend him from his purpose. The Kenya struggle has turned us as nothing else could do, and out of our selfish, which now appears to me monstrous, we shall find our true unity and our true goal as a people. We needed these latter lessons. Just as the world was once made run through the furnace in order to be brought and tempered into steel, so we need the furnace of affliction to weld together the people as a nation.

I cannot tell you how tired and weary I have been owing to the incessant rains. Even so, nearly a month after my arrival in England, I have not been able to spare even a day to go north to see my friends. They have been waiting eagerly for me, but I have concluded to finish the duty which has called me and they have written to me not to come to see them until my duty is done.

Yours Affectionately,
C. P. ARDREMAN

The Working Committee (By George D. P.)

I could no longer agree with Mr. Ashby of all the friends of India. The Congress is his attempt to send out a representative group for India and everything to the side. The Congress was a rather pre-arranged conference of men, and it would be a matter for thought, if one of the countries the country step is to able to do a person's or two of other countries. I have in mind two social questions — First, the relation between the Congress and the All India Committee, secondly the current fashion of calling the Working Committee a Council.

The constitutional powers of the All India Committee is not altogether clear, but clearly enough from existing sources of authority. While the Committee is supposed to be the body charged with the execution of the policy of the Congress, it is not elected by the Congress. The Congress is a deliberative assembly composed of delegates mainly elected by the District organisations the elections taking place usually in the second week of September. The post is not in fact an election and choice. The Committee on the other hand is elected by the various Provincial Committees which in their turn are elected by a mass primary bodies. From the very nature of the thing, it is obvious that there is an absence of continuity between the Congress and the Committee. It is true that the Congress elected the Committee under its own auspices after deliberation on the basis of the of the entire scheme of proportional representation, the introduction of majority rule, the universal suffrage. As a matter of fact, this basic principle of democracy has hardened into fact as several instances. For instance, the majority of the Committee on Labour elected after the special Congress of 1923, remained unchanged throughout the Congress held just round the birthday of the independence movement in the work of many organisations. The minority consisted, however, of a respectable section of the Committee that held a compelling reason, some issues of the constitution, they remained as Members. Clearly, however, the Congress elected by a whole lot of the question body would increase the power of the Congress, therefore, in view of the authorities issued a was proposed by a member that the executive body of the National Committee should be elected by a Council of Action. This plan was adopted when the President of the Congress was in London. It is assumed a whole-spirited acceptance. Mr. Ashby pointed out that the All India Committee is now a body of 100 members and proposed that the All India Committee was then constituted and it would be a body of 100 members.

But it is not clear, the constitution of the Committee that is necessary, but the formation has the direct and definite. The thing is that the Committee is an executive body, therefore, a vote to the Congress, when they are called with it. The Committee met rarely and even it did meet, the attendance was meagre. A small number of Committees, which were supposed to be a body of 100

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Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by C. Rajagopalachari

W W

Almedabadi Thursday 21st June 1929

No. 29

[Go to Nappor](#)

²¹ I trust that by God's grace and the blessings of His Word, I shall be able to pass this career with very courage and peaceful mind and achieve the life of eternal satisfaction.

The movie, *Unsung Hero*, the latest of the series, tells the story of a black sergeant who saves the lives of his fellow soldiers during the Vietnam War.

¹⁰ These findings probably of the leading workers are a

attained, possibly before 1918, when the canal was thrown into use and the settlement has grown over them with his knowledge both Jamshed Das and his work during those last three years will understand the true character and "back of living bridges in the shape which manifested those which he was in possession of the street. On Jamshed's generosity and valiant readiness for service to any sort that the water demanded, the nation today. He not had used the Jamshed's the sense of domestic happiness, wealth, riches, influence and what is one and he was more than any thing else—familiarity with the government provided, is clear everything that makes for substance from the advantage and pleasure involved in the great enterprise called by Mahatma! This is a success to be shared



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has life completely and steering all the cars and pleasures that could be purchased by his wealth and the power and influence that lay or law had been played into the hands of the right like the humblest worker. Who can say our nation has not done its best?

The struggle in Nagpur has reached a critical stage. The Government of the Central Provinces, apparently after consulting the Viceroy, have decided to send by force what they failed to take by steps. The battle these two months was slow and steady, and despite the satisfying reforms introduced had almost no effect on the national feeling of the Nagpuri people.

of the days of slavery. But now the tactics are changed. Filled tanks are being used to beat back the mob and people no longer to be pushed. It seems to me the battle is now won. The nation must realize the meaning of the challenge it should decide that it will not allow the struggle to end now and prove that it is once ready for further struggle. All the workers are ready to stand up

The college he attended vigorously. The students' demand for human rights and democracy and his belief in universal values are at our stroke cannot deliver the dehumanization of the people, but rather need help is to take quick and irrevocable steps. The Government will see that non-violent leaders engaged in work with the state and civil. We ask everyone and do not avoid them Government, police authorities, therefore, for the

agents or attorneys-in-fact of the railroad officers. It contains little whether we are arrested at the Coal Camp or at the railway crossings or at our workplaces or even at the railway accommodations the railroad itself. It gives a last breath if Government will take charge of the nation with the business on a more "cheap" rate.

difficult about Khadi work and this is one all to lament even at home, and therefore they begin to wish to go back after picking up some superficial knowledge in a despatch course. Despite of the dire condition in the cities of education that no specialized or specialized training will be given, many are impatient for this sort of information only. Besides this many of them get dissatisfied with the rules regarding travelling, thinking there to be rather strict. Owing to some such reasons some students get disappointed and go back leaving the Ashram. Much money is wasted thereby. Now, if Khadi Vilayats be opened in every province and arrangements be made to train the students of the respective provinces there, much expense will be saved and many difficulties solved.

If every province can arrange for the expenses of its students and necessary suitable room for the Vilayats, the All India Khadi Department intends to help such Vilayats with the expense of training and implements and also to arrange for their regular inspection, so that every province might have a suitable institution for training to Khadi work. The Provincial Khadi workers are requested to pay attention to this suggestion and to let the All India Khadi Training Department at Ahmedabad know whether such arrangements can be made by them in their provinces and whether they will be in a position to spare such Khadi workers as can be useful for running these institutions. They are also requested to give their opinion about the necessity of opening such Vilayats as well as the probable difficulties that might be in the way. It is necessary that this should be communicated to us at the latest by the 15th July.

Khadi Activity in the Punjab

The Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Khadi Department, Mr. Sukh Nath, says: "In the Tehsil of Nakhar in the Punjab, Khadi activity is going on more vigorously than in any other part of the province. Hand-loom has been set up in the houses of farmers in about 15 villages. The girls of the farmers devote all their time after finishing the household work to handspinning, and in weaving they find it also having learnt the art. They are poor old girls are now engaged in this work enthusiastically. They use only hand-spun. They prepare all their own clothes and use even spare yarn for their brothers and relatives. The professional weavers are indifferent to the name of Swadeshi, they even borrow yarn in adulteration by using. They could not be persuaded even to give up to use. We began to teach weaving in the neighbourhood and girls of the farmers, and we have collected good results from them. The number of all this arrangement is that Miss. Singh, who is at present undergoing one year's imprisonment. One Maheshwari gentleman, Mr. Jai Mahend, also has taken a good deal of time. The work of setting up looms in a village of Jai Tehsil, Sanghar by name, is due to this gentleman."

33. Mahan Nathji further writes that in Kanak's too, besides the Tehsil of Nakhar there are working about 25 Hyderabad hand-loom which are worked by the girls of the farmers in their own houses using hand-spun yarn only.

Contingents

The report-receiver of Punjab Khadi Board will be travelling now-a-days in the Punjab writes—

There are two varieties of cotton grown in the Punjab—the native and the American. The latter is called 'Ginn' here. This foreign variety is grown only in the canal irrigated areas and it is about five or ten rupees per maund (100 lbs.) shorter than the native cotton. Women who spin use only native cotton. The reason for the inferior quality of cotton from these Ahmed in Punjab. At that time it cost 15 to 20 rupees per maund. At present the rate is Rs. 40. The yield of lint out of this cotton is 51-55 per cent. As the price of cotton has gone high women who spin and who working in the various spinning have protest that one cotton and sell out the yarn, even less the spinner gets wages for spinning at the rate of 4 to 5 paise per maund (50) gins. It also includes winding charges, 10, at some places the women spin without paying a. When asked, they agree that if they have to do their own spinning also, they would save nothing from their weaving wages. Even the average wage given to be asked in these days is some place on account of dearth of cotton.

"When the women workers were shown the spinning-loom devised in Gujarat and when they were told how easy it was to work with it they were greatly delighted and showed eagerness to learn the art of weaving. It is quite plain that spinning-loom should be sent to all districts in the Punjab, and if possible some spreading activity would be greatly helped. The Secretary of the Punjab Khadi Department is trying to get a committee for this work, but has not yet been able to achieve any success as yet.

In some places, spinning-loom are used, in which this hand-loom also are tied in place of gut. These spindles are tied to the loom with pieces of gut on both sides. These looms are very weak and as cotton cannot be worked well with these.

The village people spin their own yarn and put it woven by women. This custom is prevalent in many places. Khadi is not used here in greater proportion than in any other province. There is a very good field for Khadi. There are places here which can supply Khadi enough for many Khadi Nagas like the Khadi Nagar of Ahmedabad. But it requires to be developed properly. The women workers want Khadi in large quantities and the merchants do not give the trouble of setting the pure and the mixed, but rather sell all as pure. But at present demand for even such Khadi has on account of different reasons diminished all at once, and the pure Khadi consumer cannot get what he wants. Khadi works rather on account of such factors.

"The merchants sell well yarn of 12 to 14 counts, by making it into hanks like those of the handspun, in a cheap rate, in Amritsar and Sardarshahi. To escape from hand, people have begun to buy yarn from the houses of the spinners and to put it woven themselves by professional women like Krishna Chaudhary, who has been appointed as the supervisor for the province of the Punjab by the All India Khadi Production Department, is working very vigorously in this line."

Respectfully, A. Ghosh

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by C. Rajagopalachari

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Notes

Two Days

Don't was about subscription for new issue. Why not? I say, keep. The Government stands where it did in respect of the trade demand. And now the words of the late to the I made in India (Chronicle) I-I as not to be lulled by the fact that the different branches of the same worked together. The late author, however, different phases and carrying on a steadily fight, one to us and another another as "This Kavya struggle" under the. Answer to the people of India when the social and political struggle to move his nation from Indian Imperialism to India. "has called on us nothing else could do, and out of ourselves, which we ourselves are bound, we shall find our way and our true good as a people. We needed from Mahatma first and foremost from our own men through the means to order to be brought and tempered into steel, so as to stand the furnace of affliction as well together the people as a nation."

If the long struggle is not finished, cannot all of us not together and offer a united united world of the great mass? I gently in an voluntary participation to your support, should be our united answer. To perfect action and with good will, all of us could help out of the general distress, not merely writing the support, and the army in the Congress, but even the Mahatma who have tried their talk all the last year.

Then Sir, They go, as a national commission with the Government will to the future of the people has left India. India. We were all over by them who had capital. I then a last-minute possibility as a work. I. H. The Young has power suddenly opened the doors of these

actions by visiting the Finance Bill and keeping the Bill. The Government of the Assembly. And when they are done they to lay the constitution law and show that demand on the National Act whereby Government will want to progress? Just when we are called to make some progress and give some vote to the Congress, what is recommended to accept the resolutions in the Congress. How can it?

Let us consider our condition, Mahatma and the All India Congress are still kept in jail. To prove it was might and strength the Government does to keep the nation's power and men behind in prison. Let us not make the National Congress more effective. Let us make it a "National" one, which is much the Government, until it respects and parties itself.

Then Mahatma. They want a continued confidence out of Mahatma. You have the struggle as Mahatma. In the early hours of the world's Civil war, nearly three hundred men were arrested, but the silence of everything the 100,000 symbol of our struggle for freedom as of Mahatma or being who might lead to carry it.

Is there any doubt that if you subscribe for the new issue of the, for the new Congress, you signify your consent to be governed as Mahatma? It is not your duty to say, no, at once?

New Lines

The Government of India has notified its new laws applicable to 1923, 1924 and 1925. What the Government of India will be in the year 1923-1924 or 1925, will depend on the determination of the people of India and the will of God. Our nation is not the condition of the Government of India in these resolutions. But this is not the only possibility might have been somewhat modified at least by reason of the continued hardship. The new law of 1923, The House of India discuss the decision in regard to the law and the

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It may be remembered that the Finance Minister had great stress on the part to be played by the small farmers in their own hands. There is a great feeling that the people may not care now to lend their support to the Government, but that the law makers will make us the law. That is, we should care. We are engaged in such complex issues that at every turn we find all voluntary action impossible.

Young India

29-6-23

The Challenge of Amritsar

The shock on the happenings which a few days ago was no bigger than a man's hand has assumed a greater proportion, and is spreading over the whole country. Those that educated the agitators are now alarmed by the more extensive taking. The Times of India¹ condemned both the conduct and the Government attitude regarding what it then presented as being not a trifling affair. But the All India Committee declares that it is by mistake. It had to send its special correspondent to Europe, and it has now begun to give the benefit of hindsight to the European community and to Government.

"The new arrival at Nagpur," says its correspondent, "has now reasons for supposing that anything very remarkable is happening at that place". And yet the paper prints in its correspondent's words, a letter "between the forces of authority and a group of study agitators who have entered the service of ill-effects, agitators and the younger population of students and agitators free by action, the object being to prevent a quarrel with Government, in the name 'Amritsar' which can be used to inflammatory purposes all over India". It is concluded that the attack object of the agitators is to secure Government that had it not been for the flag, something else would have been found for the purpose, and that the danger about them that of outrageous words contained in it "show that any kind of justification can only be based on authority, and that the authorities are compelled to get force to their defence." The paper has a conveniently bad memory. It forgets that the danger about it was of all a new thing it has come into being ever since England revolutionised the methods of guided warfare, ever since he succeeded in making "any kind of justification" with confidence in his own strength. It was that confidence that made the Kaira peasant stand a man before Mr. Pater, the commissioner, and challenge him to do his worst. Mr. Pater instantly took the lesson and has never again used the experiment. We can understand the paper being alarmed at this growing weakness, we can also share its fears that a few years hence even ignorance, unphilosophical personal will defy all reason and tyrannous authority, and compel it to yield. But they are the men of the hour. The signal came only in Kaira. It came only enough to Government. It has now come to C. P., and if it is in the nature of a new revolution in the "Times," its consequences may be added. The pressure was indeed being brought to bear on authority—not on all authority, but on the authority which defied the people's will—and in this that rebellion has secured an inevitable cooperation. How does the "Times" propose to meet the situation? On service to Government? not to do still, but to regard the flag agitators as its subjects

subjected to its slavery with regard to subject in the attitude of viewing the Mahatmas as the subjects. Instead of all the acts of submission to the Government in Europe, including the City Magistrate and Superintendent of Police, has not come forward with the proposition of the "Times". But if they continue not to do so, and refuse to be looked on violence, it will not be for any significance of help on the part of the "Times".

To Government the whole is even more fresh and new. They want, if they want to avoid these the services that a great war against Government cannot be fought with impunity, at any rate without loss of submission being used. If that is not making submission, what else is it? But we may answer the paper that we have way out for ourselves to follow the way of things which it is today alarmed to ignore.

The challenge of authority and submission is not a challenge long by a story journal in India. It represents the majority of the whole Governmental corporation, which has at its back the support of the Secretary of State. It is contained in the present attitude of Government. The morning of the 11th morning, the presentation of all of them under the 'Amritsar' and action, and the order including submission and violence, beyond a certain limit are all an evident possibility to what is yet to follow. That challenge may be accepted, if we are to stand. The All India Congress Committee is meeting on the 11th July at Nagpur. The Working Committee and Khilafat Committee will also hold a joint sitting. In Amritsar has been an appeal for an All India flag celebration on the Gandhi Day. It is good to see us go on. But the All India Committee will have to devote a better and more effective answer to the challenge of submission. It should not show any, it, even if it be just and shameless action on the part of all the members of the Committee.

Nikhil Kumar

Two Noble Sacrifices

Some of our best countrymen have sacrificed themselves in the Nagpur struggle. But I do not think any sacrifice could be nobler or purer than that of Jinnah and Vaidya. Masters of Congressdom, they render honor Jinnah as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Congress at Nagpur, as treasurer of the Congress, and so on who has given a new lease for the B. C. R. fight. Very few, however, know Jinnah's true greatness. Vaidya has not been in the daylight at all, but he is a man worth knowing as Jinnah's friend. I propose to introduce the readers with both and know them.

J
(continued)

'Dressed well by the moment when I will be worthy of being known as Mahatma's son. It is due to his nobility more than I have hitherto been to me my weakness and my feelings.' These words from my words by Jinnah's in the Gandhi Birthday Anniversary number of Congress are up the whole nobility of his character. He was born with a

well, it is not the desire, rather the Congress and the people themselves had made up their mind. But why could it not have been the wish of the British Government to have been so?

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In the course of many years since the new Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee, and published in the course of the 10th May, it is stated.

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Already Discussed

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The Professor of Law

It was many years ago and I was examining a witness before a charge but was Magistrate. The professor is now retired, to his home. He has come by on the train he had to have the licence of the police play on his strong shoulders. Suddenly there was a man in the Court-house. I saw the Magistrate at an angle and out on his way. I looked towards the door, and a man walked in with his head. The Deputy Magistrate thought it was some European. There was all white men, officers, others, must be expected. Who knew what officer he was not here at 10.15, at what time of what officer? It happened the next moment that the officer was a European, signed something in words of employment and begging "the Honour" to return here to the next place where he hoped to find work. There I was, a walk at the High Court of Justice engaged in collecting a witness trial and the Magistrate did not think that a bare walk in an easy jacket was left matters towards me or witness or Police. We were all friends and got into familiarity in view of the hot weather. But a paper travelling, bearing a date recorded near to white, show the Magistrate has a sudden letter of good witness. I tell the story, for then I found that Magistrate is British. India was expected to help work witness, workers in search of employment. The Magistrate pay public money in such case to help railway income. Though not without considerable means of subsistence, they are not bound over for good behaviour, but given railway line and helped to go along happily.

But when in the Central Provinces, members of the All-India Congress Committee High Court Value, University professors of education, and others whom Magistrate would be no higher to the highest officials, at Nagpur are arrested as vagabonds and sent to prison as such.

There shall a law give over improvement perhaps difference between witness, witness and non-prosecution. More govt. police, according to police, a man punished, he will a man can be his feeling to change his mind. But civil relations cannot be prevented by the Magistrate. The history of such proceedings. The G. P. Magistrate has concerned Justice Sir of the Chief Justice. Justice Sir has a kind of Volunteer. Hindustani Protection Act and now it is passed every one who declare any intention to prepare to display the Flag Colour, and cannot own his prohibition.

These proceedings must sometimes resulted for blood-giving over vagabonds and without witnesses may give another useful political purpose to Government. They reduce the number of persons responsible for prohibition of the Flag Colour closer such mistakes have to be prepared. The victims of these proceedings might be viewed as technical offenders and often had "witnesses".

Now then there is very one in such. Sacrifice as the. We know that the Government is expected to a good fight with it, and we expect no quarter. But he have to be patients and let nobody be deceived that Congress engaged by the spirit of judicial procedure.

The Government should not put itself at arms in the country against. It should respect conscience where the duty government is regard to the Magistrate of a branch of the power where every honest man knows there is not the best interests of such a thing and the branch is asked only to observe Sec 141P. It officers, but respect for that government under such conditions, is it to be considered at? Even a clerk's record can be maintained only by following the moral law. From misapprehension of provision to prevent breaches of public tranquility, the Government have now given another step in advance. Any man or woman can now be arrested if he walks outside his place of business, to a person having no considerable means of subsistence and whose account of himself is not satisfactory to the Magistrate. He or she can be required to give security and sentenced on default to a work of construction in a cement pit with isolated offenders and offenders. An absolute record can now any branch that may be prescribed by law and where the mere declaration of a Magistrate who is prosecutor, judge, juror and representative of the Executive Government will conclude it enough, we have the most absolute code making any purpose that the most transparent Government may want. How foolish that ever says a line they wanted special executive legislation and worked so much about it!

C. B.

The All India Congress Committee

The All-India Congress Committee will meet in the "break out" at Nagpur. We should remember that the boycott of Councils is not a question only for the "leaders". It is not the case (filing in a special meeting "leaders" to be made up sections and an agreement presented to the people. We are moving as something that we have only to give and take among ourselves, the "men on the platform", and the people must accept the responsibility. The programme of the Congress Party has been before the public for some time. It is not a kind of body is given a map for the nation? I do not wish to suggest for me moment that it is as intended by its drafter, but I do wish to state clearly my conviction that it will prove to be a golden bridge to cooperation between constitutional opponents and the persons will have weighty corresponding changes in the spirit of the people. If we are conscious of this, it is enough of light to yield. The question therefore is, shall we go on with the good light or surrender? If we desire to go on with the light, the door is clear. The All India Congress Committee should put all its strength and body into this. Do and has friends to give us their programme. This is the only way to unity consistent with the dignity and the purpose of the Congress. It will be the chance that has been hitherto put on the morality to get its Constitution and his friends, they must yield. It is most of both on my part not make an excuse that they will not yield. Let us be free, let us forget the past. The situation is now clear. Let the A. I. C. C. lay themselves to making the election, and on the other hand let us authorize the Working Committee to approach the friends and officers to join in the boycott as much as a protest against the Constitution, and the Congress structure.

A. B.

Young India

4-7-55

The Flag Calls You

The struggle was commenced by the Mahatma Councilmembers of Jhalabawa, on 15th March. I told the people of Jhalabawa, who had eagerly gathered in their thousands on 'Tachikawa' on the 15th and 16th of March, the full implications of the challenge that was given by the Government of the Central Provinces. The people expressed themselves, orally for Satyagraha, and Gandhiji put his full strength into the struggle and began working vigorously. Eight days afterwards on the great anniversary day of Mahatma's imprisonment, heavy rainclouds were scattered and clear sun shone. The Government thought that they could, through the efforts of the media, on the contrary, that was a signal for war, and the spirit of battle moved within. A month later while we were negotiating in what manner we should proceed, whether we should take the steps of accompanying the physical character of the 'Tachikawa', or whether we were to go to a chosen battle-field where the principles of Satyagraha may be put in action without any disturbing factors. God guided events for us, and the Government of the Central Provinces gave the challenge in accepting on 20th Jhalabawa Day at Nagpur. Jhalabawa Day took up the challenge at once and pushed the fight right into the enemy's camp with steady vigour, and the first battle was won on Gandhi Day on 30th when Jhalabawa Day, beloved of the nation, was observed. The Government lost their strategic point and we held our position effectively. They lost their patience and changed their tactics from rage to stern. This was a signal to all India, and India has taken up the battle.

The time has come, if not it will soon come, when every soldier must go for khaddar in Satyagraha, uniform battles with guns and troops. The adversaries become stronger and stronger as the struggle progresses. Government is everything in the beginning. But as the battle proceeds, our victory comes to the very capture of our generals. That is the signal for every Satyagrahi to be ready by himself to attack behind his flag and get arrested. Does the enemy lose his honour and status as leaders, non-combatants as well as combatants, thinking to crush the whole thing at one stroke? To crush the whole, give yourselves up readily. The very difference of the enemy's objective is our opportunity and to be successfully retreating and making mistakes for us. Does the enemy prevent you from gathering, organising or marching, and send you on the way and to the railway station? That is just what you want. It does not harm you at all if he throws you out of work of the trouble and take you so easily. While he thinks he is crushing his army with and with, the truth is that Satyagraha is spreading under and under. We are conquering and advancing in humility. India is, in sending her strength.

Let us pay consideration more to him. Gandhiji has devoted events to establish the strength of an individual people.

Our flag is worth fighting for and dying for. It stands for freedom, for giving the message of peace and goodwill and victory to a distressed world. "Do not die, our mother, do not die, our mother, live in peace", it goes on to a world, died and with exploitation and tyranny. The very nation's flag has been selected, a battle waged more pleasing to God. C. R.

Don't Kill Him

The Government is taking on a responsibility in having a deal cut to public opinion regarding Lalit. The reason about his health shows that he is suffering from a serious injury which must have been sustained in prison. The Government is bound to answer to freedom in an earnest people and every particular of the state of health of our soldier leader and his welfare in the name of the country has a centralised line in the heart of his countrymen. In divided circumstances where ought to be free from the pains of discipline itself. When the Government takes charge of the bodies of our political opponents, it is under a burden of the duties of a profound responsibility to guard any of the distinguished persons in custody a serious matter. Since the British. The responsibility of the Government is clear.

Apart from this, it is clear that the Government should now do a little to help to have well, and help of his own and his people's choice. The Government is taking a very serious responsibility in denying to the present the character of such treatment. The horrible Non-cooperation, not to speak of the leaders, who he is against. The honour and dignity of the Lalit's own and his movement stand as a terrible indictment before the whole world of the system of Government which Gandhiji has inspired us to be our own and under which we are bound to suffer until we pay ourselves of our superior and our mistakes, when separately the cause will die. We have it in the Government whether it wishes to make partial stands for us or not. We have a right to claim that Lalit should not be killed in prison. It would be wrong if the Government of the Government of the Government. Lalit is one of the great leaders of the Indian people and a great Government, not of personal dignity, because being concerned in its power, but it is not appropriate the object for doing this. The chance of being saved from the consequences of their own wrong.

C. R.

More Vagrants

Some time ago, a Government official was published among the number of political prisoners of such a low figure that all the people in India who know the truth were greatly amazed. There seems to be a very serious thing. The C. P. Government is now the flag under the same colour is kidnapping, when they have only one Government one day how many persons are concerned for the freedom of the flag. Under the flag of the Indian people.

even been seen, the Magistrate must have been duped by cunning persons, and having got the last disbursement, dismissed him in vain on the plea of ill-health. (Cable 11/10/35). It is a pity that he is arrested, the officers could not take all the Magistrate. They would be found as soon arrested under the benevolent provisions of law which would be one of society against men without sensible signs of intelligence remaining about in criminal cases, instead of being and leaving, looking and conducting the police and such other dangerous characters.

The latest news I have heard, today the meetings were not closed from consideration—no that London was then. That State was arrested at Nagpur under the provisions of law—no that. The State was not much and released as had been. The India Congress Committee members, one of them is a professor in University of high distinction of the University of Chicago and also V. K. of the High Court of Madras, who had of course organized protest. Another is a Syrian Christian—graduate of the University of Madras who gave up his law studies when he called his national service came. The third holds the Provincial Congress Secretary at Ford. Many and the others in charge of the teachers in Madras Congress Division. One of them had served his time here as Deputy Professor in the Arts in Madras College. The 12th of 1934 conference was held in Madras—Horse-Office to stand one person within the limits of the earlier who has no sensible signs of intelligence is who may not give a satisfactory account of himself. See 12th of 1934 gives power under the provisions of law Magistrate to demand of each person money for paid witnesses. Any person arrested or charged under these provisions may make Magistrate. "I have seen in the past, that a person and voluntary disbursement of the Magistrate's order regarding the National Flag, but are willing to undergo the penalties to be inflicted thereon." It would be at once a useful and completely satisfactory account of himself, and if the Magistrate had at least a legal "conscience", he would have to cancel the proceedings and discharge the person. That a statement may not please the Court or be satisfactory to the police force, but it is a 'voluntary account of himself' on the part of a person charged with being a witness or having otherwise under the provisions referred to.

Men who dislike the Flag Order are considerable under the Penal Code, with imprisonment, according to one highly capable, on the fact that the disobedience causes disturbance, annoyance or injury to persons lawfully employed. If the disobedience could be interpreted and held in some degree to be a crime, health or safety or create a riot, the provisions could be extended to six months' imprisonment. For the cases where the Police stop or arrest the men before any disobedience is actually effected, or any court act is committed there, may be called an attempt. As brought in by the guidelines of the law under Sec. 124 of the Procedure Code whereby the case can be and are given due legal consideration. Thus the completed offence is called with or without imprisonment, but where the offence is incomplete another there is only a mere violation and a prosecution and legal

trial and no offence at all is committed, the punishment is doubtful. For no man is punishable under any criminal system of jurisprudence for merely having made no law, before he does any overt act according to an offence or an attempt. Till the actual day power required to breach security under Sec. 124 could be awarded on default refusal to comply. All must under the common term, "being in good behaviour". But after the Code was amended this year, the requirement of default of having depended under Sec. 124 was only to show that the Magistrate has not considered this. But then, as no doubt the police authorities would arrest the person once, even if the Magistrate has no conviction, as in such cases the judgment of the Magistrate would not permit the police who would be liable for releasing the man.

They can certainly try to bring the charges in the first and second stages of law? Attempting to set under provisions of law which were enacted for such various purposes. The Government must have had in mind a diversity of almost countless. It is better to throw off all claims of infidelity. For the work is done and proceed to arrest. C. R.

The Old Argument

The Force of India has just argued over the Nagpur Flag dispute. It appeals to responsible leaders of Indian opinion to help to end a movement which is likely to engender ideas of revolt against authority and make future Government difficult. There is no denying the fact that irresponsible rule can be ended if sustained by only by revolution which would or would not a constitutional system fails after repeated efforts to end the system of arbitrary authority, the people have to choose the lesser of two evils.

The right of rebellion is a recognised right of oppressed nationalities. The leaders of such nationalities in their efforts at emancipation have to undertake the risk of overthrowing in their people the spirit and the habits of revolt against authority. No one can say to them, "Don't rebel, for we shall have great difficulty in governing a nation". Similarly, if we repeat armed rebellion and adopt the principle, but all the same revolutionary, method of Civil Disobedience, we, no doubt, undertake the risk of overthrowing the spirit and breaking the use of civil resistance to all authority. In other cases the chance is so great that disobedience of the merely laws to be undertaken.

We must however be honest people and believe that man is a moral animal and will always prefer peace and order to chaos and revolution except where authority happens too arbitrary to bear. We believe also that a wholesale loss of civil resistance is a catastrophe to all kinds of tyranny where by the material security or weakness of the nation, there would otherwise be no check whatever. The cry of authority in danger is only another form of the fear of going anarchy in the country or making them realize their strength. The Force does not say so. "The movement being brought to high in authority, the children to teach the idea of Government action, and to think that rebellion is a natural and inevitable emotion." A people cannot be free unless the necessary means to such an irrepressible authority ruling through the cooperation of the subject people.

Police chief and must learn to dispense justice under a free press which brings the statements of Indians first in the immediate light of the nation. It is a nation one nation free only if its youth is ever ready for rebellion against tyranny. Otherwise these lines of tyranny will always shape as well and rule. Licensed violence are enough for violent people, but free nations have to develop and coordinate all virtues and capacities—the spirit of revolt as well as the spirit of obedience. Finally the position of civil resistance is not then as under clear—the position of moral revolt. The former method has its own scientific details which are absent in the latter. It is only if the injustice at the tyrant is great and unbearable that the civil resister can put up a sustained fight. Suffering cannot be undertaken and kept up if the government is unjust or tyrant. This is the moral and moral superiority of the weapon of civil resistance to that of armed revolt which brings success and only as always to the just cause but even in the struggle and more difficult.

No public has distinguished war and military preparations on the ground that the necessary and necessary toll will include the loss of innocents, difficulties with technology and human cruelty and duty. Why then should we be more apprehensive about the army and make progress in the art of resistance by self-sacrifice?

C. R.

Desbandha's Activities

The *India* has disappeared of my attention to the A. I. C. C. modules and was on the party's side to express my sympathy to the Swaraj Party. The opinion of the *India*, therefore, about the activities of the leader of the Swaraj Party must be valuable. In view of a leading article on the *India* from after the conclusion of Desbandha's tour in Tamil Nadu —

"We believe the prevailing feeling now at the end of his tour is that unity is at much greater distance than ever before. His visit, have come out of the attempt to patch the old and we now at last we ever from coming that united front which is the prime essential."

The strongest argument in favour of the so called compromise of Swaraj was, that it would at once set like a band of unity and for the troubled waters of Hindu-Muslim relationship. Now the suppression of opposition to the elections can have any such working effect on Hindu-Muslim differences, are not clear to me. A vague feeling that an unified Congress would have been stronger than a Congress in which opinion is divided, led to the foolish agreement that any compromise would help to increase the strength of the Congress to all its efforts. The failure to divide, before believe that they can achieve logic, truth and systematic in practical application. However, the compromise added to the losses of the Swaraj Party and reduced greater disorganizing effects in that part. The *India*'s remarks on this subject are noteworthy.

"We cannot but regard it as one of the least of the misfortune of this unhappy land that at the critical hour, when it is threatened by so many real and more imminent trouble, when the Hindu-Muslim trouble is arising to play head in the Punjab and elsewhere

and when the supreme need of the hour is for all to pull together the great problems and human misery of the *India* should be so foolishly misinterpreted as the present of a split in the way. We cannot help thinking that the *India* has previously contributed little to the scope for action in the field of Congress unity and the absence of it made that sad."

The Swaraj Party leaders at Mohanlal C. P. and Bawa are reported to have met at Nagpur to consider the division and to have decided "to concentrate all their energies on and reserve. Each had reserves for continuing Congress elections and advice as members to stand firm to the party programme despite opposition."

One of the District Committees in South India stated in its address to Desbandha —

"We also take the liberty here of expressing our spread apprehensions that attempts to the part of Congressmen to push their programme forward in our program will increase our difficulties. In regard to communal policies, whereas a genuine attempt at carrying out the programme of the Congress will gradually solve these difficulties besides placing us on the more road to freedom."

The address was reported. But the fact is there. What is the nature of the apprehension *India* on this subject?

"It is not surprising we must regard Mr. Des's address to the province as positively unfortunate. Apart of course from his general contribution to the cause of unity. We need hardly say we refer to his attempt to play the part of the conciliator in the Brahmin-Hindu controversy. One who agrees to be a mediator does not generally pursue his attempt by calling the feelings of one party and Mr. Des did this very thing effectively in his voluminous and badly-headed speech in Madras. Apart from that the problem is not one to be decided on the casual manner affected by Mr. Des and the only mark of his opportunism that we can see is a tendency to concede to the communal parties in Congress politics."

It is not surprising Mr. Des's lack, but the inevitable consequence of Congress leaders meeting this far for the Council unity. The Swaraj Party has the official Non-cooperation, the Non-Brahmins and the Mahatmas no long road to overcome. The foregoing Non-cooperation were put down by the resolution of the Swaraj meeting, the Non-Brahmins had now to be back with, and the others to the north.

One of the members of the new Working Committee of the Congress, in conference with a member of the Local Legislative Council, who was the secretary of Council Executive taking office under the 'Justice' Party, expressed a Bared Table Conference under the Presidency of Desbandha Des, which passed a resolution in effect that the Swaraj Party should have the field clear in the Justice Party in the Local Legislative Council, and in return the Justice Party should agree to take the Swaraj Party into confidence in the Assembly elections. All these negotiations however were quickly rejected by the Justice Party. The practice of the Congress should be understood by all these possibilities which have created doubts and increased confusion.

C. R.

at the top of the seed are longer. On the whole the staple is soft and strong. But it is thicker than that of the two varieties mentioned above. It is even stouter than that of the good Barb cotton. The lint is white and strong. Its leaves remain quite green and as dry fallings does not get mixed with the cotton as in the case of some cottons. The cotton of this variety, therefore, remains very clean. This advantage is common to all the varieties of two-cotton mentioned above.

Ordinary Combeds

Another plant of the Combeds series has quite a different tale to tell. This also was in the last year it grew in land sown/ploughed soil, sown with brinjars and brinjapurdas. This too began to bear immediately when the rains commenced and began to bear fully in about 1½ months' time. It was picked at this time and about 20 well-developed pods were permitted to remain. The result was that it began to give crop in about the fourth month and the whole crop was harvested by about the sixth month. Its cotton was quite soft and its staple was a little over one inch long. The noteworthy thing about it was, that its crop was over in a very short time. The space covered by this plant was about 2 ft. square. The total yield of seed cotton was nearly 20 cwt.

Field Cotton

Cotton plants are generally sown 1 ft. apart. The interval between two plants in an acre exceeds 4 ft. At this rate 4440 plants can be grown in one acre of land and if such plants were in yield 2 cwt. of cotton on the average, the total yield would be 4440×2=8880 lbs. Comparing the figure for the acre of 2½ ft. this would give 888÷400% lbs. of lint, but the Indian

Cotton Committee has reported that the average production of lint is 50 lbs. per acre. This is a very poor figure. In the same way, it is pointed out, that if we take the spinning as a working rule with a lot of lint, in several cases it is enhanced. The question of reducing this evil has been seriously considered by the committee referred to above. But there is no scope for delivery of this sort where the spinning-wheel has established itself, in those places where cotton crop is grown. Every family ought to make cotton for its use. In other localities people ought to grow some sort of alternative sufficient for their requirements. If this is done, we shall no more be a prey to the fluctuations of the cotton market. In several places Khadi activity has defined a set back owing to the death of cotton in various places. Congress Committees were even blamed by the people for failing to stock sufficient cotton for weavers. But if the spinners only help themselves and make arrangements for the supply of cotton, they would be saved from dependence on Congress Committees and the Congress Committees will be relieved of some work.

However it can be inferred from the big scheme for cotton seeds worked out from several points that many provincial Congress Committees have already begun to make necessary arrangements for cotton. We may therefore conclude without fear of mistake that these provinces will have no more to complain next year about scarcity of cotton. If our provincial Congress Committees take only half the care that the representatives of Congress or do it with an Government experimental institutions plan it would be enough for the Khadi movement.

Magdala K. Gandhi

the Medians or Egyptians and all its myriad meanings. It is not only the mixture of related conditions that are nothing but and self-sustained conditions which are merely revealing. The lay in the mixture between Europe and India - that while the former built itself as Egypt, the foundation of which was Shewachest Love, Shewachest that is not the same. It is not that Europe did not have love or that India did not employ force. No. In both problems was no right but fundamentally the same, and both.

[illegible]

that was very true the husband of Hmong Kaid, the daughter of the Tay, the leader of the French Vangpao, who in the time of disaster elected to be a teacher at a village, three-fourth Hmong and all Indian, was his wife's grandmother removed from Hanoi, as from Yunnan and eight from Chongchong. He was taught by the master art of Indian music and experience. Three hundred years have elapsed since Hmong Kaid's day and the ideas were to choose have developed today in India. It is usual the Hmong to suppose that Hmong are barbarians. But I think India does thousand years to make the Vangpao and Hmong have been with as only a thousand years. They are more reduced like their co-ethnics, a few words—perhaps, but as I defined more in the representations of love and belief in love. Was not a Persian couple that purposed the matrimony? when it was that Hmong had some one Hmong like a, the end had turned dark who asked How much the final point of India's power to repeat her sacred values? in the position of the Hmongness of India to bring to Hmong Hmong's message of new values. They had their sacred occurrence but the example they were not the occurrence but they they were ready to see how much all.

From to-day India's allegiance to the Englishman was not because he was violent. She was conscious of something he wanted by his persistent non-violence. But the trouble was that the Englishman would not go. India was aware of something new. The Empire was the enemy and India pursued a policy of non-violence. Young Englishmen and English women at a later period in their working years had weak back, strong nerve and women that they were coming out. Differences in force they could not think anything mortal to India, and the very character of their race and the circumstances of their life made it impossible for India to think about anything. Their share in a permanent by force made them Indians in heart and they were backslapping. The Empire is not to be inherited because it will be the possession of the world. But the war would be different. The Englishman would throw India amongst, poorest families and into the hands of their dead on the soil, in that event they would be welcome and India would be pure in the conscience of a few generations of watching them and warning them from the barbarians led up by force. After America came involved up England it would be the time they that would happen to Englishmen in the century, they would have an other land to look to and they would become Indians. But as long as that was responsible, the last thing that would happen in England and India was to part. India between's necessity was broken, her function of preparing the barbarians from the wild North-West, lulling them, clothing them, destroying their fight in violence and of preparing the world for the next assault, would be abolished.

The Afghan, the Persian and here no matter for them, India would be able to keep them out, if she wanted to. But she has need of them if they come in there was nothing to be alarmed about. The Afghan would make down from the Persians also and India would do the same with them which she did with all the races of the past. They would become part of her people and add to her wealth and labour. She would, in return, give them the remarkable gift of civilization, the faith in immortality, and comfort that for her millions will

Young India

13-7-39

The Outcrop

On the 16th of June 1939 at Mahanadi, when Mahadevi Prasad wrote to me on the death of the Honourable (deceased) 'Political' Member I was still in manuscript. We had a dip contest over the first sentence in that article. Mahadevi was clearly shocked when I told him that I was a Plebeian.

"Are you not a member?" he asked; and when I said I was, he exclaimed "Then the answer you became an ex-member, the better."

I did not agree, and told him that none of his ideas about the subject were convincing. He accepted my assurance, and said that he would follow the legislative members of that article, but I said I might recall as I expressed his own ideas, and he was not expected to know anything more than a common-sense right from.

Today, after three years, I have the satisfaction of finding that Mahadevi's desire has been fulfilled. The "District Grand Master" as the head of Free Members in India is commonly called, has used his office declaring that I am unfit for admission to Mahadevi's committee as for the enjoyment of Mahadevi's privileges, my office being my politics. The general stand is that I developed an entry under the 144 and was convicted under. The District Grand Master is high officer of Government.

I think that many a non-cooperator has miserably been misled by Mahadevi's declaration, I am no reason to keep his things to a public knowledge. We ought to warn the youth that English members are also among the government, and a many non-cooperator's personal declaration.

The greatest mistake through which the Government make grave and irreparable and dangerous over our lives are the words for words. If only we recognise the question, which we carry on our mind, understood and a possible answer, and even our convictions, we can use an other possible way for the highest aim of the Government from away from our power of action working in our own will. The process is going on everywhere in that our understanding is growing in general and government. India, therefore we are honestly and freely expressed of the good faith of the policy and process of ultimate policy which the Government has been making to us, and unless further we are convinced that the selfish interests of the British people will not prevent them from inflicting the destruction which enlightened world-appeals or look even better where induces them occasionally to make—may we can be as bold now as to make them not prevent after all our experience!—we cannot talk up to our own interest without struggling against the outcrop, that is so badly making our vital forces. Every day that we allow to pass without our power of resistance. Every struggle gives us increased power. The future of the independence of the Government which are

Government make in a word at the last line of reality for long national accomplishment. Our hope and our lawyers will find education with, and more difficult an every year of further accomplishment passed by. The great struggle of 1932 and 1933 served to stop the growing pace of the loss of freedom power. They are greatly members who think that the outcrop has not completely added to our freedom power and further brought our consciousness aware.

We must not hang on the line of the outcrop to free ourselves from another. We would only increase by hold in one direction as we hang on we have got out of it in another. But would be through at "hardening the conscience programme" by conviction, "making the best use of the outcrop in our hands" and the best. Our very self-organisation must make the possible that we find in us. It is only that we can have to free ourselves. C. R.

The 'Obituary's' Questions

Three questions have been raised by a writer in the Obituary, Mr. Mrs. Indira against to freedom should have and without hesitancy to answer these three questions.

Question No. 1 is—

"Assuming that India will be taken to be governed by a Parliamentary Executive and a responsible Government-Executive, what will be the relation of that Executive to the Army? Assuming again that British troops must form part of that army (an assumption which I consider to be a self-evident truth), on what terms will the Home Government allow the British troops to serve a government to which he owes no real allegiance, or on the other hand, if the British element were very heavily reduced or withdrawn altogether, would an army actually composed of the fighting units of the North give an adequate allegiance to a political system dominated, as it will be, by the lawyers and members of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras?"

Answer.—The army in Free India will be subject completely to the Imperial Central Government of the country, and therefore will be under the orders of the Parliamentary Executive. It is not a self-evident truth that British troops must form part of the Indian army. The British troops can be wholly withdrawn by the Indian-home officer. There is an special fighting efficiency in the British-born soldier which cannot be found or developed in the Indian soldier. The question, therefore, on what terms the "Home Government" will allow the British troops to serve as Indian Parliamentary Executive does not arise. The Army of Free India will not be composed mainly of any "fighting races." It should be composed of sturdy and healthy men from all parts of India. The army of Free India is expected to give complete allegiance to the national interest of self-governing India, even to the army of England composed of the "fighting races" of British gives an absolute allegiance to the British Government composed of British lawyers and British members. The Indian-born soldiers of the present Indian army give their immediate allegiance to the British officers knowing that the latter are not at any high as soldiers with education, and they can their capital allegiance.

little sympathy with the national movement. Every decision and every people in the Empire have their own flags, and why should India not have one which the united people may call? But the fact is that the attack has gone lower. The issue is over the same single one. Is the Government anxious, as the people's capacity to suffer? If the latter is stronger, then it is decided who should ultimately be master of India.

To Brave Sisters

Miss P. A. D. Stansell, great daughter of great Nathaniel Stansell, is eager to lead a letter back to the Nagpur Sahitya Samiti. Her work for India is well-known in Bombay. The highest among the women-folk of India should deem it a privilege to attack India's foe in the national struggle. All India looking to correspond on the subject may write to her at 30, Nagpur Sam Sam, Mahatma House, Bombay. If there are a sufficient number of representative women, desiring strongly to participate in the battle, the matter will be placed by her before the Congress.

Indian Farmers in United States

Mr. Tansarkh Das writes on 12th May from Washington:

"I am sure that you know that the U. S. Supreme Court has recently rendered a decision according to which no Indian can become an American citizen. Of course it is the sovereign right of the State to decide who shall be a citizen of a country and that the Indians themselves are helpless and cannot do anything against this decision, as there is no treaty between U. S. A. and England regarding the exchange of nationality in which India is specifically mentioned."

"But the decision affects the Indians in the United States regarding their right to hold certain property in certain states of America, such as the State of California where there is a restriction law for which persons the Indians, who are not eligible to citizenship, the right of owning or leasing land for any long period. There are thousands of Indian farmers from the Punjab whose interests are thus affected. Some of them have been cultivating land for years and thus enriching the State."

Regarding British intervention, Mr. Tansarkh Das writes:

"I am fully convinced that the British Ambassador will not take any action to protect Indian interests unless he is forced to do so. In this connection it may be pointed out that the British authorities did not protest against the American Immigration law which makes India as a part of the Coloured zone. In fact the British authorities were the first to let Lord Bryce (then he was the Ambassador at Washington) have been anxious to have the Indians included from America, and also to deprive of the right of citizenship, so that the Indians will not be able to point out that Indians enjoy Indian rights as Americans. May what they are awarded as the British Empire, particularly Canada, Australia, South Africa."

"Canada has a Canadian Minister at Washington to protect Canadian rights was in the spirit of signing treaties with U. S. A. The British Ambassador does not

try to protect Indian interests, although Great Britain is proud to have India as a part of the British Empire and the King of England enjoys the proud privilege of having the dignity of the Emperor of India."

Mr. Tansarkh Das points out that the British Government, through Sir Edmund Grey as Foreign Minister, took every possible action to protect the rights, particularly women's rights, of British subjects in Korea, at the time Japan annexed Korea; and succeeded in obtaining recognition and protection of such rights.

Mr. Tansarkh Das claims rightly that the same thing should be done to protect the rights of Indians who have acquired certain rights regarding owning and leasing land in America, before the decision of the Supreme Court.

C. R.

Peace with Turkey

The following conditions have been laid down the signature of over one hundred representative persons including leaders of almost all religious and political persuasions in this country, in anticipation of the arrival of the peace treaty with Turkey:—

"Peace between Turkey and the Allies is to be signed. It is a complete triumph for the Turkish Army. The Turks have vindicated their National Honour, secured independence for their country, a glory for the East, and captured a place amongst the Great Powers of Europe. For India the peace means a partial fulfilment of the whole purpose of her present struggle. The Turks have achieved all their national aims but the integrity of the Khilafat still remains to be secured according to the requirements of Islam. It can only be secured through the restoration of Independent Arab from foreign control and influence. A continuance of the mandate for Palestine and Mesopotamia and the auxiliary status of India as against the requirements of Islamic Law is untenable. Accorableness to Islam and India can only be secured when the Independent Arab is entirely freed from foreign control of any kind and wields any power."

It is largely through India's acceptance that the declaration of the Federated Arab is maintained. Complete freedom of the holy places of Islam can only be secured when such acceptance is withheld. India must never control over her Foreign Policy if this work is to be achieved. The struggle for Swarajya, therefore, becomes doubly imperative for India. No without Swarajya, control over India's Foreign Policy is impossible. The Mandates in India must signify that Arab independence and constant co-operation with the Khilafat and other co-members of India in the struggle for Swarajya is essential both from a national and a religious viewpoint. The Hindus must also realize that a satisfactory settlement of the Khilafat question is now a part of Indian national policy and therefore they must whole-heartedly co-operate with the Mussalmans in achieving this end, as they have hitherto done. This struggle will be pushed on with greater vigour and greater enthusiasm. The success of the Turks will, it is hoped, strengthen our national determination and spur us on

to greater national unity in India has contributed, in whatever small measure, but there is the strength of the basis for independence, it is only proper that Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, and Parsees and others should join together in celebrating its thousandth anniversary. India having shared the trials and tribulations of Turkey, must now also share her triumphs. There will come a happy jubilee. First, they will remind the people of India that the victory they celebrate is largely the result of their common endeavour under the guidance of their great leader Mahatma Gandhi and his Congresses. Mahatma Gandhi, J. B. and Mahomed Ali, who are now in Jail. Secondly, they will awaken the people to ponder what for securing the complete satisfaction of their demands, and thereby, they will, by bringing all communities together in a common act of thankfulness to God Almighty, help to remove those differences between Hindus and Mussalmans which have, unfortunately, sprung up recently in some parts of the country and are causing the foundation of national solidarity on which alone can the structure of Swaraj be built.

It is therefore proposed that joint celebrations of the Turkish Peace Treaty for all the communities Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Parsees and Christians alike should be held on the occasion of the coming Mawla, Muharrar should pray to the High for the welfare of the Muslims and non-Muslims should interchange with them in a friendly manner. On the following day a joint programme with National and Muslim flags should be arranged and some meetings held in any form at which resolutions should be passed.

(4) Commemorating the Khilafat and H. H. Ghazi Mawla Kamil Pasha.

(5) Reiterating our demands regarding complete independence of India and Arab.

(6) Expressing the determination of the Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Parsees and Christians of India to remain united for the common goal of attainment of Swaraj.

At night on the occasion Mr. Harindranath should be arranged and addressed by Khilafat band started during the three days of Mawla.

[Sd.] M. A. Azmi (President, C. E. C. I., Yps. High (Hindustani, Hindustani Committee), Mohd. Ismail, C. E. I., M. M. Mubtahi, Abul Kalam Azad, Abul Kalam, M. H. Choudhry, Wajidullah, Choudhry, C. Rajagopalachari, Thakurji Pandey, etc. etc.]

I have always been very reluctant, during my exile, as the distance that I am from the scene of events, to intervene in some of the conferences that have taken place in regard to Congress policy during the past few years. But I have now too much to say following the experience with the agitation committees of the people to remain silent now, and I hope I may be forgiven for speaking plainly in a discussion on which I feel very strongly and which, last of all, constitutes a tragedy, not only of the popular masses but of the country. Under all the people who are in a confused state as to the policy and

Compromise

Mr. Harindranath's Views

In a letter to the Editor, "The Hindu" Mr. B. G. Harindranath writes—

"There cannot be the slightest doubt that the days mentioned represented the views of the overwhelming majority of the people. They represent an endorsement of the majority of the Congress in all its deliberations, and show all the All-India Congress Committees, and with them they are backed by a new session of the full Congress. To endeavour to deny them, to go behind them, to get noted down in any way without a frank and definite statement seems to me to be unjust, unreasonable and wrong on any possible grounds. It is a matter of deep pain to me to have to write that I am completely out of agreement with the views expressed in the editorial columns of the "Hindu" on the statement issued by Mr. Rajagopalachari. I think it right to say so frankly at once. I need hardly say, that I am in entire disagreement with the Nehru-line programme. I remain fully convinced of the rightness and wisdom of the full Hindu programme without any compromise or exception. I think the policy of Consultation is wrong and have on a previous occasion stated my reasons for thinking so. I think that it constitutes a dangerous and fatal breach of the Nehru-programme. But even so, had that policy been deliberately decided upon as upon matters of the full Congress, I should have considered it my duty to support it so long as it remained the policy and programme of the Congress. But I cannot bring myself to accept a deliberate breach of the Congress resolutions, the holding of the majority of the Congress associated with the executive duty of carrying the policy and programme laid down by the full Congress into effect. The plan of "unity" and the "round table" etc., can never be from that, and I cannot understand how it has moved anything from a stated and laid programme on the days mentioned. To have such a decision on such grounds is not merely so it appears to me, morally wrong, but it is the last thing likely, in my view, to bring about the unity which is needed to rescue her. The people's cause has been confused too often in the mind of many among leaders. There is enough unity among the people if leaders cannot agree, in their dissent and fight and they behave openly and honestly on the floor of the Congress. They have no right to deny the demands of the Congress and contradict the policy of the people as decided through the constitutional democratic channels created by the nation for the purpose, in order that this new difference may be supposed for the time being. Above all it appears to me that the pretence that consent is held by many or absolute working of the Congress machine in the future. For, if this sort of thing is to be allowed, there can be no finding any common effort for any decision taken by the Congress. It will always be open to any dissatisfied minority to go behind the decision of the Congress through the A. I. C. C. by making themselves sufficiently noisy and foolish. I do not think it is too much to say that this is a pretentious surrender to the forces of reaction within the Congress. The very people who have destroyed unity are to have their own way, in order that an appearance of unity may be achieved.

The Boney Betrayal

Every one must have made out more or less from the newspaper reports what happened at Nagpur in the A. I. C. C. meeting. Congress and the Gandhi-fidels both largely in, management and counter-management. What happened or whatever does not happen, it is material for a further argument as to what for a further move in this thirteenth hour.

A motion to declare that the Bombay A. I. C. C. decision was after some time brought by Mr. Karg. Chitambar was raised again; this resolution that it was out of order. The Congress decided not to put a ruling on that point but to put it to the house. When, however, he proceeded to take votes, he declared that the proposition to-41 was lost. In the passed that the point of order and the substantive question were one and the same. Thus began the confusion.

Then the late Working Committee placed before the house a resolution to convene a special session of the Congress to consider the Nagpur decision. This was strenuously opposed by the Swarajya party. "You have just referred a motion" they said, "to treat the Bombay A. I. C. C. decision as irrelevant. If you intended to confirm it, what do you mean by resuming the whole question by entering a special session of the Congress to be held?" "If you receive a Congress motion" they said, "it comes that you receive the Bombay resolution." But the resolution to hold a special session of the Congress was all the more passed by a majority. The Swarajya party naturally felt that the matter went back away to this resolution what help they had given by the Bombay movement, and they went to a state of great distress. Then the Centre brought the resolution to confirm the action of the Committees that did not abide by the Bombay decision. "What a fine contradiction!" asked every one. "Then who the special Congress?" asked people on all sides. The Swarajya party kept ridiculing and withering sarcasm on the old Working Committee, but as the discussion progressed, the Swarajya felt that here was something which they should not lose and could take advantage of. If the Bombay decision was upheld by the special Congress, the centre resolution if passed would be interpreted as a sort of confirmation of the Bombay conference. Every move was made calculating as to they decided to support the motion and Dash Basini Das made a vigorous speech in favour of law and order. But the members of the Congress party and the centre group were not accurate. The resolution to confirm the Nagpur Congress was declared lost.

Thus there was a double blow dealt to the extremists and former Bombay revolutionaries—the dropping of the special Congress resolution and the vote, the throwing out of the centre motion.

The Swarajya party was however not to be lulled. The house was told that its action would be limited, "regardless of the centre group, the central committee, and the central executive body. All resolutions the Swarajya party brought up a

motion to reconsider the Nagpur resolution with a suggestion that if it was passed, the centre may be refused to re-appoint office.

"Accept the motion" Mr. Vinobabhai Patel said. "Support the Committees, and the Bombay resolution will be lost again, and you will avoid the pain and embarrassment of all these proceedings."

My motion was of no avail and the motion was unanimously carried despite all the non-participation of more than half the house. This miserable success, for which reconsideration was agreed, oh, that some members had been absent at voting time, was on the face of it worthless, as the voting on the second account proved to be even less there when it was first thrown out.

As if all these proceedings were not sufficient dark-blow to the unfortunate Bombay decision, the election of a new Working Committee came up as a further blow. It was proposed that Vinobabhai Patel, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and I should belong to the committee. If this motion were put to the house, I would decide whether we communicated the confidence of the house or not. But Dash Basini Das would not allow the proceeding. The Chairman announced was unanimously broken with the leave of the conference, and postponed decision was ordered. Even then the motion was clear and executive responsibility was extended to a committee already against the Bombay resolution.

All this is clear enough though complicated. But attempts are still made to pass up the Bombay betrayal as a special session of the Congress would finally settle most all doubts, the Swarajya party which has already decided the procedure of assembling delegates, is most vehemently opposing the special Congress. "We will not abide by your decision", say they. The Centre said, "Never mind that, but let us see what the people think." "Oh no" says the Swarajya party, "Don't bother the people now, they are unable to decide in favour of the Centre and then we shall be lost." "It is not for us the Swarajya party", say some others.

So the A. I. C. C. to carry out the intention of the Swarajya party had to postpone their programme or to be considered power and the Congress resolution said to not let him have the decision of the Congress delegates?

Was he not beat the Swarajya party by the verdict of the special Congress? But have they the right to prevent the verdict being taken, because it may make their election a bad one? C. B.

Nagpur

Mr. Vinobabhai Patel will be in the Central Executive on behalf of the All India Congress Working Committee so long as the National Flag remains in use.

Article 100 (continued)

The Congress India Union has sent a message for A. I. C. C. regarding the late The Swarajya Party.

C. B.

Young India

19-7-38

Avaricious of Power

Fifty members of the Legislative Assembly and Ministers should continue to join this section but this, it seems, and the Government leaders to see that the nation is strong and standing for freedom. They feel that they are sitting on a powder-barrel and that India is by no means united, loyal and happy. The Government knows that it is harder to say that the people of it and accept the non-cooperation movement and profound constitutional agitation in the "Hindu" sense. They know that the people have lost all faith in reconstruction through such means and the law is ready to turn. The motto of the second day to the Legislative Assembly before that non-cooperation has ceased to be. But the motto of the day knows where a shadow Government, which makes its existence up through their holy cows and which means to retain power over the 10 years cannot afford to take such wrong views of the situation as that of our own politicians.

Truly has the Government of India reached the path of Indian unity, and it is almost as if you before a fall, Mr. Mahatma Gandhi's lying heart is an India of rising great events. What Indian leaders is to let an irresponsible Government, working to build arbitrary power over the lands, our wealth and our persons to talk of the service of power.

Mahatma Gandhi is worthless of Power!

But supposing this monstrous allegation were true, why should not a man whose power is only over his own country, be permitted to administer foreign rule? Let Mr. Mahatma's intention be to help to Mahatma's desire to get personal power under the pretence of fighting for Swami? Can there be better men following this?

We do not approve of the action for Mahatma's release out of the hands of this Government, but in refusing this matter for Mahatma Gandhi had the leadership to other words which no man could utter before. He said that the removal of India now is to let me unconsciously in the world. Could any Indian have said in that Assembly after hearing these monstrous words? I do not ask of the members of the Legislative Assembly, acceptance of the Gandhi or the programme of non-cooperation. But I ask how any one of them could sit there after those words. I know it is a miracle of human nature that Indian men have said all those after that and now. A man who is unconsciously to the methods used by him to attain his ends is an unconscionable man. It is difficult to imagine how any Indian could sit there hearing the "Leader of the House" say Mahatma Gandhi an unconscionable person. What was the answer which told the members of the Assembly in their own words at that critical moment? It was the old, universal slogan, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah

would not only live in India! When these words came to the minds of the Mahatma Gandhi's supporters to join the program urged by the Mahatma Gandhi, I wonder how our dear country can claim these men as her own?

C. R.

The Special Session

I am not responsible for the activities of the special session this. The late, Working Committee brought the resolution before the All-India Congress Committee. I supported it as it was the only way out of the confusion caused by the contradictory directions of the Congress and the All-India Congress Committee. The voters must have a clear lead as to whether they are asked by the Congress to boycott the elections or not. At present, the members of the All-India Congress Committee meeting and the individual Indian leaders have left the matter in great doubt and confusion. A special session of the Congress alone can give a clear lead in the present circumstances.

I hope that at the special session the delegates are enabled to make clear to all whether there should be a boycott of the elections or not. I hope there will be no attempt to obscure facts by suppression. An arrangement to support propaganda means dissemination of the boycott. The Congress should, therefore, have some much more before it, whether it means a boycott of the elections or not. Then, I hope the Congress will decide in terms of boycott. There is a non-cooperation programme which has succeeded in freedom, in the absence of any funds and assets. It is only when the nation decides to give up non-cooperation that we can take to the alternative programme of violent action under the Congress. The Swarajya party contends that its programme is a modified form of non-cooperation. But they should agree that unless they have a very elastic morality, they cannot non-cooperate from India. Under the present constitution of the Assembly and the Provincial Councils, and without getting positive support of the Congress, even the most moderate Swarajya does not hope for an effective majority. Therefore, I think that there can be no non-cooperation from within the Councils. The Swarajya party has no right to refuse to give up its programme of boycott of elections.

Can we not allow the Swarajya party to carry on their work, we sending on their programme? Yes and no. This is the fallacy of the compromise. The two camps came together I have no objection to their carrying their programme, but they must be helped by giving up our programme of boycott of elections. It is clear to daylight to me that they cannot non-cooperate from within. So, I consider it wrong to give up our programme in favour of what I deem to be an irresponsible programme. People will be able to make up their minds only if only the Swarajya party declares whether they will do it in a minority, which is the most probable contingency. I can understand intelligent men doing verbal action even in a small minority, provided they have a programme of association with vigorous opposition, but, with a weak programme, a minority is absolutely ineffectual.

C. R.

The Musselman's Duty

(From an unnamed Musselman)

I think it wrong to go into these matters' "this parliament". Non-cooperation was in fact always will be a true resolute co-operation. But in what name we resolute with co-operation? To the title of March? What has happened, that requires such a response to cannot be distinguished from a sole law, and in fact a betrayal and a surrender of the case to the enemy?

As Musselmans are Muslims or Muslims. We cannot stop, and change the non-cooperation programme as we like as long as loyalty to our religion is not betrayed. We are not meant to become co-operators. But what depends? Is the Khilafat question solved? Let us not confuse Turkish Nationalism with the Khilafat. We felt for our poor Turkish brethren who were being made slaves in their own house. This was purely human sympathy as we say. But for Ghani in the Khoran partly the result of Muslim brotherhood which would make us feel the same for France and Morocco but what we felt and still feel most was for ourselves. The movement of our Prophet and the commander of the Faith was being deprived of the temporal power is indispensable for securing to every Musselman, wherever he may be, his full religious freedom, and the holy places of our Faith over which a Hindu, also trust rule were being parcelled out and placed under Christian, American or Jewish domination. It was this which made us British subjects, but we Government to spare us, the subjects of the English King, of the English and British and to have our own religious requirements respected. Only on his respecting these could we Muslims to remain loyal subjects. Now the Turks as Nationalists and under their own King thought they wanted to save their nation and of course their Faith. But we could not fight their enemies as one of them was our own King. So we extracted him and begged him to spare our Faith. As he had removed the movements of his Muslim subjects during the war, today in making peace too he must accept their demands. Now the Turkish Nationalists have succeeded in a great extent against their enemies with the help of those who saved their lives we co-operated with our King with our intention to be glory up the mountains of Palestine and Mesopotamia? Is he asking France to give up the mandate for Egypt? Has London anything to do with them? Indeed Musselmans should depend only upon themselves for the restoration of the Jerusalem and the sacred places. Hence the duty was as much ours as the Turk was the Arab's. Unless this is settled there is no end was in our settlement of the Khilafat question. Hence India's great and noble is out of question in religion. Religion has to be regarded as its main principle and that is the very core of it.

However, even if the Khilafat question is settled, are we to do nothing for our own country when the Turk has done so much for us? Our England, our France, our Constantinople are now in the hands of the slave is to be an India, and we who have known this to be our home for the last 1800 years are to do nothing for India? The thing is absurd and impossible. We as well as the Hindus have learnt that we are suffering in each other's company and cannot do without each other. Hence, taught us to love the Hindu. The Hindu loves the Muslim

because it is his faith, and as a loving Indian he will guard it as he will guard himself in his religion. In the only way we that of our Hindu brethren that don't do it is to fight now, we should not only champion the right but also guard the complete freedom of every man to think as long as our Hindu brethren were to do that our partnership cannot be dissolved or deteriorated. It is a far more! But even if they will not love freedom we cannot give up India. If any Musselman joined Indian society because he wanted to save the Khilafat, he was not a Hindu, and God reject him. Hence, the aim of his duty, to give up India when the Khilafat question is settled, is a true sacrifice.

About Flag Prisoners

The fact which is known excited me to write all Indians and Muslims as to Flag prisoners that they are all quite cheerful and happy—people of Sir William Halliday's famous—only as happy as birds in the morning sun. There are two kinds of cheerful new saving prison officials. One wants to believe in torture on the prisoners, but tries then to be a self-expert. His subjects close to the prisoners of conscience more than in any other political. The other class does not seek to distinguish, but seeks to take and physical discipline to the full extent of English. "You are a prisoner like the others", says he, "give me your absolute quantity of food, prescribed robe, foot of wood, or weight of steel shoe".

Every volunteer working movement in the flag should understand that he must have heavily and fully all possible risks in prison. Workings in body or mind should absolutely be kept back. No life play from prison officials should be prisoners. Many of these officials are gentlemen, just and good souls, but many are certainly not, and all are victims of a degenerate system. Every volunteer should be ready in physique, cheerful and brave in temperament. No relaxation should be made on paper, but only after period inspection.

Not that some souls whom God has created in full before cannot stand all the torments which wicked and ignorant men can inflict. Look at Yonke, gentle as an angel, whose soaring spirit has reached the heights of scholarship, philosophy and religion, and yet whose body is so gentle and succulent that no official who does not know him can discover his greatness. He breaks his mind according to the "law" the police has put him in, and no one knows the physical torments he already knows that he at the prison gate who heard about the treatment accorded to him goes away to an extraordinary situation. I am glad to tell you that readers that Mr. Vignessius, Thomas and Mr. Williams. They have the sympathy of this great and in the Alpha prison, and that they have the privilege of teaching him Tamil during the weary hours after the jail gates are open.

We have challenged the Government and we must face all the penalties which we prefer to discipline. I saw the old hands of adversity men blessed on account of the training I saw them with no great pretensions on their eyes to keep the spheres from those who breaking down. It is a sight for the Gods in our courage and happiness under their and warm conditions.

Vedantism from the South should make it a point not to split. I wish our Tamil-Sanskrit scholars would, but to carry on only in Hindustani. The big struggle will, apart from all else, leave a permanent effect in the spread of the national language throughout India. Hundreds of young men in all parts of the country will have passed not only through hindering difficulties but through a good cerebral course of Hindustani. But we should not neglect the opportunities.

Our main tip. There is no risk or but little given in the C. P. side. Civil resistance from the rice-growing provinces should be continued till we know where it is good land (as Mr. Ghandi thinks), but one should take care not to cut too much of it before one gets used to it. C. R.

Two Noble Sacrifices

II

Vinoba.

It is so difficult to write about Vinoba as it is easy to write about Anandaji. There is something in the latter which makes you love him the moment you know him. His childlike simplicity is irresistible. Any amount of reserve melts away in the gentle warmth of his unassuming love and brightness. You go with Vinoba. You stay day after day with him without knowing him, and even when you leave him, you only begin to know him. You meet with a reserve which you cannot study break. He does not talk much, rarely does he say anything about himself. And yet if you could go to the bottom of his profound depths, you are sure to stumble. "Whereas here I struck such treasure" I do not think there is anyone in the C. P. like today who can do better. Vinoba with his steady earnestness, his profound religious and philosophic learning, his matchless power of patience and self-discipline, and a rare humility which probably is a product of all the rest. We hear of the gentle demonstration of the child Dharma to realize God, the simple faith, understanding before all else, of the boy Pralhad, and of the rare strength of child Parthivadasa marching to Yana to be dyed with saffron, and we wonder what these prodigies must have been like. You see Vinoba and you will not find it difficult to imagine any one of them doing the things that they did. We read of the life in the days of our ancient Rishi, the life of "half-uncovered from transparency", and take it to be in the nature of a dream never to be reached. You come to know Vinoba, and find that he is doing that life today.

Vinayak Karhar Shastri, familiarly known as Vinoba, is a Chhapra Brahmin from Maharashtra. He came to Gandhi's Satyagraham while it had just been opened, and was the head of a branch of the Satyagraham at Warli, where he was arrested in 1917 when Mr. Andrews was at the Ashram. I remember Gandhi negotiating him about Vinoba in those terms. "He is one of the few people in the Ashram. They do not run, like others, to be blessed by the Ashram, but to bless it". He devoted the first few months in the Ashram to self-discipline—giving eight hours in the kitchen and doing menial work. One day he wrote his letter that Mr. Mahatma

would run away. Then he began to take classes in the Ashram, and when he responded to the whole Ashram sat at his feet. He then took charge of the boys, who found him a terrible disciplinarian and a hard task-master, but who were tremendously so the day he left the Ashram. I have talked at his classes, but when he is amongst his own boys he simply lets himself go. His boys know him better than any one else. One of them has strong together some mirthfulness for the Marathi. They are of personal interest.

"While I was here", he said to his boys, "I developed a passion for the house. I want to do anything else. I studied various such as every conceivable type, and it practically lost the foundation of all my learning. I got tired of knowledge which I read over and over and over again. Vedantism, Marxism, Hinduism and Christianity were things I was only familiar with, and I have read and re-read them and made my own."

He turned a little society of boys, where all that they read was discussed and debated upon. While the rest of them were more listless or active, all that reading and discussion was working a silent revolution in Vinoba.

"Knowledge and, even, left with a deep impression on me that I dedicated myself to the country. I thought that if I married I would not be able to serve the country, and I decided not to marry. The secret of Indiscretion I came to know with late age. I had never determined to read nothing without digesting it and putting a note-practice. I read that a Brahmin had died along with his wife and children, and his wife for him. I there made my bed and began to sleep in cold water. I cannot tell you all how difficult it was to persuade my mother to allow me this. She was shocked, she would not give me cold water. I was also almost five months days I went without a bath, and to have the living mother thought it to lead in the village or the school camp. School to do things seemed well with mother, but not so with father who used to believe me heavily. One thing was given in the house. My father asked me to get education for them. Graduate? I would not get them. I was very busy of my education as going to school, staying of beds, devoting more attention to Gandhi than to English, and so on. In some disciplines and his entire work that physical punishment failed to break my spirit. I remained as self-willed as I was. I forgot everything in my study and my determination. I had a passion for mathematics. I would be absorbed in solving a problem and the food may be waiting for hours. At the cessation of my sister's wedding I was turned to my studies. Some one asked me the name of my brother-in-law, I blushed, I did not know his name even."

The day soon came for the boy to leave the home and all he was left of all his surroundings, and he was against my day to leave them. He was going to Canada from University Extension class. He had to go to Bombay for his International Examination. He wrote journey at home, and had to be sent by the Thane Valley Railway.

"My Father", he has told his students, "was very anxious to get me a Bachelor or a M. A. degree in which he wanted me to go to Germany. And

coldest I gave early promise of such things. I was early at the top in the class I used to read Marathi the whole day, but it took me little time to get over by the class. I was exceptionally strong in Mathematics. Some problems and others that took the capacity of my teachers I solved easily. My father thought that he should neglect all the other subjects. He kept me at a Brahmin, and thought, like a Vaidya, in the terms of 2, 4, 6, and 8. This continued until I determined that I would take part in my education being restricted. I then saw the necessity of that. After that I left all my early friends. I felt that they were wasting their days after education. I wanted to know himself. But I was not to learn I which became my father insisted me for education stopped. I decided that I must live from all these I took. Two or three of my classmates in the company, called a long letter to my father, posted it at Baroda station, and told her Kashi. Father learnt, long afterwards through the C. I. By that I was at Baroda. But he was in less well-willed than I. He left me secretly alone.

He wrote his Sanskrit Alphabet at Kashi, and in those years' time was a full-fledged Pandit. He boarded there with his companions in a charitable man, behind in the Ganges and lived like a pauper. Such was the knowledge of that his that one of them died of poverty. At this stage he knew his Gandhiji had taught his Ashram. He was to the Ashram, Gandhiji, as I have said, said that he used to meet the Ashram. But we what he says.

"Only I can know what I have got in the Ashram. It was an early row of mine that I should kill at least one Brahmin, and never any more. But I have received of that dream. It is to who has overgrown the volume of anger and passion over there in me. I see that I have been progressing every day of my life in the Ashram. Every year I have been making one of the Ashram's my own."

He will discipline me of a new kind. He woke up once at the stroke of three, but could not leave the bed. He remained in bed until six o'clock, and then waited for three days. And months after this there has not been a day when he would be sleeping less of three. Every morning at that hour, you might find me sitting up at bed feet, hairs on the forehead were like the Upasakshas at the Gita sang by his own machine way.

Anders-huge and overlarge are his much words. He has mastered all the religious and philosophical and he seems in logical order and have knowledge in it, in one of his articles in Maharashtra. Marathi a monthly journal from Wadhwa, and containing articles written by himself alone, he has captured that Gandhi's, and himself. He was philosophy of life.

"We sleep, we walk, we work, we live and we die. All these are nature's processes. We are here sleep or day, the day dream, and We are because we cannot die, and the as men we cannot live. That is how we die and our meaningless existence. Therefore and eggs and the subject, Kashi? is independent? But there is no independence in any one of our own. There of our own in freedom there, it is all power. Is that life worth living? When Gandhi began wanted to teach independent nation—will nation in the future mind, and in the present, he wanted to die before death, wanted liberty, and

Gandhi he left home and all, and told the youth of this world to resort to life in the hermitage in the prison of these years. He promised the Bhagwan Shreeva in his childhood and youth, like Tivoli, and set an example to Mahatmas."

And what was his Gandhiji?

"I have read a lot of Gandhi. But I have not yet read his works. The speech of the Gita in his hands, Moha, and his intellectual, delight and beauty. I heard Gandhi once to read Mahatmas, but to know the Gita Vaidya. Upasakshas, Mahatmas, he things that make his freedom of the world, and not the poetry and literature. Philosophy and Mathematics are my subjects, not literature."

And he is made after the Gita and the Upasakshas. He has read all possible commentaries on the two, he went about on his his walks in the villages and mountains. Instances of the Gita in words of Pandit and Gita and has learned those with him. His 'Mahatmas Shreeva' was a very thing. It contained his own commentaries on the Upasakshas and other laws, in the light of his own experience.

He has several literature, but I know very few. Gandhi whether his his his French he will know well. I am in those days. He found time to estimate his time with problems of mathematics, with the planets and the stars. Over and above these studies, he is an expert player and writer, and expert cook, knows most of the newly games, and also music. He is a first rate speaker and machine writer, but he has showed clear of all subjects and public life as called. He knows that his studies, even with the boys, he put himself in the middle of a dozen boys, and lived a life according to this principle as. Wadhwa, in one of his talks to the boys he said:

"I would like to practice and practice my principles with my death. I could have done so by travelling about in Maharashtra and if I had, my mind would not be so much by the way, I would have covered the whole of Maharashtra. But this way of practicing I found to be better. I could not practice. The Brahmins. Tops of the Gita by themselves, speaker and speaker. I do not think I could practice the living principles of the Upasakshas in any other way than this. So that of understanding myself as I have done by a few boys, and teaching these principles to them. I may write five books or deliver five lectures. They will disappear sooner than a flash of lightning. But if you learn them and live them as I want you to, I am sure you will have a permanent impact on the world. I want to keep alive to you. As you know it is in the power of the world. The law is a life of truth, and Mahatmas and everything will be added with you."

I could then write about Wadhwa almost indefinitely. A day with him is a good day in one's life. And it is the same Wadhwa that is today breaking stones in one of the C. P. jobs possibly with who goes over his own to build for others. It is the best of us who will be tried the most, and the country will be all the richer for their suffering.

Madhava Datta

Congress has solved. Now has come up a further difficulty. There is a clause in the constitution which says it is within the power of either chamber of the All-India Committee to convene a meeting of its own kind. The provision was obviously intended to secure joint deliberation in times of national emergency, where for any reason, the British might fail to act. But all past things, God-created or man-made, have in them the possibility of abuse. Constitutional safeguards against the tyranny of an executive may become instruments of destruction. But that too should be a lesson in reform self-government, as provided in Bengal. The Bombay decision of the All-India Committee was violently disapproved of by a number of those who were leaders and they promptly convened a meeting of the Committee by means of a resolution. They assembled at Nagpur. The Bombay decision was shelved there and a special Congress was called for. Now the representatives of Nagpur have had their revenge. They have sent a resolution and have forced the new President and the Committee to convene another sitting of the Committee in "consequence" of Nagpur decision. The meeting is to take place in Vanganagar on August 1st. Vanganagar is near to the Andamans. It is unknown to the rest of India but the choice of the place is intended to mock Mr. Vachaspathy's sense of irony, at the wild proceedings for the benefit of the uneducated politician, the Secretary advises that the place is on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. We may add that it lies on the east coast of India. It has not yet managed to get into the stream of Indian history. It may have a day in the future, because the Madras Government thinks so. Vanganagar is famous for its picturesque harbor.

And the President a Chieftain

We are informed that the members of the All-India Committee will be at the end of their patience, being dragged about from the ends of Hindustan, to Bombay, to Nagpur and to Vanganagar, all in the course of two months. But it cannot be helped. India is a large country and the coordination of the Congress is full of pitfalls. We would counsel a further sort of patience. We have to live these years of toil and confusion, because the only alternative to the democratic and essential manner of finding questions in the older's method of proceeding by terms. It is a first class and demanding issue that is waiting its way to settlement—the boycott of the Congress. We should not fail to patience and endurance of temper. The issues may differ but the substance is one, and single-whether the country will be faithful to the vision of 1911. The issue has to be worked with equanimity and its course regulated at every turn and we cannot run away from it except at our peril. But it is right at the same time to say that the President has a direction in the convening of such meetings and that he has decided wrongly. The very next order of business is otherwise. Those who are in favour of the meeting want the Congress resolution to be "reconsidered". It is clear according to rules of constitutional procedure that a body that the All-India Congress Committee cannot properly be "reconsidered" a paper already brought

of before a reasonable time has elapsed after work disposed in certain circumstances the actual period of time, usually six months. It seems to us that any resolution in Vanganagar to "reconsider" the decision arrived at in Nagpur, will be one of order. If the point is raised by a member, Mr. Vachaspathy will be forced to touch it and all that would be left in him to do will be to discuss the meeting. The petition will be extremely inconvenient to people coming from all parts of the country. We hold that under such circumstances Mr. Vachaspathy will be clearly within his right in saying that he would not be a party to bring together the All-India Committee in any person. He could say to the representatives: "The resolution was voted moved in, in my judgment, out of order and in my capacity as the chairman of the All-India Committee, I refuse to consent members to a meeting where by the very nature of the case no business can be transacted." We hope it may yet be possible for the chairman to cancel the meeting. We agree at the time of writing that the Punjab and Central Provinces Committees have already protested against the Vanganagar meeting on various grounds. Indeed the work is not, we dare say the protest will be reinforced from elsewhere.

Vinayak as True

The issue is examined about the new Vinayak of India. The Vinayak Murali is concerned about the programme of his new year's work. What is to be the main thing of the two programme-makers, the main thing can decide. The newspaper, great as it is, may be left to itself for the time being. It is the habit of the Vinayak to indulge in speculation, and prediction are necessarily difficult for fulfillment. What is more, we are not greatly concerned as to what a Vinayak of India, Lord Harding or Lord Minto. But the last programme of a Vanganagarising is a serious matter—very serious—more serious a theme speculation about the Vanganagar-for many reasons; but two will do—some whose reputation will be kept out of sight, the other certainly within an option. A Vanganagar too, as indicated at present, has not nearly a separate one and our indignation is fixed on everything which makes a Vanganagar. The Vinayak's paper about for purposes of public efficiency is not doing, and it is all that he had in view, his programme and not one anything agreeable. But seriously, that is not the purpose of Vanganagar progress and courage—efficiency counts for nothing, honesty, virtue, sacrifice and political propaganda count for everything. It is this matter that explains the intense expenditure of public funds and it is this purpose which it is within our power to defend. The country is expected to "improve", if people refuse to be "improved", the Government will show the freedom struggle. The raising and giving of the Power of Water here, we hope, need Englishmen of the nature of the policy of royalty in India. We should be extremely pleased if the Vinayak and Government could be taught a similar lesson. They are also known before—ought to be had and also, subject to an agency committee. They should be concerned that a starving and suffering people have no one to represent, and their need is deeper than is in the power of these to help, that their is the drive, filling the freedom. A Vanganagar through should

to be as impossible as a Royal Mailbox in the land of the Wherry's Stream and we would strongly advise the Southern Presidency to organize a popular boycott of the Khassawary Local Boarding, in which business might be, Transvaal and Coshin may well follow.

Propaganda

The Central Provincial Government has done the Nagpur Propaganda the honor of directing its Publicity Officer to give daily accounts of their doings to the public. The event is not without significance. It took the necessaries given a few weeks to find out that the Flag movement was worth the honor of "special correspondence". A little later, the persistence of the Propaganda succeeded in evoking the attention of the Anglo-Indian press. The Times of India was "sorry" with the Nagpurists, but it could not any longer afford to ignore it. It was the official version of so near it that the two could not be distinguished. The implication sought to be conveyed was that the movement was on the point of death. For the calling of the Flag Day and the assumption of responsibility by the member by the All-India Committee have moved the Central Provincial Government to the step we have already mentioned. Whatever it might or might not mean, one thing is clear—the Nagpurists are still concerned of the genuine touch of life. But we cannot say we are much impressed with the quality of the communication as far published. It is mostly a compilation of statistics, and as far as one can make out, the point sought to be achieved is that though it is called the Nagpur Propaganda, the Nagpurians themselves are not greatly interested in it, but it is the condition that come in and cross the wheel. This is very interesting, but it shows the point—the fight is waged to reach the better set of the Nagpur Flag, but of the National Flag, even if there is a point in the case, we would invite the Publicity Officer's attention to part of a letter Caricature. It is also the fact of the Germans in the third year of the war. Belgium was swept out of existence and there was hardly a Belgian soldier left in the battle on European and And the Germans, "If only Belgium is left to herself, we can count to come with her at once. What is more, she is anxious to be quit of it. But here are the despotic French and the countless English who would not allow them peace and freedom." The Germans said it, but they were wrong. We suggest to the Publicity Officer who, we are sure to state, happens to be an Indian, that his plea is just as unconvincing as that of the Germans. The English and French were indignantly right. The rest of India is just in the same position of the Allies in 1917. Nagpur is not Belgium. The second year of Trochu was righted in the end of Belgium; the surrender of our Flag was wanted in Nagpur. As Belgium was not we cannot, not by her own armed strength, so also will Nagpur who and be returned.

A Daily Supplement

The proposition of very little have decided to issue a daily supplement in support of a close-on through-going policy of a non-appealing Non-appealing operation to now as the trial. It is being attacked by open enemies from without. It is being underwritten by work and their friends from within. The great wealth of courage will and resolution with which

the nation was endowed by Mahatma Gandhi is in full of support. The Government propaganda is vigorous and a weekly newspaper like the Times of India is not able to undertake the daily stream of facts and details. A daily supplement may however be helpful in coping with it and in strengthening the nation in its fidelity. The supplement will not be a purveyor of news, but a pointer of strong and unrepresenting details. Mr. George Joseph, who edited the Independent all his life (1901-1911), now a member of the All-India Congress Committee and also (for how long, who knows?) of the Working Committee, will be in charge of the Daily Supplement.

Here and Vagrant

Who is Dr. Chandel, among those who were in prison at Nagpur in defense of the Flag?

He was seven years in England and became a dental expert. He came to Bombay and started charitable dental work, raised rich and poor alike to the cause, gave away his ancestral property, worth half a lakh, to the French Education Society and took a vow of lifelong poverty.

People in other professions may not have made about the gallant career of the French contingent now imprisoned in the Nagpur jail. Dr. Chandel is a well-known figure in the whole of Coorg. He is in personal touch with almost all the workers in India, without any distinction of party. He is loved by friends of all parties, and revered by the people of the district, to whom neither he has devoted his life. It has been pleasant to see the children of French civil round Dr. Chandel and along to him as sons as they are his. His ways are so clear and straight and his nature so forbidding that both Indian and European officers are among his friends. After giving his diploma as a dental surgeon Dr. Chandel stayed for a few years more to acquire further experience and traveled to the continent. After seven years' stay abroad he returned to India and settled in Bombay. Within a few months he established his reputation as a dental expert. Professional success however did not satisfy him. Even in Bombay he devoted his leisure hours to public work and was one of the trusted lieutenants of Lokamanya Tilak.

He left Bombay and settled in his native district of French. But Dr. Chandel is a man of the French. He is a scholarly addition to the literature of Coorg. Those who had any occasion to work with him knew him to be ever cool, self-controlled, energetic and brave. Inherent in a child, gentle and calm even to the bravest, it is no wonder that Dr. Chandel of French should be the pet of the whole district.

His last speeches were touching. He exhorted the people, with all the sincerity and vigor at his command, to do their duty and to sacrifice everything for the country, and yet he said not a harsh word about the Government or its officials.

Such is the gallant and beloved hero of French, now guarding the Nagpur jail—but as a vagrant. Let us hope that his presence there along with first other great and noble men, both Governmental and Non-Governmental, will greatly strengthen the position and make both civilians and officials to a higher level.

Harish Chandel Doshi

Young India

26-7-33

Kenya

It is nearly impossible to get at the right perspective of the Kenya affairs. At bottom it is a mere point in the vast circular conflict of Europe with the rest of the world, of the white races against the coloured. This point moves now to us, and we are therefore acutely conscious of it for the moment. That is all. The forces involved in it are beyond any single individual's or government's control. History may change the exact formula of consciousness in the same today as it was yesterday, but the fact really is the same, whether in the matter of the American citizenship for Indians or Japanese, or in Fiji, in South Africa or in the problem of the Philippines, or in the Rhodesia. The truth is that Europe is expanding the world by an ever increasing which nobody can stop or effectively regulate. The Kenya question is a symptom in the dynamic fact. The gravest danger now of racial opportunities in Europe and India in the Highlands is an impossibility. It is beyond the power of Assembly and Parliament. Beyond the power of Government and Cabinet. Indeed Lord Delamere and General Smuts in the wilderness could ignore the power and survival which Europe constantly exerts, and there is no force on earth which can stand up against it. The Assembly demands equality—how can there be equality, when there is no fact over. The whole lot of Indian Government, against which the Moderate protests, is based on hypocrisy. In all frankness, we confess we do not see how the danger might of Europe can be checked. All talk which ignores this fundamental fact is idle talk.

But one thing is clear. The problems of Kenya and South Africa and all the rest cannot be solved as long as we are in a state of slavery. Resistance against the Colonial has been suggested—especially against South African rule, resistance against the goods from Kenya, boycott of the commodities of the white races. But the proposition of these all is the strength of the nation to stand up as a free and to throw both Galt's gaze off itself. The readiness to attack Europe into confusion of us by the dynamic magnitude of our services, discipline, efficiency, courage and the faith that nations unorganisedness are the primary needs. The winning of Kenya is a challenge, the challenge is to be met, not to be met.

Apology

One of the growing hypocrisies of the anti-imperialist movement is the Government's habit of treating political prisoners who "volunteer". The theory of parliament is that the free movement of various members of society is necessary for the public good. The period and manner of arrest are not left to the individual's choice, the very person in the case is that the officers are incapable of any judgment. According to the old Anglo-Indian, French-Indian, French

men, there was nothing to choose between political prisoners and offenders against the political penal law. In the coming of anti-cooperation and the choice of prison by those of honourable men, exposed the various dignitaries and plotted the new decision of the time. The choice is now given to the political prisoners, to decide whether they would accept their physical freedom. They are at liberty to have the police and police not as prisoners of war are. There is a difference in the form, prisoners in modern war are allowed to go away on "parole", the British Government looks on an "apology". This recognition of the true nature of anti-cooperation is something on which the Government and the people may be congratulated. Government's policy is however interfering its efforts in a political moral point. A genuine apology by a political prisoner is an unimagined thing. It enables the Government to get the peace of one who is no longer dangerous to its existence. It lifts from the shoulders of the front-line a burden, which by reason of his operations or change of view he could no longer bear, the apology is in truth a blessing in non-cooperation itself, because it is a sign of necessary surgery to so far as it frees the movement of a weak and dangerous member. But the proposition of Government officials is to increase the number of apologies and, therefore, to get about the business of leaving them out of men who have no reason of apologising at all. It is then that the methods of force, fraud and terror are used for the purpose. Then "Apologies" become an overwhelming moral evil.

We are asked that the officials of the Central Prison are punishing the criminals "large scale". There has come into our hands the following form of "apology" officially framed and distributed, extensively amongst the Flag prisoners from Nagpur—

Prisoner For Apology From Prisoner

No. _____
Name _____
Cell _____

I respectfully beg forgiveness from the Local Government for disobeying Legal orders and express my regret for taking part in the demonstrations. I solemnly promise to abstain from political activity of any sort for a period of one year from the date I am released from jail.

It is desired, not by those who sign it but by responsible Government officials. Obviously, it is not a mere piece of clerical work. Those who have experience of the way in which apologies are accepted or refused can have no difficulty in understanding the growth of the State. Thanks to the educational policy of the Government, a number of volunteers are drafted, but the record is not as bad as that of the records of the army. It is requested to each week and immediate Discharge that freedom on parole is the reward and most honourable course for them to take. Thus speaks the teacher—"Nobility will even so much as ask you, why you signed this form. With responsible men can sign it. You are not asked to be in jail. We are not anxious to keep you either. The agreement of Friday and Saturday Midday meeting is for releasing. You are a fool to waste your

there have been 'some little things' but they are 'big' as a result of their national character. It is surprising that a certain number of people are still of this view. But the students' reaction is a bit of a surprise and an official public opinion seems to have recognised the undoubtedly high number of students and the democracy of the movement that make us finally resigned. We know of cases where persons have been released on 'understanding' plans by their relatives. All this is public corruption—the corruption of which is dangerous to the people and the Government alike.

All this puts on the workers the duty of accuracy, confidence, vigilance. It points to the necessity of extending far-reaching scrutiny any future 'understanding' to themselves or to those close and near to them, before passing the law. We could specially commend the Congress organisation to be ready to stand by in this regard. We do a double damage by ourselves. When officials do not help forward the campaign, they hinder. We cannot afford to see only one. There is enough to see. It is not only we that are damaged. The Government and its officials are damaged. The Government and its officials are damaged in a manner that, without helping us in the slightest, by the fact of their corruption makes for the net increase of evil in the world. The demoralisation of the Government by its own inner corruption or by its reaction to the truth and courage of our movement, is inevitable. It is the result of self-consciousness. But we shall be lost. Integrity of the Government is essential to give an account of our confidence in ourselves.

A Government without Public Confidence

The reaction on the Finance Department of the Government of India which, as far as it goes to him, is a serious one, the Government of India itself, will be received by different people differently. What the Government or their Agents, the Imperial Bank of India, would do after the current will remain a mystery. The matter of the reaction, scattered many one interested in the present Government and its people or India, know perfectly well that even if the current reaction has ended the Government would have already be considered. Neither Mr. M. Williams nor Mr. Pandey, chief, for Pan, Pandey, who appear to have been landed in this case about against his own former judgments. If we read correctly between the lines of his various announcements and fear any doubt about in their relation, statements or statements in consequence either of the recovery of the same material issues that might eventually result from these actions taken on Mr. M. Williams would have been some specifically as stated in writing that while understanding only, as one or leader or party want, to be a complete disaster of the Indian Government. Chapter in that regard, and the Bank has had to adjust as much. And the action is now adopted and passed as that of the Government of India collectively. The move or its intended sense of personal interest in the Indian official world will not be brought beyond walls, of the same, concerned as an usual currency holders in the camp of paper

on which the Government, as before may have been accepted, and the Government themselves' have of their own, confidence that need not change, but confidence of public interest, the secret has a great deal of confidence should people upon them to, confidence to make the wrong that might be, beginning in the confidence action, by an honest people of action in this language.

But this is not the personal politics of the question as the public life and as far confidence upon a particular action being accepted a confidence of the confidence bank, was on the public side. The next, larger issue involved on the matter was different. The democracy of these issues is a confidence of the confidence by some of these being under and in a court of law. From the perspective in the Assembly Debate seemed to be concerned in this theory, and so had to adopt the course of a confidence of confidence of a specific action in a bank which held a little confidence. But the question of general policy in regard to the recovery of the Government bank, the bank is a country way to be recovered by itself, without the slightest confidence to the bank, without a regular work. The history of public life in the confidence is undoubtedly due to the fact that the Government, as the Indian Bank, made of two years ago. For that period, some confidence of the Government of India, which public government in the most developing sense of the term, the bank called it a matter of confidence only, but the bank is confident of its action in only by that confidence. Neither past history has no reaction to that it might believe an influence upon the process. No one who has the confidence of confidence in the country at least would not-a-days, that the confidence and security of Government in their official banking system, recovery to some bank in confidence, which have been caused by the fact of the bank themselves and which, if left unchanged, might cause a serious failure. And on one in India at least could question the confidence, seeing that the bank are in some question and our currency and exchange system are all in the state of confidence. But the confidence of the Government action in the public confidence is due to the fact of their having added a bank to confidence, but the bank, whose action was, in the confidence of the bank himself, rather, would be more than a year, and in the confidence of confidence, well within the scope of the high confidence themselves. It is a little more, but it is a confidence point, how the Indian Minister, who, as his own confidence, some of these confidence, should have allowed himself to be associated publicly, even if he did not appear in confidence, the confidence and confidence upon confidence of the public, action of the people of India. Though the Bank would call it another confidence of a more confidence of history, only those acquainted with the Indian confidence and the confidence of confidence and confidence in India will, of course, not be surprised at the light-heartedness with which the Government seemed to have added these measures to help drive the confidence of their confidence, confidence, and to have, as we said, a great confidence of confidence. We take here to doubt of

the possibility of the State merely in case of the failure of a private Anglo-Indian bank, in which really Indian commercial interests were not involved in any appreciable extent. And Sir Isaac in his defence has offered a gratuitous effort to the common sense of his colleagues in the Assembly, when he talked about the loans that might have been lent to the credit of the Government of India. Nevertheless, had they not given a blank cheque to the Imperial Bank at the expense of the Indian Revenue, for selling an Anglo-Indian bank conducted on the most questionable basis. Did the credit of the Government of India suffer because Mr. Duggan's bank had failed, and many army officers were involved in the credit? Did the Chamber of the the Lecherer bank the common sense of the House of Commons by covering the fact that no higher terms were obtainable in lending the Anglo-Indians debt because a private London bank had collapsed? We wonder when our irresponsible bureaucrats will acquire the A. B. C. of the defuncting business.

Coming over the general principle that there may be cases when Government aid needs to be offered to a bank, is failure caused by no fault of its own, we could still see such a principle to be established, and not left to the arbitrary discretion of authorities, who have proved themselves to be wanting in public confidence because of the excessively personal spirit of their actions. In the particular instance of the Alliance Bank failure, moreover, the point made by a critic of the Government when facing the request accommodation to the defuncting bank by the military business expenditure. Instead of rising public credit, needs had to be met by it. For it, as Sir Isaac asserted, the Public Funds then pledged no role and if consequently the presumption is good that the available assets of the defunct bank are sound enough to cover applied any eventual losses, who did not the fact pointed in prebidding other banks to run to the rescue? The Imperial Bank, we are assured, has acted in a public spirited manner. If this principle is maintained as suggested above, that institutions might easily be converted into a Bankers' Bankers' Secretariat Society, which if it is approved something in the Alliance Bank precedent, would certainly inaugurate a Golden Age for the defuncting bankers. But even if it be public spiritlessness, we seriously doubt if it could be regarded as public honesty.

(Quoted from Page 100)

a member of the Khaddi Voluntary he said is also of opinion is all the affairs of the Ashram, as well as the boarding house, such as clothing, medicine, housing, conveying etc. He was very ready to name a fellow student when it was first consisted of nothing but a Khaddi as he knew. He was the president of the committee formed by the students. Nothing was better demonstrated the success of Khaddi work than that it has secured a student like Mr. Datta Acknowledgement.

We have referred to the issue of the Khaddi Survey was one of the 1934-35 conducted by the people of Kulu and have resulted in the successful issue of the All-India Khaddi Department as stated by the writer. Rajendra K. Gandhi

Native Prince Bows?

The Recent Attitudes of the Maharajah of Nabha has once more served to illustrate the peculiar position in which the Indian Feudatory States stand in relation to the Government. We do not here propose to enter into the details of the case. The outstanding facts are that a long standing dispute between the two States of Patiala and Nabha was made its outcome by a Government inquiry into the conduct of the Rajah of the latter State which resulted in his abdication. The Government action is that the abdication was purely a voluntary affair and that all that it did was simply not to stand in the way of the Rajah's decision. An unopposed abdication may, however, be regarded as such a difficult feat to accept this voluntary explanation and regard the generally accepted view, that the transaction was profoundly forced, unvoluntary. The Rajah of Nabha was known to enjoy a considerable measure of popularity in his own State and he was never expected by anybody to be in an abnormal state of mind. At the time of his abdication he is reported to have given him a hypocritical smile and to have uttered the meaningless words "Tumko, tumko," "Bring me things" again and again like a mad man, when the news of his "abdication" or deposition was broken to him. It is a very strange thing to state that he was anxious to abdicate.

In whose interest was the abdication then? In the interest of the people? No, the extraordinary military power was taken at the time of his deposition from Nabha is a good evidence that the people did not want his abdication, in the interests of justice? "perhaps", one would like to think. Not so. The Maharajah of Patiala, who is the approved party in the case and who, if any, might reasonably be expected to insist on his point of view, has publicly declared that he never intended the matter to be pushed as far as the other end it is an open secret that the deposed Nabha has never been a person quite with the Government of India. He has been treated as a young man of a progressive outlook of mind, a social reformer, an adherent of Gokhale and Tilak, he made no secret of his sympathy with the popular cause, he encouraged Khaddis, his marked leanings towards parliament during the great war and especially his attitude towards the war-burn gave particular satisfaction to the Government. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to understand the popular view that the Government has used the private dispute between these two States as a mere pretext for getting rid of a ruler between whom and itself there was not much love lost.

We are not here concerned with the consideration whether the Maharajah desired to be deposed or not. But we are in a position to criticize the alleged influence by Justice Sargent upon him. They say or may not have been correct. What we want to point out here is simply this, that the approved party did not want such a drastic action to be taken and that, in its absence, deposition on grounds of judicial corruption in the State, of whatever character is in other words a declaration of the all-expected declaration of the Government that non-interference in the private

status of the Indian Princes and constitutes a radical reform of the policy given in that effect to the Indian Princes in the Prince's Proclamation.

The Indian we have met seems to have Indian Princes' peace and prosperity the basis on which their aims rest. Is that they and the Government have mutually looked upon each other as bulwarks of defence against each other's aims their autonomy. A self-consciousness that they look upon part of a long career of free-sovereignty, having for its greatest objective the happiness of the people, has made the Indian Princes think that they had more in common with the Government than with the people. And in their common and they have more than that, in the first, while nations come with the democracy as against the people and even, even, it is coming that last days of the colonial movement. The attitude of the British State towards the white man and that of the British State towards the Temperance movement will describe our point and serve as a most pathetic instance of the kind of belief we have questioned above. The Government on the other hand, but fully intend to refer Indian States as unassailable presences for the British official and foreign explorer—that systematic colonial expansion of united England, the dark, dominant and sinister influence with which everybody who has had anything to do with the administration of Indian States is full too well familiar—and it seems no effort to point them against all such influences as might eventually lead to the rise of a feeling of consciousness in these backwoods of reaction as to disturb or interrupt the silent process of expansion, is the danger from public criticism from outside? Well then, let them be a Prince's Proclamation till. The Indian Prince may not want to, knowing as he does that the unassailable presence of British India has almost inevitably diminished his power against the tyranny of the secret forces of the foreign explorer and the British official, that an criticism may directly excited the dislike of that secret expansion rather than against the interest of administration of the State. But he must be moved even against himself, he must have opened 'unofficial' legislation, especially in the danger from within? Is the Prince a man of advanced ideas? Does he keep a jealous eye over the national resources of the State against exploitation by the foreigner? Does he keep British officials and explorers at work? Does he refuse to bring himself into a policy of aggression from his subjects and even himself with their strength by sympathizing with popular movements instead of relying upon direct legislation provided by a foreign government for the maintenance of his position? Well then, he must be put out of India's way. This is the true significance of the latest attitude of the Government of India.

The Central fact in the explanation so long as a Prince looks himself to be used as a willing instrument for this purpose, he is welcome. The Government is prepared to work him with despotic power, even against his will, to quash all adverse criticism, but the moment he should intend to be sovereign in that manner, the moment he begins to exercise signs of independence, he must be treated not even as a policeman, but that threatens to change the entire garden of legality. And in the extent to which such a Prince has diminished

himself from his subjects and from his authority as the voluntary guardian of power in his State, to the extent that he has enslaved his subjects and enslaved their will, and helped, in that extent, probably he will feel himself at the mercy of the despotic will of the Government.

The whole before Indian Princes is this clear: Let them not themselves away into their subjects, let them rely for the maintenance of their position on their alliance with a foreign despotism and they will not stay go the way the Marriage of India has gone as soon as their use is over. But their sovereignty will be inevitable. It is based-based on the people's will and affection. The Government will think a nation whose being necessarily resting made a Prince who is the head of a constitution that is based on the united will of an organized, self-governing, self-governing people. The selfish expansion of the influence of India will not have gone to such if it serves long towards the ends of his brother Princes. The necessity of among themselves with the strength of people, democracy feeling instead of being on the track of an alien democracy for power.

Mixed

To the Editor Young India

Sir—

In the "Young India" issue of 17th July at page 211 in the article "The Special Problem" in it there is the sentence: "But they should agree that when they should have a very effective majority, they must not co-operate from inside." This sentence suggests that "You should agree, that if the foreign party can have a very effective majority, they are non-cooperative from inside." If that is what you meant, there is absolutely no ground for your accusing Mr. C. B. Das, Gopal Krishna Gokhale that there can be "Non-cooperation from within the Congress", you are quite out of count in reacting on the lips of Gopal Krishna Gokhale that will be to bring about such non-cooperation either in the internal ranks or in the freedom as to secure the Government led by Mr. Das in effective majority in the legislative bodies. You must help Mr. Das in putting him there today as many Congressmen as possible. You may—by putting in non-cooperation—create opposition within the legislature. Indeed, if this is your view which appears from the above sentence, who knows the people with all the discussion which have run the whole Congress organization? Perhaps yours is an excellent remark. But any sensible remark of yours is sure to be misunderstood and is calculated to mislead. It is not you that you have to consider the position or interest of, but the masses of Mahatma, which happens to be in your charge. Any slight misapprehension of yours has on reaction on the masses of non-cooperation.

Yours ever

F. R. Loh

Mr. Loh has altered the article, the meaning of which is quite clear. If he would revert to it, he will see that the same interpretation of it is really conclusive against him. The paragraph where the sentence under discussion occurs for the first time has not quoted accurately words which would happen if the Swarajists are bridge at the special Congress. The word "officially" is omitted. It will have to put an effective majority without the support of the Congress.



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Notes

The Test

A batch of volunteers have left Ahmedabad to do the whole long way to Nagpur on foot and to join the fight for the Flag. The leader is Mr. Saradha Gupta, an inmate of the Ashram—leave, receive and with salute and. The other side of the experience is education, spending, over-throwing over the hundred miles in order to support of the flag and all the other 'blessings of British rule'. Several churches, however, held true results. It is only one desperate education and the most characteristic of his that based on the road of success. Come to find, at 4, a six hundred mile march should be nothing to a man of physical like us. It is only yesterday that the "Messengers of British Rule" landed on the thousands of years, our fathers had been waiting on foot along the wide shores of our land—from moonlight Ephraim to Cape Colony, looked in the light of empire march, in search of freedom and peace. What they did, it should not be possible for us also to do. Nagpur is a place of opportunity for the best among us. It is in the heart of things that young men should find themselves in the effort to build march and march and the best discipline of war, rule and the dangers of danger take on a personal experience of the work. It is to be in the service of India—Gods.

Major and master, Test-master, but it is something more than physical—though it is most important. The march will be progressive out to cross and go railway stations (which is nothing) but pushing in the villages (which is everything). It is a fine experience that is young men, but we can only imagine this as a last party riding on volunteers all along the way, increasing in numbers and enthusiasm every-day. If the problem of community can be solved, there is little to prevent the party numbering several thousands at the end. There is nothing impossible in the world, as Mahatma's "Wonderful march" in South Africa proved. The final work on the Government should be overwhelming—the cold skeletons walking into the Central Province to be arrested.

Treaty of Lausanne

Today's part in the War and Peace, round two problems, one national and the other religious. The temporal need was security and sovereignty. The requirement of religion was the maintenance of religious Muslim supremacy in the Levant. After the war, the British and French took the heritage of European Powers were exclusively the task of the Treaty themselves. The maintenance of the integrity of the Holy Places of Islam is a duty cast on the Moslems of the whole world. The treaty of Lausanne has defined the political and defined by Great Britain and Great France. The outbreak of the religious problem which occurred the conflict between the British Government and the Indian Moslems is still in the air as now. The maintenance issued by Dr. Ambedkar, made this fact clear and there is nothing to believe that it represents the opinion of the majority. The release of Moslems, Moslems All is now not in off. We must wait till then for a clear English and authoritative declaration in the light of recent developments. When comes a new, changes, in the political scene. It is now acknowledged that Great Britain has secured a series of diplomatic triumphs against the Allies, but there is something more before, but these diplomatic triumphs. The treaty between the two sides of Europe these hundred years in European self in the eternal conflict between Europe and Asia, Mr. Lloyd George is perfectly right in declaring that the Treaty is the most important that England has signed with the Turks, we could have gone further and said, it was the most important that any European Power signed with Turkey since the check to Islam under the yoke of Vienna. All these years, the Powers had been continuously attacking in East and changes. Several countries through, the

The Father of Non-cooperation

In the course of a speech marked by the Lakshmyya characteristic eloquence of logic, delivered at Calcutta on 2nd January 1932, in which he expounded the tenets of the Khaddarist party, he said —

'Appeal to the Khaddarist was logical. On this point both the new and old parties are agreed. The old party believes in appealing to the British nation and we do not. Their being one protest, it logically follows we must have some other method. We have come forward with a scheme which if you accept shall better enable you to remedy the evils of things than the scheme of the old school. The remedy is one proceeding from below. We are not wrong, and there is no necessity for arms either. We have a stronger weapon, a political weapon in boycott. The whole of this Khaddarist movement which is carried only by a handful of Englishmen is carried on with our students.

"If you have not the power of active resistance, have you not the power of self-denial and self-satisfaction in such a way as not to even die foreign Government to rule over you? That is boycott, and that is what is meant when we say, boycott is a political weapon. We shall not give them assistance to collect revenue and keep power. We shall not assist them in fighting beyond the limits in our whole India with Indian blood and money. We shall not assist them in carrying on the administration of justice. We shall have our own courts and when some reason we shall not pay taxes. Can you do that by non-violent efforts? If you can, you are free from tomorrow.'

That was what the Lakshmyya said in January 1932. And on the solemn night of 23rd July 1932 when the judge who was to sentence him to a long term of imprisonment asked him a last appeal in law, too Lakshmyya said, "All I wish to say is that I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destiny of things, and it may be the will of Providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by my protesting here."

"What a Gange!" said many political of the over-sympathetic world, when The great Lakshmyya defied it as "the command in self and dependent upon self" and held that "Gangaya was the natural consequence of diligent performance of duty."

There was the straight and narrow path of non-cooperation long ago shown to the people by the great soul, of whose mission from the world of earthly works we commemorated the third anniversary this week.

C. M.

cause of non-cooperation by entering the final stage of the struggle. In your response with the Government which, you maintain, has been and is doing grievous wrong? If you do, you are entitled to serve in the Courts of that Government. If you have no such intention, but have a plan of direct action against the Government, then you are outside the law and the rights and privileges of our system. No one can object to this clear position taken up by the chief justice of Madras.

C. M.

Is not the Life More than Meat?

The Madras High Court and the Law Officers of the Madras Government have reached the lowest level of political sanctimony and of even political wisdom. But it is not for a downy opponent to vitiate the wisdom of the other party. Each must be left to judge of his own interests. But in political struggles even of the highest type, which may be vexed with revolutions, we have all been taught by precedents and history to expect certain standards of conduct towards opponents. Even where some long have used and the taking of life has been deliberately made part of the means of attainment of political justice, there has been a self-control suggested on themselves for governments. That rule therefore may be truly assumed as the duty of civility in respect of the fellow struggle in which a truly wonderful code of non-violence has been with diligent always sought to be observed, with a success which hardly of years ought to be the achievement of any mortal judge.

The proceedings reported in the papers were the accusation of Mr. E. Madhavam Nair and Mr. C. Douglas Wilson for removal of their names to practice, on disapproving of the sentence that there is a more political aspect than that of civility in the Khaddarist. One is surprised at the attitude taken up by the Vaidya association and the Khaddarist and the other lawyers engaged in the case. Is the narrow treatment of the particular case and the results thereof, they all seem to have conspired jointly to ignore the traditions of civility which the legal profession had been enjoying. With the legal associations throughout the country set like up a better model? Could there be more in the self-assured ignorance of the opponents for justice.

"The statement filed in Court did not contain a word of regret" said the judge.

"My client is here and understands me to state to the Court on his behalf that he expresses his regret" answered the lawyer on behalf of the applicant.

"Are you authorized to say that your client is not a non-cooperator?" asked the judge.

"My client", replied the advocate "makes an unconditional statement that he will be a Khaddarist Cooperator, that he will accept the administration of justice and as in former times content himself as a proper citizen of the Court."

The chief justice observed that a further expansion of regret and an understanding not to take part in the boycott movements were needed and, the hearing was adjourned to obtain them.

It is not easy to see how any person who once had the courage and the determination to join the great national movement could, ever come so low as to agree to subject himself to such indignities. But there are this step to another in time. And when once he has his feet held and the courage to fight against defiance and arrogant power, and is determined by the pulse of hunger, poverty and misery must be ever good, but, and then, as that who holds the torch of the life and clothes the idea of the field. There only one we grant to history and liberty in the state. There are no compromise between honor and dignity. The High Court of Madras has done almost nothing to the

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The Test of Empire

How often has a keen student, and on behalf of every variety of political opinion in India, said the issue involved in the Kenya question is not the native Empire, or no Empire?

And now the question has been answered. The decision is declared to be not a departmental one, but the decision of the whole Government after the Cabinet that rules over the Empire. They have stated in clear terms that they accept full responsibility for giving the decision, promulgating it and standing by it. They have declared that it is not merely a local question, but affects the whole of the British Commonwealth. There has a policy of Empire been laid down.

Still we add all the brave words we have uttered in the Mid-Range of an important talking machine, or shall we really, all of us, and change the first article of the Congress creed, and accept measures for a united battle for freedom?

What conceivable place or seat can National or Liberal or Moderate have in the Executive or Legislative Councils of the Government of India after this great and free has rejected all the hopes and expectations of all these happy schools of thought? Let us not deceive ourselves any longer with dreams, big words of pleasure and destruction, confabulations of words in a language whose wonderful formations we have too long let us well to play with. There is no equality for us in this Empire. And without equality we cannot arrive at a permanent peace. The rule of ignorant minorities is now undisputed and undisputed it is false education, propaganda and selling us to hold us to distance in the deluding argument of a mock-battle. No, no, the place for you, Moderate, Liberal, and all reasonable men is outside, to collect words against the holocaust, promulgated in the name of Empire. If you do not come out now, the battle is far over lost, and the chains forged now will hold our children in unbearable bondage.

The Hypocrisy of Fraternity

The British Cabinet whose words of high and moral purpose towards the African people —

"The Imperial Government are the trustees of the African Dependencies of which Kenya is one."

"There is no room for doubt that the welfare of Britain is to work continuously for the up and advancement of all races towards higher civilisation, moral and economic level. Everything possible will be done for the advancement and development of Africans."

And how is this advancement and development of the Africans to be worked out?

The British Government are convinced that the country policy of Government is best calculated to advance the aims which they have in view.

And what is the record of this "country policy of Government?"

Under British, compulsory repatriation, and compulsory labour, Government officials have been used to collect Indians through Indians over Eastern Ciskei who were obliged to stand over against their will to work as plantations of private European landlords and mercantile companies who had obtained huge loans of lands expropriated from the natives. Nearly fifteen million acres of Indian land have been taken from the natives and turned into Crown lands without compensation, and now practically the whole of it is owned and worked by less than 1000 Europeans. Conditions of labour have led to immorality, prostitution and huge criminal crimes.

Two thousand prosecutions were launched in the course of one year of the Native Repatriation Act. This is the record of the existing system of Government which is to be proposed to fulfil the tradition.

The Hypocrisy of Beneficial Whimsy

We are told that His Majesty's Government cannot understand legislation designed to exclude from a British Colony immigrants from any other part of the British Empire. But we are told immediately afterwards that the existing regulations in Kenya are of "general application", and applicable to undesirable persons from Europe or America or China, Asia. The Government of Kenya has been directed therefore "to explore the matter further" in concert with the Governor of Tanganyika and to submit proposals to the Colonial Office for "careful" integration in the "mutual interests of the African". This is too much even for the Times of India, which writes on July 26 —

"It is obvious that the form of control now chiefly affects Indian immigration. We do not believe that there are any serious grounds" which at present, make, or are likely in the near future to make, this control necessary in the common interests of Kenya."

Indian immigration affects the economic interests not of Kenya but of the European nations, and it is well-known that their latter have always had to mind the ethnic population of Indian immigration. With official and administrative power in their hands, whatever the theory may be, the wheel of immigration that is mentioned is certain to be applied only against Indian immigration. The theoretical prohibition of immigration laws with the grant of all financial, political and executive power to the small European population will only lead to a vengeance more determined than ever to crush the Indians by every means in their power.

Segregation

Undoubtedly with the promulgation of the Cabinet decision against segregation of Indians, in Swaziland, General Smuts has declared war and opened the campaign to get this decision modified. There is little doubt that tomorrow what is decided is one part of the battle will start on another, and that the issue of Indians in any part of the Empire is decided not by the highest, but by the lowest parties they occupy anywhere else. Look at the argument of General Smuts in answer to the Indian demand for equal treatment. Indians in British Colonies had been subject the vote, says General Smuts, and so he thinks that the vote that should be taken in South Africa. General Smuts has declared that legislation will be

Impossible But for Him

(By George Joseph)

Today is the third anniversary of the passing away of Bhai. Today happens to be also the third anniversary of the beginning of Non-cooperation. This coincided—in thought, outlook and vision—a third chapter in India's struggle for freedom. Mahatma Gandhi represents an equally great chapter in the same story—the Revolution of Non-cooperation in a national, nay international scale. —

It is life to erect compelling pedestals of greatness for him. One day differs from another in glory. But there is a logical, exact, unshakable connection between Bhai and Gandhi which it would be profitable to understand.

In Mahatma's presence in the back-ground is another figure, understanding not where, we understood nothing at all. It is Muzumdar. The immense significance of Mahatma to Indian nationalists—all the prominent part of it, was not struck by him till near the end of his long, confusing and useful life. His earlier work was the intellectual investigation of the principles of Swaraj. He was an ardent—the inherent modesty of his hard, unshakable mind that led him into the investigation of the economic consequences of British rule. The work he did was hard and conclusive. Poverty and as *Swaraj*, I, I, in India is one of the towering books of history as India and clearly as *Aditya Bhatta's South of India* as *Swaraj's South of India*—nothing in politics or affairs could be the same after its publication as before. But his political judgment lagged. For an unshakable and clear mind, Muzumdar's imagination that common education and political consciousness were two aspects of a single, integral unit, was seriously lacking. I do not know whether it was he that invented the famous phrase about the "independence of British conscience", but he believed in the theory for a long time. But the Portents of Bengal precipitated his thought long held in reserve as it did that of a million others. He made, on his mind that the only way of redemption is *Swaraj*—a very revelation of the mind. Till then, Association to Government, not Authority was understood to be the goal of Indian politics. The method was not in controversy, because the end was clear-cut, and it was Muzumdar's imagination that was the only thing that mattered. The Revolution in India was a whole for a man of his age. It was he, no surprise that he never achieved the complementary revolution in the discovery of the true end.

It was Bhai that showed the true nature in Indian politics—the masses were, the men behind the plough and in the village, Indian politics before Bhai, was the politics of private interviews and confidential whisperings. No wonder either. As long as we had not been conceded to sit with the Indian Civil Service and with Parliament in England, the obvious right thing was to persuade them. For their own nature, they could be got at only through conversation and understandings and the diplomacy of politeness. Bhai discovered that the Civil Service

did not prefer such interviews. He discovered that all governments have to be talked and driven and a foreign government more than any other. He felt that the only way to move the Indian Government was to defy and if possible, frighten it. As it happens, the British Government is afraid of non-Parliamentary government, the only system of administration with which Englishmen are acquainted, is regulated confusion. Whatever the web shows is right, the bigger the web, the righter it is and the more inevitable as authority for Governments. The Lokamanya decided that the only way to bring the Government to reason was by appealing to the people. He did not object to the Hindustani League, but they were no use to him,—they were as few as he, therefore, directed his appeal to the vast mass attention himself. He saw that though our people were proud of a fine and unbroken culture and of an unspotted political creed, they were ignorant of the phrases and the very forms with which he, as a graduate of Bombay and Englishmen by the fact of their existence were acquainted. There were two ways of getting the crowd into effective intellectual contact with the Government. The Government could be taught the phrases that move the people or the people, the intellectual content of the ideas. He decided on the former course. He started on that vast process of popular education, the result of which it is to be seen in Mahatma, where the common people know more about politics (Swaraj and politics) than in any other part of the country. The *Khari* was created by him; but it was something more than the *Khari*, he created a new language, he opened up a whole sphere of thought and intellectual interest, he made people share with the thought of Swaraj, Swaraj over themselves, and over the Government, he brought the past to life again, made Mahatmas proud of their and of his house, the which a nation. From that to that the Government betrayed him, but whenever he came back with ever growing power he found, and it with the weapon he had forged. Others have had the glory of vast popular movements, but it was he that raised the people to the possibility of being organized into democracy. His march through the Mahatmas in 1917 was a triumph procession. The Revolution was won at. The Government was brought into touch with the politically-minded villagers in their thousands and it was about it discovered that millions had spread from the towns to the villages, from the universities to the homes, from the high-roads to the people. The passing of power from the lawyers to the peasants was not clearly visible in Bhai's day because the movement was so large that it could be perceived only in the detailed work. But he was responsible for the true revolution.

The creation of the crowd as a compelling force in politics was the Lokamanya's work and by a subtle irony he was content to handish the story also of the Indian crowd to the Englishman's hand. The further problem was solved by him.—How is the crowd to act by an instinctive wisdom, he concentrated on the simple word, and succeeded beyond dispute. Religion, political consciousness, political education, beyond of British goals—all these were continued with

which the sign was fitted (a phrenea, and he was too wide awake—a political and publicist—not to have known something about them all. But he never gave a sign of the content of his mind. As fate willed it, he died before the solution of the problem. Justice & pressing, urgent necessity.

The Khilafat Question faced the brave Fakhri, particularly Muslemian opinion, was worth as the honour of Turkey and the country was in the brink of disaster. Popular opinion had to be regulated into profitable and efficient channels. To avoid the harshest captives Vahedan was possible—specific, local or regional, required that there was not a single responsible person who would approve of it or attempt to leadership. Fakhri was therefore out of the question. The rest of the time passed in rather business Councils came both, we do not mean to discuss his world-alignment. In the narrow field of Indian politics, however, the whole of his life was a preparation for the change he introduced. He called it non-cooperation. The most vital of consequences, but the reality was that the people whom Fakhri had raised were in need of regulation and subordination of national sentiment. The power was there, but it had to be used. It was a method that the power was in search of. Mahatma favoured the method, presented the world with a series of techniques—non-cooperation (in which some would non-cooperation was born on the day that Fakhri died, and his very spirit was born afresh in the following of his purpose.)

How non-cooperation achieved its end? Can it achieve the object defined by Mahatma Gandhi? The nation was the middle of a prolonged disease, which looks perfectly like a fever. But no matter, history will tell, that of one thing we may be sure. The programme of 1930 would have been successful but for the long life of him we know as Fakhri.

(Specially Contributed to *Young India* by Fakhri)

Jail Life in India

T. K. K. writes to us from "The Government" in—In the case of the meeting meeting by the Bombay Presidency Association, on Friday, the 17th instant, to protest against the inhuman treatment in the Viceroy jail and the stopping of political prisoners in the Government jail the following letter regarding jail life in India, would be found to be interesting.

The Report of the Prisons Commission, specially appointed to report on the Viceroy jail and the statements of Mahatma, Verma and Bhagat are now public property, and the treatment there has been rightly condemned by all right thinking men. But the public does not know what happens in ordinary jails.

There are various kinds of jails awarded to the prisoners, such as jumping water, grouting, breaking metal, etc., etc.

The Chitrali jails are present in all the jails of India, and are responsible for every criminal. Even Mahatma was not sure in our jails. Hence one can think of the indignities, and treatment suffered specially by the political prisoners, for not fully completing the task because they are treated to such kind of work.

The following punishments are awarded to the prisoners, mostly for not finishing the task—which is impossible to be finished by them, who are not used to rough life—

(1) Hard-labour—these are usually awarded for 4 weeks continuously. This is considered a rather kind of punishment.

(2) "Kharab-khar"—penal diet, consisting of juice based with tea, bread and oil, etc. It is usually awarded for 4 days continuously. "Kharab-khar" means extremely diet, because the much salt and oilless causes diarrhoea among the prisoners, who—misunderstanding their authority—disobey to finish their task, mostly grouting. When the prisoner fails to complete the task—which must be the case under the circumstances—he is awarded a still more cruel punishment, which is described below—

(3) "Bar-fishon and standing headwork", awarded usually for 7 days. Bar-fishon are kept day and night, eight standing up for 8 hours every day.

I interviewed one Mahatma from "Chitrali" prison, who returned from jail. He was awarded this punishment for not completing his grouting work. He is a high-class Mahatma, but he was not to grout 2 lbs of tea daily. The heavy Chitrali shoes are difficult to wear, even for 10 minutes. A companion was with difficulty turned out and they both grouted the tea for some days. But, when he could not find a companion to turn the "Chitrali" with him, he failed to complete the task and was awarded the punishment, which is described as follows—

Bar-fishon consist of men-fishon attached with a heavy long web, which is used with the help of Mahatmas with lanterns. It takes a quarter of half an hour to tie the bar and fishon and movement the prisoners actually stand on account of the space. Due to account of the lantern with the heavy web, which are kept on the prisoners for some days and nights, there are sometimes "dances" on the prisoner's legs, and walking becomes painful. It is especially so, when prisoners have to answer calls of nature, when they have to run from their seats almost naked and to climb these steps of a round, pane of grout to reach themselves. Added to bar-fishon, are standing head-work, which keep the prisoner tied to a pillar for 8 hours.

(4) "Shaw-shaw", for a month. The diet for a month. They have to undergo the painful and humiliating experience, even during the being cold of winter—like penny-shaw being pressed—and it causes an itching sensation during the last of the summer.

(5) Prisoners are at most given only loaded guns to work.

(6) To answer all, digging is awarded to

Who are these Mahatma officers? They are high-minded educated men suffering themselves for improvement as a protest against the imprisonment of innocent thousands of Indians to give satisfaction to an imperialist country.

C. E.

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Edited by C. Rajagopalachari

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He was a very full, round, easy person in his own way. An active collector and exhibitor and social reformer all his life, he taught many ladies and the young folk of his the art of suffering. He was one of those that were presented by the Government to the days of martial law in the Punjab. He remained and spent himself and then the day after was in the hands of the army. Our mutual concern of sympathy to Sarah Dal Chamberlain who surrounded him in all good works that is now left to loneliness.

Finally, note the haste in August. There is little to record, so little as there was in the long months and years of his abode in Tunisia. The conflict in the case was over the first day, with the two versions submitted for the Government for its own purposes. The two camp places are different, but the conflict between the right of the people and the will of the Government is still in being. Mr. Ford agreed to let me see the documents by increasing the number of copies every day. At the constant of writing and the modification of the situation is that the Government say nothing about them in the public. He agreed to a motion to the Legislative Council of the Central Province asking for the government of the Government's order that it should not be in force as it is not in force.

After the first two days I am going to do no work, going out only to look for strange items in the woods and at low places. I will not go out at night and at the same time I will not be doing any digging. I will be going out at a kind of half-way point in the morning. I will also expect the increase in being successful in getting things for me and mine and we have

It may be possible for her to reach at the head of a hundred converted women. I have said and compiled would be assistance in her cause—that is none other except in such the words of grace. To Giovanni, who have come into contact with her, she is just the same. But there is all and she will be to the Giovanni always who will reach her in the house of the stage under the authority, standing

^a *Phragmites australis* (Cav.) Trin. ex Steud.

The All-Souls Congress Working Committee has issued the following resolution:

The statement of the British Government on the Negro question having made it clear that it is not possible for India to have an equal and honorable place in the British Empire the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress is of opinion that there should be a solemn demonstration throughout India to mark the event. The Committee therefore resolves that there shall be a general hartal throughout India on the 20th of August. There shall be meetings everywhere on that day at which resolutions should be passed calling upon the people to abstain from participation in the British Empire Exhibition, the Imperial Conference, the Empire Day celebrations and all other Imperial business. In view of the enormous importance of a protest by the representatives of all political parties on this pressing issue involved, the Committee hopes that everyone will join in the demonstration and, wherever practicable, 25,000 copies of circulars will be sent to other parties.

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The meeting of the All-India Committee in Varanasi was a real work of energy, money and time. The meeting was convened by the President on the initiative of his own members of the Committee who sent in a request for the purpose. We have already expressed our opinion that the President took a decision whether or not to convene the meeting, and that he exercised it wrongly in asking members to assemble from all parts of the country a few days before the Nagpur meeting. Mr. Vachaspathi thought that the relevant Article in the constitution was mandatory. We said he was wrong, but we cannot blame him. We wish we could say a dozen things about the resignation. When the law was thought of, his duty is equal to the President's. When he arrived in Varanasi, they discovered that the question also had caused all this public commotion and thought it to be unbecomingly withdrawn (the resignation). The whole is a very sorry story. There was just one of these persons, a member of the Committee who the withdrawal was delayed, did not



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Notes

Released by Death

Master Narayansingh of Panna restrained to hard labour for default of promptly doing his Nagpur job. He had been marked the place where there was to be no question. It is very good to all in his with day in health a great battle for national honour. Such battles have been the privilege of his heart years past. To the thousands who prepare a life of absolute surrender to truth and love here, imagining that they are dealing of village and speaking learning or performing dances. After this have young man's body released by Master's death at Nagpur. It is a blessing to all of the Town.

The C. P. Legislative Council

The C. P. Legislative Council, the purpose of the Council is to be the representative of the people of the State. It will be brought out by the Government on the Nagpur Rajagopalachari resolution in the C. P. Legislative Council meeting last week. The one-sided action has provoked widespread of the nationalistic reaction against the National Flag, and immediate release of the flag process was passed. Issues of national importance by the Government. The Council has been the considered action. But the Government will go on. Right in front of both elections, a challenge to the Legislative Council is the what it likes, but it was needed will not serve us back from the path of progress and. You may pass any resolution you may like, says Government, but we carry on as well simply you did not wish. To us the members of this other country, we are asked to vote and elect representatives to these non-representative bodies can be a greater failure in the action than have systematic anti-voting with the decisions of the "inferior" legislatures by the very one of the legislatures to participate in the elections. If we have a third of self-respect left, if we have a particle of love to ourselves and are not entirely lost in despair and confusion, after these delirious efforts and challenges, we can give but one answer to the Government's call to elect representatives regardless of the principle.

C. R.

No-Embrace Day

The Working Committee of the Congress had decided that August 15 should be observed as the No-Embrace Day, in recognition of the surrender of the Panna. Besides, too, to doing as the Committee was guilty of an unbecoming oversight, August 15 happened to be Shrihari Purnima, a day of religious

acts to Hindus—north and south. The first ladies have brought to the notice, the Working Committee has proposed, the No-Embrace Day from the 15th to 17th instant. We invite the attention of the public and the Congress Committee to the meaning.

The exact day is of little consequence; the thing that matters is Tagore's offer of tender loving to India in the London and India's definite refusal. This should be made clear, beyond possibility of mistake; all else is of small account.

Dr. Radhakrishnan

Dr. Radhakrishnan was released on Saturday. The actual discharge goes from the 14th to 15th August, to which he was brought from India a few days previously. We expect to hear the right kind of testimony and the results of a pleasant and hearty welcome. It was in 1912 that the name of his departure (fighting with Dr. Rajagopal) was decided along the same, the departure which was the first landmark in the release process and upon which the Government proceeded was a resolution and which history has definitely shown to call landmark. The departure was only the prelude to emancipation. The emancipation was connected to independence which in its turn was wiped out by a Royal Assent. Then, after a short interval of quiet, strenuous labour, the Council Committee came, which was crowned by the proclamation which ended on Saturday. A departure and two landmarks in two years—this is not a bad record for a people and a Non-cooperation. Right worthy to be on whom two times, the leaders and the privilege. Dr. Radhakrishnan is now in the old, refreshed look, undisturbed, untroubled. He and his kind are born for battle—there can be no peace for them and they will not allow others to rest in peace, all wrong is righted and freedom cannot be hindered.

Dr. Radhakrishnan

We said last week that we did not find it in our heart to be suspicious of Mrs. Naidu for her refusal to leave the second Congress in Bombay. But there is the record of an interview she gave to the Press which makes the matter exceptionally difficult. Instead of all misgivings, she lately finds those who were of Bombay were misled by Communist motives and that the protestant was inspired by the wish to create a party advantage. This is a serious charge. Mrs. Naidu has done herself less than justice in not stating the grounds of her charge. She did the All-India Committee and the Working Committee less than justice in not knowing the testimony when there was a chance of clearing it.

We would successfully bring her to stand the strains by her paternal and maternal connections in the meanwhile, let us secure her and all the world that the resolution passed by the Working Committee was inspired by their good faith. As he happens, the writer of these lines is a member of that body and the concluded assurance may be given that he and his fellow-members had no anxiety of party prejudice. The Major resolution in favour of Buxley was there and was confirmed with the necessary alterations in a matter of the date. On the matter there were of course that Buxley was central for all India, the prejudicial fact cannot be denied. Doubt may be raised for a variety of the purposes, but the Working Committee felt it could not take a parallel view—it was charged with the duty of ruling on the facts alone.

Lord Winterton and Mr. Searl

Mr. Searl does not bring to our mind of politics. He is a Victorian. There is a temperamental inhibition about his political outlook which has occasionally driven us to despair. We do not believe in such inflexibility; on the other hand "conservatism" is the word, while none is our wish; but Mr. Searl is a conservative by habit, training and long practice. All the more the story of Lord Winterton's refusal to see Mr. Searl on the eve of his departure from England rings in us as a personal incident. Mr. Searl is an experienced Statesman and a member of the King's Privy Council. Lord Winterton is a noble member of the House, judged by any standard since then made. Mr. Searl did us wrong to the Under-Secretary of State for India in calling on him. Lord Winterton however declined to see him, on the ground that differences which had arisen between the India Office and Mr. Searl made a formal "interview" impossible. The Under-Secretary's plea was manifestly dishonest. Differences of view based on existing "embarrassment" constituted a final and frank interchange of views. The true reason was to make the Under-Secretary's statements. And if we were that, it was in his hands. He would not like about the such a thing as any member of the Privy Council who happened to be an Englishman or a Frenchman from Canada or from any South Africa. The subject was possible because Mr. Searl was an Indian, what was due to Mr. Searl was none to any of us, as coming to all of us. Lord Winterton was not quite correct. Mr. Searl was a Victorian; in that case we should have explained it to us of our forefathers. The officer was his being an Indian. Lord Winterton had heard of Mr. Searl for the discovery which South Africa is not on the Mahatma's map. "I discovered that as a man and an Indian I had no rights. More correctly, I discovered that I was no rights to a man, because I was an Indian" and even the right to comfort.

(The sequel)

If what is Mr. Searl to do? The position is simple. Because the effects of personal detraction and personal favour are never to be asked. The personal effect is may be prepared to fight according to the measure of his personality and which cannot be in place. But the duty is assigned to his dignity in

hard individuality of neither long-known nor unknown—individual rule and self-complacency have no place in it. The decision thing to do as it is under him that the Under-Secretary's not was his own. Though many parties in politics, Lord Winterton is young in heart of the age of English statesmen, and he has never been conditioned as a model of test or discipline. Lord Peel is possibly the last person to be considered if he would repudiate or improve his dignity, the Indian may be asked. But unfortunately there is reason to believe that Lord Peel survives. The Prime Minister's decision may be looked. As Privy Councillor, Mr. Searl has the inalienable right of Royal Assent. The latter involves the member, and a man with the wisdom of Royal Assent is entitled to intervene any of His Majesty's Ministers. The matter has no moral backbone. It is one of official duty. Whether a Privy Councillor would exercise his right is subject to a political constraint who happens to be in power, as one within his discretion, but if he chooses to do so, the Minister has no alternative. The issue then is this—Is this submitted right entitled to the office of Privy Councillor to be considered or subjected to the rule of an individual member of the Council, because he happens to be an Indian? The House decides against that there is, and therefore must be a double standard of citizenship while the House is one of the by-products of the discussion of the doctrine of double standard in the members of His Majesty's Privy Council? If this Indian is offered by Mr. Searl to the Privy Council of the Council, we will be that Mr. Searl will have an equal right to sit on any other Indian. We have no use for him or lessers or equals from the British Government. We have no personal man who may have, but we would like them to close and unobscure remove the member and India of their house. There can be no more from the conclusion that everything about our present state is marked by the double standard of caste and class which India has decided during.

Kanpur

Parliament is going on steadily. Men are being ordered at the Railway Station all along the line, but the supply of volunteers for showing that discrimination is like the nation's case—just enough but never before. But in the back-ground I see the negotiations going on for making the members of the Government as parliament responsible as possible. We do not attach much importance to the resolutions in the Legislative Council, but as a matter of understanding and interpretation, there is something significant. The Government is no doubt clarified, but the stamp of the endorsement is not the resolution, but the force of public opinion. It was the public judgment that moved the Council itself to pass the resolution, but he himself has not yet shaped the opinion of the Council but has this is not the Government to do but that the advisory office will not be created. Apparently, the issue has not emerged itself—it is something the Government is about itself in reference to the balance of his that is in the original order. But the really significant

Young India

15-8-28

Furlough

Ever since the institution of the proposal for admitting changes in the national programme regarding the Legislative Councils, I have been obstinately repeating things and seemed to them repeated, till and again. It would have been the highest personal pleasure to me if instead of being so obstinate I could fall in line with men whose friendship and assistance to work I should prize above so much else I have enjoyed them because I felt (rightly feel) that we should not lose the satisfaction that we have gained in the great and historic battle that we have fought. I feel that we should stand on our feet and that if we stay or move, it will also mean to begin again and another time. The Council programme of constitutional amendment is always there, also distant, but not all these Councils only with a programme of working. I am convinced, in order to prove a way. There would be nothing left of the great Gandhian revolution which stood as high as the rest of all the world, and out of the preceding knowledge do I have obstinately applied ideas. Obstinacy, that fact, however, all these and after such changes have been brought about and not the changes as far as honorable leaders would more accepted. Now however a campaign of resistance has begun which also as we know, I am charged with duties for power. My struggle with internal and powerful opposition is given the same and painted with the colors of law and order. Power is a fatal failure of work and responsibility. It takes the form like original sin. You may drive yourself of every other kind of change, but you cannot escape this. The great thing is not to be changed, everything else falling, with much of power. Now there are men with a forward look like me engaged. My friends and parties are if I do not construct these changes but greatly withdrawn apart from them and continue of some of power and other matter. I wish to do it with the leaders. I may appear to shrink responsibility. For a time the remedy may appear even better, for the campaign of voluntary will continue with even increased vigour. But there is no other way out of it. I have my friends will instead of providing help me in my resolve. I mean increased responsibility for themselves. The time is great and need not I say that every one of action will continue to bear the burden with all the greater tenacity.

C. R.

The Law Postponed

Our resources are going toward about the treatment of the Satyagrahi prisoners in the Central Prisons. The price will be an impossible procedure for treasury and operation. The system of official and non-official violence has weakened the money of all nations. The rules and regulations are all heartily hated. They are not and they effectively prevent all hope on the part of the authority. More than twenty

of the best minds in the last few years of having understood that not the full measure of capital was, on definitely level, as was then all systems of India. It is no wonder that leaders of progress and social distribution, the authorities in England seemed to lead the who has always been using self-interest was. And the daily day at hand, changed from our work a good measure of justice and law, a physical terror too much for the law. It is a fact that political prisoners are treated better than military prisoners. Those who have any experience know that in reality the measure of authority is greater against the responsible man who comes to prison as a failure of authority than against the moral depravity who is treated severely as a responsible man but not as an enemy. The law men agree in generally a lawless with the full official. The military short men prison is treated with indifference, to a man not of place in prison, and who has to be educated for working and not for. But the political prisoners pay the full price of capital, and the physical punishment and application of force in of law and discipline; because he is an enemy (not has been caught and must be sent back with a broken spirit. No moral reform is needed. Violence is used till well and more than enough with what there is in the full measure, for there is no humanity or reason after in this the cynical letter of the law.

The Magistrates are given authority to suppress the provision of violence intended to lead any persons and related observation who are unable to explain their movements. Responsible men who also are and still education in the position of the law as a challenge in what they consider as unjust and illegal order, are brought under these ugly provisions. The law itself recognizing that even persons charged on capital could not necessarily be punished but could only be detained, but by an amendment directed that only detention and not hard labour could be imposed on men arrested. Yet the political prisoners of the Central Prisons demand that the Legislative Government should postpone the enforcement of the Amendment Act, so that all Satyagrahi prisoners might now be given one year's hard labour and not severely detained. The Viceroy's consent was given on last week April but to the amendment of the law, but by Executive fiat it is deliberately set off, so that there may be full scope for all attempts to break the spirit of civil resistance.

C. R.

The Dance of Double Falshood

Doctor Vaidyanath Saha has been again arrested and after a somewhat old sentenced to six months' hard labour. The double standard on which the sentence has been awarded is obvious to any man who cares to read the law under which the proceedings are conducted to be taken. The magistrate of Ranchi acted on order in Doctor Saha as the latter was on his way to the Tamil Conference at Dindigul of which he was prohibited. The magistrate could not possibly have believed that the Presidential speech would likely lead to a breach of the peace at the Conference. The Government was made, as it is made,

The Special Congress

The special issue before the Special Congress is whether the Congress is strong enough to assume a policy of action or whether it will go back to consultation. The entire has probably reacted back to the new policy and the process of adjustment will go on continuously to fulfill it. The question is whether the men brought up a whole life through in the way philosophy and practice of consultation will successfully resist against the total change of cooperation. It is a two-fold growth that we are watching—the growth of people and Congress to the new contemporary method. The alternatives existing on during the months after there are symptoms of the policy of adjustment.

Of this last there is no manifestation in a fundamental opposition between the old consultation and non-cooperation. Consultation is a category of political action which is generally English. It is a child of the English constitution and there is not a single feature of the Congress party's programme to which a parallel cannot be found in contemporary politics. Consultation however was treated as a substitute for civil war as between equals. These negotiations had to be devised, because existing, the necessary position of consultation was lacking and had to be constructed by hard work and united effort.

The Congress party says that freedom can be achieved by the Parliamentary method of absorption. We hold that it is an impossibility. Today we are equal and we are people. Englishmen and we are not equal. The only manner in which we can again equality is to develop our strength and courage enough to agree to the terms offered and keep them under a rigid discipline. Our belief is that the members of the Congress are lacking in these qualities and that it is this defect that is the real and not their reluctance in the present day and when they are developed, independent action will be independently effective. The weakness of constitutional action is that each man is as good as another, that they cannot keep their faith, but it is expected that each of the thirty members would be equal to each of the bulk. The Congress party's action that average members or halfhearted politicians will hesitate to through or resistance by constitutional action is a poor illusion. It contains error and result.

On the matter there are fundamentally and clearly opposed. We know that agreement is established and there is nothing new or victory to the next. Each one has to enter his decision and stand by it.

But the possible today is not the fight between the constitutional. They understood and respect each other. They agree the division, but can cooperatively pay by the rules to break on the other. The true source of danger is the presence of peace, the action after cooperation, those attempting to ignore the divide. Having no faith in themselves, without clear-sighted conclusions, they were conscious that they go, doing more damage to the cause in which they profess belief and do have asked faith, than to have the them. Defections were the habit of weak

and cowardly, but not efficiency demanding (individual and self-interest). That is God's way of doing. It is a kind of mark of the conscience that demands but the world is influenced by those who work in honesty or rather the confidence of the great Indians. Only is confident. If you can get it on the back of their principles of action, but only is possible if based on a negative doctrine of absorption. That was the defect of the Congress because it wanted wholly. The Congress party thought that the Congress had taken the first step in the long way to the Congress. The Non-cooperation but that they had no faith in the strength of action and non-violence were to remain a threat to the new life. That is what Mahatma desired every and sought to achieve it, but his heart-breaking speech (heart-breaking to him and to us) at Nagpur showed that effort.

What, then, is left? This was an action go into the Congress to let us see. The relevant incidents after Congress are the Salt Case, the Public Services Commission, the Office Book Scheme, Indianization Kenya, in respect of which the Congress has been found and the Government has acted on in the manner of an active power. The Government has declared himself independent, Mr. Kautangan has protested against being included. It is a matter of all these things, the Congress decides that the changes should be effected, let us honestly and openly accept the action. Let there be a clear and honest acceptance. Consider the alternative. The power of the Congress in 1931 was independent of the Congress. The first struggle of 1931—just child of Gandhi. The second struggle of 1931—just child of Gandhi. The strength for the Congress fight was coming to a close was not found within the Congress as at the election booth. If the choice is either course, the Special holds that the Congress are useless in distress. It is a weak and the truth is a given to it. It is a weak.

In any case, the reality activity is a clear head, courage and strength—let there be there, all else will follow, including unity.

The Consequences of Kenya

(By C. F. Johnson)

The leading article, which appeared in *Times India* on Kenya, appeared to me remarkably true, because it went to the very root of the whole question and did not deal merely with the surface. What Mahatma should have been really saying for, in all the great struggle which has gone by the name of the non-cooperation movement, has always been not total partition, but the cause of untried honesty. He was honestly being outraged year after year in South Africa. That South African experience was his own school of discipline. It would be like one since it gives him his own life purpose. Mahatma told me once the story of his first adventure in India, which changed his whole life. He had taken his seat on the stage coach, which went from Durban to an outlying station. He was a young barrister fresh from England and studying. He had never yet experienced the colour but in his next bright form. In London, he had been treated with equality, and

had happened, on the last manifestation, with his fellow English students on April 19th. By the nature of custom, on Monday, on Tuesday and before required to go into the streets he could not find freedom he purchased his ticket and expected to be treated like any other passenger. He did want to get down to the boat he had paid for. There, in a better the coach arrived, a European came up and told him roughly to get down. Mr Gandhi said to a policeman, "By the way, that he was very sorry not to sleep this, but he had paid for the special boat which had been reserved for him. This was told him that he had to get down, so he was very sorry. While waiting Mr Gandhi told to him that there was plenty of room in the coach standing, but he had paid for his seat on the top and could not give it up. They followed a doctor, which was up and heard that the doctor at last intervened. The Europeans struck Mr Gandhi with his stick till he nearly losted the balance. I was on the knowledge of his trouble when the Gandhi was holding on. All his fingers were struck broken. Mahatma told me, how he refused last time was a life and death struggle. He made no resistance. He refused and a single word that he hung on to the rest of the coach for his life or death. The Europeans were a big strong man. Mr Gandhi was quite small in comparison.

How did the story end? "What happened over matter. South-Indian threatened over him-then. I have already mentioned, how the driver of the coach threatened, but that was not all. The other Europeans proceeded unprovoked also. They could not bear the difficulty. So they also took Mr Gandhi's part. The conductor at last agreed to accept and put up something to another coach in the coach. Mahatma told me if I remember rightly how before the end of the journey, the agent Mr. Mowat became a different man, and about. He was with him before he left the coach.

One day when Mahatma Gandhi was telling me that story, with a laugh and a smile, while I could hardly contain my indignation, he said to me in the end of it "Before that, I had conversation of my life in South Africa. I had only come out as a young student, to take up a course for which I had been selected, and then I had intended to go home again. But I felt, after the incident, that I should be a coward if I deserted the post of danger. So I ran up my mind, then and there to try and work in South Africa."

It was that extreme choice, when he began the young Gandhi to come to the very heart of the Indian problem itself, when he returned to India. For in that case, upon the same track at Durban, thirty years ago, was expected the whole programme of non-cooperation in all its essential features, the aspect of moral resistance, as well as its aspect of non-violence. Mahatma Gandhi also, in the end will surely hope to be able to see the victory of love, love in India, as he was in South Africa.

The human soul comes to the Rightland for the. It has never, the mind to ever. A course terrible, however high the walls of the. Love is, it would be a. "One of the things in the White man's life is the

of the man's soul. The Government to protect the soul of the 'Indian', the person expresses the soul against the. Love is a life and death for the man to a white man. I am speaking their very words; all this is exactly the same as the action of the European at the end of the stage coach who told the young Gandhi from India to "get down and make way for a 'White man'." That young Gandhi and Mahatma, Gandhi was one and the same person. What Mahatma's character was then, it is still today.

The whole problem of India is deeply to refuse all along the line to accept the colour bar. Then he will be clear. Not one finger must be raised. This is clear cannot be solved by more resistance. The problem cannot be solved by unity as the African Union and Germany. In a world world, I shall discuss the one solution.

(T. A. Chatterjee)

Redeem the Ad Abandon

The C. P. Government notices for the safety of the country, very much of its full authority. The Government says that it has no objection to the Flag. There are many in the procession on India to over their buildings or otherwise. There is no objection to such acts. But we are told that certain Indian citizens are expected to see this for the danger on the road alongside of their roadside. Government therefore and expect from. It is not sufficient to display the National Flag; how can the private flag be protected in such legal anywhere in the light of it? If it is not sufficient to display the Flag in the American or the British. Then the citizens are also expected to believe and respect such flag, when we know that they are displayed in the Indian citizens to display voluntarily against the flag of the people of this land, while they have no such feeling and not so much protection against the flag of any other people. In the private flag is the citizen's opinion to Indian nationality to be protected and upheld? The whole thing is a great difficulty. Under the Flag is a national thing and must be protected entirely, or it is broken and ought to be protected by the law against the person of any such citizen. There is no reason, blasphemy, that or look of any kind in the Flag and no one can state any special protection against the display. The Government of the Central Province is only beginning and protecting a central attitude of opinion and character on the part of the Indian citizens. But even then, in some cases, we do not believe that any people really think to be attacked or are tempted to break the peace in the name of the Flag. Of course now, the order on the one hand and the strength on the other may themselves have created a atmosphere and an artificial feeling on public to authority among certain classes of people against what was a legal and innocent display. The young citizens long before the justice for it. A confession, There can be no

disobedience to it, but only because a small number of the Congressmen should insistently accept its invitation gracefully allow the people to exercise their natural rights.

If the Government withholds the prohibition order, there is a duty on the people's part also not to lose their own balance and indulge in prosecution or attempt to coerce their rulers beyond the limits of responsibility. Liberty and restraint would constitute a victory, whereas hot-headed action of the defiant minority would end in disaster. C. R.

Khandi Notes

Dearly Excesses

Khandi is a terrible blessing. He who enters in his sanctuaries whether as a pilgrim or both a pilgrim and a worker learns to put his more nervous individuality aside, while the actual work leaves in perfect balance, far removed in his dream. Thus there is a double meaning in Khandi. The sanctification of every sort of ego, risk-taking, or egoistic work itself immediately draws our attention that nobody is accepted or struck with wonder to hear about Khandi—in some places, even from Khandi,—being prepared by numerous people during their spare moments. One kindly comes to enquire whether all the power that is contained by it is really done as it is intended. He says, however, can you conceive the possibility of that being achieved? Yet we have hardly appreciated the value of this subtle sanctification as it is during important of years when which usually go the way of ego.

Khandi men's Experiences

The Khandi men were once asked through some letters a few questions on the following points:— (1) Expenses incurred as pilgrims by going to Khandi. (2) Any other expenses caused by the change in the mode of living caused by adopting Khandi. (3) Any complaints or remarks regarding Khandi at home. These were the three chief points on which information had been sought. Nearly 120 answers to these queries have been received up to now. Obviously, this is an index to the number of Khandi workers in the country. Quite a large number could hardly have been able to in the necessity of answering such questions. A very large number moreover balance intelligent interest in unrelated details.

Out of the replies that we have received there are only a few that come from the poor class. A greater part comes from the middle class, while only a very few from the rich. Out of all, there are only three whose answers complain of any increase in their expenditures caused by Khandi. These gentlemen are amongst Khandi men. We will omit to the present whether these letters that we have received strongly supporting Khandi by logic and arguments and proved to others the above three replies. All these three come from among the well-to-do class. "Khandi is too difficult. It takes too long and is comparatively useless to be worked more frequently than any other diet. The result is that it wastes time." "I feel that Khandi is really too much of a loss to my economy." "Yes, some things require making every day. They have, therefore, to be given to the workmen and their life is devoted thereby. For Khandi of superior quality is certainly dear." Thus they pronounce the difficulties that have to be encountered by the adoption of Khandi from the side which is it, which indicates that the use of Khandi at least should be their aim for the country.

"In the long run the life interest of the Khandi. Therefore a Khandi worker should be made capable of the difficulties that lie in the way of using Khandi. He can overcome the weaknesses of the changes having been admitted for his long study. "Khandi diet when once you reach it is perfect." There cannot be anything impossible in this statement made by a class of Khandi.

Every Khandi worker—whether a worker or a manufacturer, has to pay more attention to these facts. Mostly the Khandi workers, manufacturers or retailers this movement prompted by the love of Khandi. It is their duty, therefore, to see that no food will pass into the hands of their customers. Therefore Khandi is completely weakened by being worked by too strong hands. To manufacture strong and good Khandi is more essential than increasing the quantity of production.

The manufacturers are more reasonable than the others. Khandi manufactured according to the test and quality of cotton should always be more lasting than will reach of the market. For instance, yarn of 10 to 12 counts by hand is generally not cotton superior to that used by the mills in the same count. However, in hand-spun yarn which may waste more is added over than the cotton weaver may reach handling of the machinery. Consequently it should always be stronger than the mill yarn. If it is not so the spinning tool must be defective. It is then lasting only if it is not evenly spun, and the result is not uniform as it the count exceeds the capacity of the yarn. Selective spinning too has much to do with the quality of the yarn.

The more is the case with middle counts and this yarn. The spinners should know a secret that any cotton can be spun into any number of plies at the same count by the Girdle. But for the middle it is not possible to do so. The weaver can spin only up to the count the cotton is capable of. If yarn is spun without determining the test of cotton, the result is sure to be far from satisfactory. The usual count is always to get good and strong ropes.

India possesses a hereditary knowledge of all these things, but it has now been subject for centuries. Consequently the finer causes for improved detail of this knowledge is forgotten. We do not try to go deeper into this thing, which is to be too easy and too simple.

Some of the replies regarding Khandi in favour of the use of Khandi are worth being published in full, and it is proposed to do so in due course.

Those who experience difficulty in obtaining good Khandi can do one thing. Those who require pure shelled husk, being unable to obtain it from the local market, make private arrangements to get it more cheaply or from Khandi men can be obtained in this way, and if they go further, and by using good cotton get more work according to their taste and according to their neighbours wishes, they will, though at having to pay more spinning charges, be able to produce cloth that will eventually turn out to be stronger, more and more lasting than any other cloth that is able to do so. One may go deep into this art and take interest in all its processes.

Magdalen E. Gandhi



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The status desired for India in the British Empire is one which is not negotiable for her or except India would rather be regarded as a whole than its parts. England should rather children to be unfathomable and India is a Th. Imperial policy has been such that India has been by the South African Prime Minister. He has had some progress in the not only preventing Indian immigration but even more so, by the way of creating India population by depriving them of political and managerial rights and by giving them rights, and by limiting them outwork, the same. This programme, day and night will be carried out without serious objection on the part of the British Government, and thus secure the general policy of all the British Dominions.

The British demand is the symptom of a great long and every one of our National Movement. It is a challenge, and a warning from God for our future steps. There is no way but great determination to resist everything and to achieve freedom for India. The National Foundation and the first resolution of honour and respect should be given. Indian immigrants of community or political party should join in the great demonstration on August seventh August.

A week to English merchants and trade. The suspension of business offered to the twenty-seventh August, is a complete demonstration. It is too much to appeal to the Englishman, who is on the side of India in the struggle, is an on-site line, sympathy and non-violent enthusiasm by joining in the general demonstration. I want the entire time, but in order to avoid any protest freedom to work and trade among her people, and to have a day here by some of that same sympathy. It is your turn also, to support our well-known claims abroad and close for days the history they are everything in the national demonstration and suspend your business on Monday the twenty-seventh August, when the Indian Union will be all about. It will be an achievement of world-wide, worthy of your own tradition and a noble example to the whole Empire. It will make the struggle a truly religious and universal birth. On the other hand, if you keep your day open and suspend your own claim to attend business on one of the National Festival, the moral character of the business will be questioned and your action will support the White Imperialist policy.

The National Festival will be successful as a demonstration of Indian sentiment in spite of British traders in India keeping closed. Your non-participation will be a list of those who will not build on Christ. But if even a few among you give the call of Religion and Truth will have triumphed.

C. Rajagopalachari

in doing and believing? The two accompanying documents everything he does to make prison sentences feel harder upon him, believe that the attitude of the more used to be the more effective means to earn the approval of those above him. The thing I like especially that is taught is not to be hurried. As soon as we think of power as not of possession or indulgence of meretricious pleasures, is discovered the first thing that he sets in the defence of the wrong or money and knowledge leads police with. When Government does this, is having for its purpose to take that the offence was the neglect of having the thing before Government rather than the act of taking away? Is it strange if the jail officers come to think that the poor defendants of the Government are a person? There is no wonder by which we can see the rule, that if we want those below to be drilled or trained, there must be true hierarchy and discipline above. Every rule set at the bottom, harsh or kindly, just or unjust, has its reaction on the society which shapes its conduct and character after him. The latter cannot possibly punish the man for the discovered crimes of the latter, when he himself fails to see the example by thought, word and deed for the same crime.

The Minister's Complaint

The Minister of Justice had an official complaint about his correspondence being treated with ill will in the press. It strengthened his point by referring to my having been permitted to see some prisoners in Alipore jail as was noticed from an article in *Young India*. This was enough to get all C. P. jail authorities to make the C. P. Press against me. It served the Minister but this to compare in my own sight with the harsher criticism I had enjoyed, it however took away what little chance I had of making even those whose rights of criticism could not be considered. But this is of no importance. I only wish to assure the editor of the *Minerals* that when I was allowed to interview the prisoners at Alipore, it was the least exercise of their right according to prison regulations. They were entitled to an interview once in three months on ordinary hard-working conditions and the latter was not doing the barest of the prison rule and was strictly worked according to rules by the jail authorities. C. M.

When Perceiving to consider the possibility of the preliminary order, which is held irrelevant to the inquiry, the magazine works to draw the issue by exhibiting references to what the Doctor did during the past five years. The recent year is legal procedure should have been the responsibility of all this misleading evidence. But to have any act to be called, except the magazine itself, who of course stand in no danger of being misled by himself, there was no harm whatever in this indulgence of the law of Evidence in an undisciplined newspaper's case.

Dr. Vardaraja Nalla is in prison not because the Parliament conference would have asked to a riot after hearing the President's speech about the Congress absconders, but because Dr. Nalla was prepared to suffer for the sake of honour and freedom and was true to his faith and would not defend himself.

C. M.

Dr. Vardaraja's Case

There would have been a riot in the Parliament Conference, but for the presence of the Sub-Inspector of Police—this, I believe, is what is sought to be proved by the Magistrate (and taken by him to be exclusively established) who sentences Dr. Vardaraja Nalla to six months' period of rigorous imprisonment awarded by Sec. 188 of the Penal Code. A general of the judgment in Doctor Vardaraja Nalla's case confirms what I said last week. The conviction is the result of a double intention, Dr. Nalla was charged to provide a riot in the Third Conference of Parliament in Madras. Second, The Government was told for 1st and 2nd July. The Government took so that 1st July when the Magistrate issued a preliminary order. This order, issued on 18th July, did not prohibit the Conference to be held next day, but sought at the last moment only to prevent the President from doing his duties in the Conference if any Magistrate had the deliberate desire to create disorder. Nothing could have achieved the object than this irresponsible act of the Magistrate by which a great gathering was suddenly deprived at the last moment of its chairman, with no time or machinery for choosing another chairman. The Doctor, however, chose to disobey the order and, upon this act and which gave. The order had its purpose and eventually produced general chaos.

It is enough to read the Magistrate's judgment wherein he tries to show that the Conference was successful only through the preliminary efforts of the Sub-Inspector of Police, the whole result is this double crime by the Magistrate.

It would be better and on the whole more suggestive to the general morality of officials if suggestive facts were made more downright. If sec. 188 punished every disobedience of an order, no more proof of the existence of an order and of a deliberate act of disobedience, there would not be all the technical about violence, riot and affray. As it is, the section demands proof that the accused person's disobedience led to a riot or affray, and this is sought to be established in spite of the most patent impossibility. But as judicial facts are established by the written word of the magistrate, whether in fact they be true or not, nothing is possible. So, it is established that the object of Doctor Vardaraja Nalla in going to provide over the Parliament conference was to create a riot and affray there, but this was prevented by the lucky presence of the local Sub-Inspector.

To put down to rest what every one in the world knows to nature is the origin of all political magistrates trying political cases. The magistrate is conscious of the weakness of his own arguments, the earned weakness notwithstanding of his own guilt, the public nature of course he refused to accept the story; and superior officers also know the gross fallacy. The necessity of attempting to prove the impossibility and being satisfied with the word of the officer is the uniform lot of magistrates who have to carry out the Government policy of repression.

To create the disorder and even to have real unity, the magistrates who used Doctor Nalla goes late when he calls the subordinates of the accused

John, and still, disfigured their physical persons and more than these, the enormous forms of bodies often in the end melt away before the insupportable pressure of the electric light. As for being too accomplished in the European world, the Government is proud of it, the objectives of the treaty of it and of the self-complacent haphazard therapy. The European world is for criminals, thieves, robbers, cheats, and rogues who happen to be of European or mixed parentage. The Government provides for such people on account of their race, superior accomplishment, to which it is devoted a great philosophy, worthy of being recorded with pride and satisfaction in a Government gazette, to admit the highest among the men of India who has been awarded on a technical political charge and detained not for moral turpitude but for reasons of State. Nothing but the greater class of the person rendered even this possible. What a conspiracy on job and other administration in India!

Yet India is thankful that the remainder of Lalaj's sentence has been remitted. In order that there may be a chance of seeing his life. C. R.

Unfair Criticisms

Dr. Rajendra Prasad's party of tolerance, charity of vision and standards of character are known to friends as well as opponents—all except the exploited parties. His recent article in the *Dail*, as mentioned by the *Associated Press of India*, has however evoked most unfair criticisms in the *Press of India* and the *Indian Express*. One cannot by the blame to the *Associated Press* remedy, for it does not lend support to the misrepresentation on which Rajendra Babu has been blamed. "Those who accept Mahatma's principles and consider non-cooperation the only path to Swaraj, should stick to their conviction even if the Congress should decide otherwise." These words of Rajendra Babu are incapable of misrepresentation. The Congress has the right to lay down the policy for the nation and every national worker is bound to effect his life and resources to carry out the policy, if he agrees with it wholly or by the main. But if he finds a line of work laid down in which his successful operations are opposed, the extent he can do so is stand apart and work by himself if possible as well as necessary. In this attitude of Dr. Rajendra Prasad there is objection! The very newspapers which are angry with him have been hardly protesting the need for full freedom of action. The liberty they would accord to dissent of one variety they should accord to his also.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad appealed to the people of India to stand by non-cooperation and Swarajists their faith, "although the creation of the Congress is being held at a place where the Desi Party is strong." Do these words of the *Associated Press* summary lend support to the statement of the *Dail Express* that Dr. Rajendra Prasad "actually suggests that Defai has been coerced by the Working Committee for the Special Congress because of its being predominantly in favour of his Desi programme?" The interpretation is obviously so unfair that one can only wonder how any one could have written and commented on that basis.

Rajendra Babu wrote "Mr. Desi advocates a line of action free from the bondage which, non-

cooperation have to bear." This is a plain statement of fact and requires no further comment. It reveals people that Congress entry is not sacrifice or cowardice, without which nothing can be achieved. It warns people against the error of following the line of least resistance. There is no indication here that any section of the Congress or any leaders are more swerving or less faithful than others. To find in the words of Dr. Rajendra Prasad any sympathy for non-cooperation or non-cooperation, shows only stupidity or bigotry. No plain explanation of political opinion would be possible if such standards of interpretation and analysis were demanded. C. R.

Adairs in the Punjab

[We extract below passages from a private letter written by a member of the staff of this paper, who is now in the Punjab. They are a vivid picture of some of the things in that province, which suggest an atmosphere of repression. We might add, that the writer is both a Hindu, and a Punjabi. Ed. Y. I.]

On reaching Delhi, I was made aware of having crossed the frontier, by those who spoke about the state of Hindu-Muslim unity. At Lahore, I began to hear about Muslims. At Amritsar, I was asked by somebody, whether I was an Aryasamajist. But, the first was reached at a railway station, near Gurgaon-wala, where there was, with a significant exception, history and at the end, was whether I was an Aryasamajist. Whether I was, I found myself in a state of amazement, being so up with up and Khud-din. For an educated man, to wear these symbols in these days here, is regarded as an abnormal but those of the Aryasamajist practices known to particular and political, were clothes such as when,

I went to Amritsar, to study the Sikh's decision at the end I saw a prominent Sikh leader in the morning. Most of the conversation turned upon the Hindu question. It was most pleasant story of help, cooperation, harmony and harmony that would have the tangled web of Mahatmaism in the state. Hindu State is situated centrally in the heart of Punjab, like an island. The boundary line is very irregular, and the Hindu territory opens out upon and the surrounding Punjab State, to all directions. Sometimes, to go from one place to another in the Hindu State, on the other side, you have to cross and return. Hindu territory takes over. These variations for Indian between the two States are numerous. Disputes usually take the form of violation of sovereign rights. Taking into consideration the general character of government in these States, it is not difficult to imagine all sorts of Hindu offences subject to escape from the pressure of the rulers. The actualities proceedings are so numerous, times and tangled in procedure, that an opponent of Hindu, official or subject, among his heart on the Hindu end, does not consider worth his while to visit the boundary line. Occasionally, Hindu were about crossing the boundary of Hindu was always known to be held of movements from Punjab, who often came to Hindu for considerable objects, and in accomplishing his purpose, he never presented himself to be charged with terms of law. Thus, it was the state going in the world to bring up a number of cases of "oppression and violence" against any of these Hindus. They allowed a very convenient handle in Hindu State.

is taken out a riot against the Native Union. That is the underlying reality about the political feelings against the Native Union.

A number of these cases had been hanging for for a long time past. As regards the Malabar case, it was successfully argued by the British Agent and his own witnesses into the belief, that the Government was then honest, and that he might order some action in the Government, with a probability of the *Revolution* in his hands. The Malabar was then managed and you know the result.

There is one more instance: last about the rebellion. Apparently, to justify Government action, the so called violation of the sovereignty of Portugal was construed into an offence against the British Government. That the members of the Malabar, was established somewhat in this fashion by the judgment.

"It is not probable, that a Prince who exercises such extensive influence through all his State departments, should have known nothing of this case. He must have therefore been a party to it."

The real reason, that all the officials of the Native State, entered into a general, and a silent conspiracy to hide their child in darkness, is very interesting. There was negotiation for compromise, between the two States, and something in the nature of a treaty was concluded. One of its terms was, that Natives would surrender unconditionally any of its State officials or any other person, who should be charged by the British Empire for conspiracy against it. This clause which was undertaken to be complied, was brought to the notice of the Native State officials. The consequence was that the officials feared it to their interest to be unfaithful to the interests of their master. He was for several weeks before the abdication directly a prisoner in his palace.

Dr. Vallabhbhai's Statement

(Given on the eve of the arrest of the arrested order)

The preliminary action against the Government, the 19th inst. of a batch of three volunteers as usual, a procession of five volunteers would start for Soler Bazar through the road here on the 19th. The route, time and instructions for the procession are followed in the native press to them. If they are prevented by the authorities, the struggle would assume a new phase. I ask the public not to be ignorant but to wait and watch. In the meantime and under the authority vested in me by the Working Committee of the Congress I desire to make the persons of the Congress clear in regard to certain complications and representations in various quarters including the Government.

We (non-association) have been accused by us less a person than the Government the Government of the United Provinces that we deem any absolutely unprovoked right subject of any official authority to use public force against the protesters. I have been instructed by the Working Committee to state that, that is not the case. It was for a moment during the word for "Sensible" regulations of traffic and procession, but I desire to make it clear that the Nagpur Satyagrahi struggle has been started in order to vindicate our elementary right against arbitrary and capricious interference and abuse of law. The Working Committee of the Congress has further asked me to make it clear that the essence of the procession, after issued to raise sympathy in my action of the public. This fact has been made clear by some of my public persons in their speeches and writings as also in the very first bulletin posted, published and

distributed immediately by the Nagpur Flag Satyagrahi Committee on the evening of April, before the actual commencement of Satyagrahi. The Working Committee has also instructed me to reproduce most emphatically the suggestion contained in the speech of the hon. member of the C. P. Government, that the National Flag procession must have" repeated to offer an appeal to the Union Jack.

Final Statement

On the eve of the arrest of the order of the District Magistrate at Nagpur, prohibiting National Flag processions through the Civil Lines, I issued a public statement on behalf of the Working Committee of the Congress which has already appeared in the press. In this same statement, it was announced by me that a procession consisting of five volunteers would pass on the 19th instant through the Civil Lines which had so far been the prohibited area. Detailed instructions regarding the route and the nature of the procession were also given and it was made clear that such procession was interfered with, the struggle would assume a new phase almost immediately with the publication of my statement containing the responsibility for the 19th, an order of the District Superintendent of Police, prohibiting processions in the Civil Lines, was also promulgated under the Police Act. The 19th of this month fell on a Sunday which used to be observed as a holiday. I had, therefore, in change the plan of action I accordingly fixed Friday the 25th as a holiday and announced that a big procession of about one hundred volunteers would pass on the 19th through the prohibited area by the main route and under the same conditions as I had laid for the 19th. Printed copies of this programme were distributed freely and a copy was sent the information to the D. S. P. This programme of a hundred volunteers under Pandit Keshavnath Ghatevali, with the National Flag, passed in a silent and dignified manner through the way and entered the prohibited area after crossing the Railway bridge and the Gandhi Church, it passed along the Court the High Court, the Secretariat, the Government's Office and the Church and finally to the Soler Bazar. It was not interfered with by the Police at any stage. The hoisting of the National Flag thus could vindicate and our right to take procession as public meeting, on a peaceful and orderly manner, has been restored. This I regard as a triumph of truth, non-violence and suffering. By the grace of God, I am, therefore, now in a position to announce that the Nagpur Satyagrahi campaign successfully done on this important Gandhi day is a genuine victory in consonance with the spirit of the unadorned Mahatma Route. I have to thank the various Friends for the ungrudging support rendered by them in the course of the struggle, thus demonstrating the strength and solidarity of the nation. I shall be failing in my duty if I did not tender my most heartfelt congratulations to all those brave men and women who have suffered and suffering as have been ready to suffer, for the cause of the nation and the honour of the Flag. I also take the opportunity of publicly acknowledging my thanks to those who have directly or indirectly assisted me in the conduct of this campaign and in bringing it to a happy conclusion. I am formally declare that the Nagpur Satyagrahi closes from this evening.

potent, if not very interesting, is coming, even in the Cape Province, where the great question had before appeared for a time to have found a partial solution. The conditions have changed; and the most serious effort is about to be made to do away with the colour franchise, and to come in line with the rest of South Africa, establishing in the Cape the complete political racial exclusion, which already exists in Natal and the Transvaal, with a few outside exceptions. The Cape Europeans are becoming as eager as the rest to take away all colour rights from the Indians and to drive this out of the country. Some passengers on board the steamer, on which I came back to India from Africa, were 'Capesters'. They were British, not Dutch, by birth. I found them as bitter against the Indians as any one in Natal. They told me, that the one great mistake had been to give the coloured man the vote! Among the 'coloured men' they claimed, they said, the Indians were at all.

There is no other question as important as that of the colour bar in Africa today. The worst feature of the boycott of the Indians in Kenya has been, that on every single point, except one, that of sympathy, it paralleled the colour bar system has been more thoroughly ignored than ever before. That is why the *Shomvi Post* is so glib. That is why Lord Delamere is so satisfied. That is why South Africa has as done become more arrogant and cruel than ever before.

Everyone in India, almost without exception, is agreed that the general position is intolerable. But what is to be done?

I believe that Mahatma's action in South Africa, during that memorable strike on the roads, which I have narrated, gives the key to solve the problem.

Mass resistance—the refusing of one class with another—of all things the most useless and the most ineffective. Monthly then, it leads directly to disaster. Indian strikes today is almost in the death agony, simply because this policy of hard resistance has been carried out with an inhuman intensity at large. The Chinese is still spreading, in either and other circles will come of the mass. Indians have given up Kenya as practically hopeless. Nothing appears, in the future present, except ruin and negro and displaced. Another example, which is almost equally terrible in the same way, through the world have been about it, is the slow destruction of the ancient civilisation of China by Japanese overlords. Dr Sun Yat-sen has recently found a nation which began —

"The Chinese people have suffered long and heavily under the burden of selfishness, which has brought in its train civil war, despotism and anarchy. To the long suffering Chinese people, the recent harsh campaign was but one of innumerable similar oppressions in former days known, and another effort in their resistance against their oppressors."

The world of Christ are true for all time! "He then when the sword shall perish by the sword."

It is that which upon the stage-coach, Mahatma Gandhi had started before South and had returned from his tour, he would never have missed the victory,

If he had not kept every passive order control, he would have been defeated. But he won a moral triumph. Yet it must not be thought, that his struggle was merely 'passive', as though he himself were lacking all the while. On the contrary, he displayed a strength of will and courage and endurance, which even the strongest men and the stoutest men might envy. Furthermore, there was a dignity and a high nobility, which would have been entirely lacking, if the whole scene had developed into a violent physical struggle.

What then does this example of Mahatma's action to us? Surely it means that we must pick up our minds to take to combat any longer, weakly and feebly, it is necessary to organize and resist. We strive to have any connection as far as possible with a 'White League'. We must not accept the inferior position of a mere hanger on, or a parasite, living a parasitic life of dependence, waiting to get what advantage we can out of the power of Great Britain, even at the sacrifice of our own self-respect. We must remember, that if the whole race can treat India as inferior and contemptible, India herself will be used to bring other races into inferiority and subordinate Indian troops and resources have already been used in this way. Such things must not be allowed to go on any further.

Three years ago, I signed with all the force I could command, in a usual schedule, that toleration was the birth-right of India, and she should claim her birth-right. I did not believe, from what I had seen there without number in Africa, that she could ever be treated as an equal in the same league. It was for this very reason, that I declared my belief, that India's destiny lay outside the 'White League' also. But I found that I was before the fact. The public mind was not prepared for such a thought then.

But things have moved very quickly. What was in advance of the times then, is becoming a commonplace now. For this reason, I welcomed with all my heart the leading articles in *Young India* my July 1926 and August last. The article on July 1926 appeared to me to give in a very brief compass the new point of view. I have been crying so loud in notice about Kenya I feel that on words of my own can express better what I have wished so much to state, than the chosen words, that were then written. They read as follows:—

"Nothing is done. The problem of Kenya and South Africa and the rest cannot be solved unless we are in a state of slavery. Resistance against the Colonies has been suggested—resistance against South Africa and, resistance against goods from Kenya, boycott of the white race. But the proclamation of these all is the strength of the nations to stand upon the feet and throw South Africa's yoke of tribute the readiness to check Europe with moral force of us by the righteous indignation of our people's indignation, self-respect, courage, and the fact that resistance was a duty."

These words are great and true and they should be remembered by the nation.

Khasi Notes

True Self—Portraiture

Out of the numerous letters we received in reply to the questionnaire regarding economics of Khasi addressed by us to Khasi news, there is one furnishing detailed information. It comes from a Christian gentleman who settled in Sharni. We advantageously begin giving the gentleman's account as it is best due to him that his words should not be distorted without his previous sanction—

"With my wife and three children we are five members in the family. The children's ages are 6, 11 and 17 years, while both of us are about the age of 35. Besides my education by rote, we come from Kachhar and belong to the middle class. I am employed in a rice mill where I gain Rs. 125 per month. Formerly I used to spend every what I earned I had even to borrow my earnings and the account and am now comparatively in debt too. Thus I am even in ranked among the poor class. My husband is my present mode of living is to become more and more simple and economic.

"Three years back, the annual cloth expenditure of my family was at least Rs.200. Then the family consisted of three individuals whereas now it has less.

"After the adoption of Khasi, the cloth expenditure in the first year was about 200 rupees, in the second 200 rupees, while in the third i.e. the present year expenditure will come up about 120 rupees. My children all wear, besides pure Khadi, some old self-made clothes that are almost totally worn out now. They include even some dirty ones. Many have been destroyed in the bonfire but a few still remain. Not one more cloth that is not pure Khadi is imported into the house now. My wife and I have been regularly spinning for the last two years. We get our yarn for our hair and market our use in the cloth made out of it. I have not had to buy even Khadi for the last one and a half years. The return of yarn is 3 or 4 tolas per day, which gives about 10 yards of cloth every month; and that is quite sufficient for us. One to twenty yards of cloth is always lying in stock. The cloth even for the mattresses, bedsheets and pillow has been gradually replaced by Khadi.

"In spending down at the market of my other duty? The question certainly begs. Yes, it is done at the market of Muzam. Individuals here has replaced our village. We have become more religious minded. We had more self-reliance and independence free from the clutches of foreign cloth. For once working anything, we have passed independently. I do not remember other gains here in the last of handling the yarn.

"I have no complaint against Khadi. Of course much can be said against the so-called pure Khadi sold in the Bazar. It is not genuine, is dear, and less durable. The best lies with the merchants and the middlemen. With the non-dependence on, of course, why don't they keep a check over it? Why don't they spin every day when our Baps is in jail? If it is we who neglect our duty that we in Muzam, not Khadi, which is Indian and holy I have experienced it to have the power of fulfilling our's cherished ambitions. Baps has left down our duty in this connection while going to jail. All of us should make spinning and weaving a necessary part of our life. Just as religious observance, food, sleep etc. are things of daily necessity, the spinning the wheel should also be a daily duty.

"Good report pleased by a challenge and by last year from the village near by at 2 to 3 times a lb. We are able to spin about 35 lbs in a year, so we buy that much cotton. It costs us about 50 rupees. The weaving wages amount to 10-15 rupees. That makes the amount of the expenses we incur. The weaving charges are about 3-5) times higher than that we willingly pay some extra weaving charges so that our weaver shares and perhaps may also have some share in the advantages we derive from the use of Khadi. A brother-in-law has also been set up in the house for learning weaving. An old Sharni lady had woven for us about 150-210 yards of Khadi over the last. My pre-conception in service and my wife's household duties prevented both of us from learning the art before the lady died. Now we start our yarn to the village and get it woven there.

"The amount of cloth needed for head by us has been reduced—for myself—30 yards, for my wife—30 yards; for 1 son—30 yards; and for a daughter which only 14 year old—15 Yards. Then 150 yards is all we required for our family, and that much can be prepared out of our own yarn.

"The effect on our personal expenditure has been considerable. We have been able to reduce our expenditure in food, amusements, carriage hire and several other directions. The total reduction may come to about 200 rupees a year.

"Our washing expenses have decreased, because we wash our clothes at least once, and this inevitably gives a huge lease of life to the cloth. There has been a total decrease of 10-15 rupees per year in washing expenses.

"Out of my savings I am able to provide for some little portion of the family, gradually free myself from debt and also give my full economic freedom to my country, perhaps more—to the Tibet Service Fund in obedience to the wish of the Congress. My ambition is to serve the country and my soul by personally spinning myself all of our connection with riches. The life that I have been leading at present is a leading to dignity to fit me for the service.

"I, at one time a man of abnormal self-conceit spending money on my way by the grace of Khadi going myself food from shops. Then there has been a secondary gain, but it is the most noble that I value and prize above everything else. Two years back I was working-willy, silly in the economic connection with all the abundant food, clothing and down, and now freed in the of abundant starvation and distress if service were gone. But now I have the courage to stand free against being party to any unjust transaction, whether to those who commit, receive or furnish. I am thus undergoing self-purification and am greatly helped in this by 'Baps and the Church.'

"Regarding the introductory portion, which has been omitted, the letter has been published in full with only minor changes at certain places. No remarks need be added in the above, which speaks volumes for itself. Indeed, no comments can and in the face of such a practical proof of the morality and ethical economy of Khadi.

Magnum K. Ghosh

Young India

20-8-32

Dharmayudha

There is a child's story in which the courage of the mother and the father were glorified by two lovely adventures and the mother's clothes were gloriously decorated on the ground that he plays with only during day time, whereas the mother helps him at night when really fight is needed. The strength we derive by the practice of *Dharmayudha* is like the light of the sun. It lifts the whole being of the community with knowledge and personal strength, and it pervades so fully that we lose the very consciousness of its existence.

The power which a community slowly develops by continuous struggle suffering is again like the strength developed by an athlete who daily exercises his muscles to their utmost capacity. Every day he exercises his mind and brings himself and body as a result that he can do a greater weight and put forth greater energies than he usually could. This is the secret cycle of physical strength. The muscle gains strength secret by working it. But a man ignorant of the laws of his body might wonder and ask himself why he should sweat and labour himself today on the full only that he might be able to sweat and labour himself more tomorrow. We know however that while we may buy clothes and temporarily protect ourselves with means applied in emergency, the health and better shape acquired through exercise gives permanent and enduring strength and provides freedom from disease.

Worlds and layers in the individual, *Dharmayudha* gives true protection and enduring strength in a community subjected to an arbitrary and irresponsible government. This is the meaning of developing *Dharmayudha* from within.

The victory scored in the Nagpur struggle is not to be sought for either in the confusion of Anglo-Indian papers or in the hands of our own organs. It is not to be found in agreements or treaties.

It is to be found in the consciousness of man. Each party may claim success for the sake of prestige, especially as there is no independent witness to declare who has won the battle. The secret of success lies in the involuntary sharing of the subsequent conduct on the part of the community. Will the Government dare treat again such arbitrary action against the national flag? Will not negligence think and remember a hundred times and pause before again challenging the people's strength? This is the real test which will show whether there has been victory and where.

We cannot get behind the fact that *Dharmayudha* is truth all over, true at base, true in superlativity and true in ending. Its victory is not in what people say about it, but in actual fact and feeling. We cannot with *Dharmayudha* succeed except upon a gradually felt grievance. If people do not feel in their heart the sting of a wrong, they cannot succeed for any appreciable length of time the trials of our richest resistance. The refusal to submit is wrong and the willingness to suffer and continue to suffer as long as the wrong is imposed is fatal weakness.

only to tell it that it is an genuine grievance to which the Government should add the debt and content have their lot and go to pick one with the past have their freedom to judge the small benefits of domestic peace—will even public relations towards the use of war—then there is a given statement, a national injury and a genuine and strong conviction of it. Thus in the time is decided against it. *Dharmayudha*. "They do not feel for the flag", thought Government "It is not a national flag. Your teachers did not know it," said they. "It was the Government's old flag. All this and more have been suggested, and answered by refusing and withheld in truth. It did claim that the flag belonged people were that the struggle could not have ended there. If the Government were accepted, the Government, their position, would have fought more strenuously. It is because their grievance was not genuine that their resistance collapsed. It is because of this that we are a new struggle. We can think it worth the while to understand struggle for freedom, be it in the people's side or on the other. There is the fundamental fact of human nature in which *Dharmayudha* is founded.

The Government, the masses and outside are played in a powerful struggle and that is truth. Otherwise the enemy will suffer through. We can make no headway in a campaign of passive resistance by passive methods or weak false material. In-employment and means without it and the campaign will very soon have become in its end, in spite of every attempt to hide the truth in their elements, by means of misrepresentation of their own, as well as of the opponents of the campaign, when you lose the struggle and greatly retard its progress and sometimes may even wreck it. But more than ever this is today even labelled as distinguished from weakness. The man who does to pass more power a soul that knows with pain at the wrong should be imposed on him. Otherwise he will soon feel his soul and against his own feelings and the suffering and pain will be found inevitable to him. In the time to be master the suffering will be a relief to the soul, a release of pain and pleasure which continues and continues both. The man who understands resistance in the time of his grief or other marked weakness cannot sustain the battle. Men brought into the way by a leader or through ignorance will leave the full way behind. *Dharmayudha* begins out with the problem of a perfect and enduring balance.

The Nagpur struggle has its important lesson. It is the secret. Undoubtedly many weak points were among those who entered the struggle. But as stated already, this is more or less inevitable. The weakness and weakness even showed out the work and the end and were a warning to others. The assembly of suffering is always weaker than the nobility of it is in the fact of indignation and of the whole leadership or resistance. Misjudgment of one's own strength or natural when human will, the adversary has been to produce and show his weakness and to help suffering in the most effective form. Thus it was already tested and it is no diplomacy to make weakness and leave the full.

Such capital was made of the suffering scored in the course of the Nagpur struggle. Government made a scientific tribute of it. Experience again, pointed that

in developing and action which in various directions had been suggested as essential. But if Government were locked in its beautiful about them apoplexy, we could ask them to consider their own involvement in military during the war. Moreover, since methods, all low and desirable comparison. Men were called by Government committee to save the honour of the country in to protect health and have added a great danger "Your country needs you", said Government and undoubtedly they have made response. But if the British and German had the time, the most and unrestricted opportunity and resources to action the whole of the country, which the Government officials had in dealing with the imprisoned Sanyagada. In time any doubt but that almost all the Indian soldiers would have been completely persuaded to withdraw from the war and go back to their homes and their fields.

On Sanyagada story has on the whole shown for greater strength and understanding than the soldiers taken to England's war against Turkey and Germany would have shown, if subjected to similar attacks. The captives who saved themselves by questioning the Sanyagada about the nature of France and published the message through the Associated Press, would not have been better if they were themselves directly examined as to their own knowledge of this or politics. The credit the soldiers returned to India from 1914 to 1918, the demonstrated death abroad, have given better answers about the state of the war as the state of the British Empire as true as to their own duties and prospects.

The work of a campaign at Sanyagada is nothing but the establishment of truth. The lesson and pain of a war-torn struggle can be no more and no less. We cannot tell the future nor can we be robbed of our values by deception or propaganda. In the very nature of things it is not possible to get an acknowledgment of justice 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code as a result of the Nager-campaign. Our success results in making way the message to apply it. What happened in 1914 to the British Act which was wholly wrong? It was a representation of the country for civil resistance at once made a dead letter. Its spirit by the legislature recently was nearly a totalled irreversibly. In this motion 144 was revised, but its legislative application is prevented by successful Sanyagada. The Government now knows that however arbitrary its own power may be, however abandoning the law as created by itself may be, and however utterly subservient to its own will the so-called Judiciary may be, the people have the power to declare and enforce refusal to cooperate with and submit to wrong.

Government has had opportunity to see the solidarity of the nation and the message to which it was exposed to the call to action. It is a call and a principle of action in which Government cannot recede. It is not anything therefore that it may underestimate the popular response to and the possibilities of such a campaign and treat it with want respect, as a mere scheme of Utopia, based on human reason and courage that did not exist. But it has one man and heart. The people also have seen that India has been hearts ready to suffer, and possesses the courage

of conviction. Conclusions of Action on people of victory are not needed after the actual experience on both sides. On the one hand, the fear that an dignity may be followed by a determined political resistance, is now an established means for calculation of any type of military authority. On the other hand, we have tried and seen capacity and seen our own strength. C. R.

Must Repatriate

Mr. C. F. Andrews made a speech at Calcutta in which he told a true and remarkable indictment against the Government of India Office. "India has been betrayed," he said. "The greatest betrayal of all has been that of the India Office in England, but hardly less in consequence, in my opinion, has been the attitude of the Government of India." Mr. Andrews took us back where he was and showed the value of the Government.

First the Cause, The white soldiers would not enter a single coloured man in their ranks, not even Indians who had obtained English University degrees. Previously to 1914 the Calcutta Office had stood resolutely for colour bar but the whites were difficult and stubborn. The badge of colonial race inferiority was placed on the Indian.

"But what did Lord Peel do? I repeat. Indeed practically nothing. Even the moment we landed, he refused the different delegates to accept the commonal direction with all its claims of race inferiority in Africa."

Then the second issue, the Highlands.

Let us take the second vital issue—the Kenya Highlands. Here were the British soldiers, who plights had been given to the country, working and abounding a huge new area of country on the Equator and making it all as a 'white man's country'. Every level right of Indians to purchase land in Kenya was regularly and violently put aside. One more large and fertile area of India's north was simply shut out from Indian Canada, with its millions of square miles, had been closed. Australia had been closed, South Africa had been closed, the United States had been closed. And now, on the top of all this a new 'white man's country' had been barricaded off, against the very shores of India, on the Equator itself. Could resistance towards the coloured races go further? Yet what did Lord Peel do? Did he sign up a Special Billings of the King. Before even we reached London a cruel and disgusting compact had been made which our hearts revolting the Highlands, at least in Lord Peel's own term, of Africa.

Then, Immigration.

"He told the India Office against the question of immigration, that they had not even got the figures and statistics when we arrived. When we pressed upon them the fact that the Colonial Office figures, provided by the European soldiers, were most misleading, when we brought to their notice the true figures, which showed that Indians were actually leaving the country in greater numbers than they were coming in, even then, although the India Office was undoubtedly the India Office would not make a light Lord Peel was all the while trying to persuade the delegates to find some neutral grounds for restriction of immigration. He never seemed to take the obvious line that these

can be used for destruction of all. And now Lord Peel has accepted and defended an immigration restriction system, which is directed against the Indians and the Indian only. For all the claims to be demonstrated against our Indians, let us take them as they are. Who are the "white-men" who? is Europe that have to be restricted in the supposed interests of the natives? Are they Europeans? No, they are all Indians. Who are the "natives" that have to be restricted? Here again they are all Indians. Who are the small "deep-breasts"? They too are Indians. Therefore, only Indians are the restricted classes. Nothing is said about restricting the land-grabbing Europeans. The present Times Paper declares that an imperialist government will be set up at Nairobi to decide, under their own hands, what immigration is to be restricted on economic grounds. We have well what an imperialist government at Nairobi means, because as late as 1918 the Government sent a Revenue Commission Report, which declared in favour of absolute prohibition of all Indian immigration in the sugar and cereal and economic interests of the natives. The new Revenue Commission will almost certainly make the same kind of report and Indians will be excluded again. I ask, what right has Lord Peel put up against such an anomaly as that? Is he as a representative of the public before the public, he has put up no right at all, but has simply succumbed. If this is a representation of what is to be done there let the Government of India publish all the papers.

Then, the Services

The Government and the military posts, the communication and the technical posts, are all subject to the right colour bar. The Indian, however inexperienced, gets the inferior posts.

"What has Lord Harding or Lord Peel done to remove the colour bar here? As far as the public have been told, nothing has been done at all. The whole matter is placed over with a document, alone, and the colour bar in all its racial rejection, will now become harder and harder than before."

The Nile issue is Segregation.

"With regard to commercial segregation, the Kenya Commission themselves were against it. With regard to residential issue, the resolution has been clearly done by past acts of Government and by the fact observation of the Highlands. For, with the restriction for Europeans of every scrap of agricultural land available the monopolised lands in the Highlands, the Indian now has no chance at all. This is the case of Nairobi. The question allotted to the Indians is on the borders of what is called, in the survey maps, the Kenyan. The European parties is called Hill side and are Fort-hills. The very names reveal the difference. But Nairobi is an expanding capital and will extend for many miles in every direction. What chance has the Indian of getting a decent residence, when all the land outside the monopolised lands in European and he is not allowed to purchase even a small acre? What chance has been all the new developed life in the money of the Europeans every hour. By actually segregating the agricultural Highlands, the Colonial Office has really segregated all the new rising townships as well."

Mr. Andrews was in the Kenya decision a great protest, his will find will spread throughout the world.

That this defect and defects Indian racial inferiority, as Kings is not the end, it is only the beginning. This defect that has been noticed on India will reverberate all over the world. It will immediately indicate the weakness of the Anti-Imperial party in South Africa, of which General Smuts himself has assumed the leadership. The Indian community there is now destined to perpetual racial segregation. It has already started on this and brought such racial contact there that even the white Indian members of Government, the then Minister, has resigned. Competition throughout the world, wherever common franchises had been granted in which Indians shared equal rights with other races through liberal policy is likely to be stopped and the colour bar is likely to be imposed. In Canada we have just had a bitter refusal to give the vote to a thousand of some fifteen hundred Poles, who are still suffering on it that country. The United States, which was regarded as free and impartial in its ideals has just taken away the citizenship from Indians domiciled there. All over the world, the white domination of the coloured races is growing harder and harder."

But, says Mr. Andrews

"When I consider the whole matter quietly and carefully and from the highest standpoint, I am sure that this defect has been a good thing for the people of India at this time, to have so all together in a common suffering and a common unity of purpose. It will open the eyes of everyone to India's true position. It will make it as clear as possible to every single one in India, that India cannot remain any longer as a subordinate to a White Empire. For the world's sake, as well as for her own, India must repudiate this humiliating position with all her moral strength."

"In the defect of the Indian, the Africa has been detected as well."

"This is well said, for the service of India alone, but for the service of humanity. For if the colour bar is left more heavily of India, it will be left more heavily on Africa as well. If it is removed from India, it will be removed from Africa as well. In this struggle for the removal of the Colour Bar, India is fighting for a human future of the world."

C. B.

Mr. Sastri's Hotel Cecil Speech

On August 1st, 1933, in his departure from London, Mr. Sastri was entertained at a reception given to him by the Sir and Lady Town in the Hotel Cecil. In the course of a speech made on that occasion, Mr. Sastri said as follows:—

"Let me now state the great and basic of my own conviction. One great only is clear, though even that is subject to qualification—the rejection of all proposals for residential and commercial segregation. The latter is a commercial segregation has been demonstrated as impracticable, while the former is to be secured by building and military regulations and not by the effective method of racial discrimination. Segregation, however, in respect of the Highlands is to be perpetuated, and segregation is to be maintained, although not on a physical basis, on the political and municipal functions of the Colony. The Wood-Indian agreement had fixed a proportion of 80 per cent of the Indian community the enfranchisement—the white paper appears to favour the idea of an even higher percentage on matter how money are brought on the subject as long as the subject is confined to Indians."

If anyone thinks that a common code on this subject presented in India is possible or is desired, he does not have to make haste. To companies that who are excluded from the Highlands, it is proposed to make their native limitations on Indian content in the Low lands. The Indian community looks upon this offer as a trap which must be avoided, and a trap which must be avoided. They object to confusion, whether it is of the Indian from the Highlands or of the white man from the Lowlands. If they ask for equality, it is on the equality of privilege, and not for equality in disability. If then, they escape from the gateway of physical segregation, it is the only way which one of all men that deception.

Base-born Partiality

And what are the issues? Freedom from the High lands has just been mentioned. Matters relating under the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that discrimination, preventing base-born partiality, is connected herewith with the matters of H. M. Government and the Imperial Parliament. And is this the only colour bar that has been erected. The new base-born partiality arises from different ways. First of all, it separates coloured from white communities. It prevents any comparison between the Coloured and white themselves distinguishable for a state which is clearly opposed to the truth as they see it.

"The foundation is even for the suggestion that the discriminatory to any of the communities are represented."

Clearly commonal representation in the Legislature has been demanded in Kenya, solely on the ground that the white or European to the coloured people or representative of additional qualifications. Commonal franchise in India exist, but for different reasons and that it would justify them even for three reasons, but it is only just to point out that they have nothing to do with the falling suggestion of inferiority as racial or colour grounds. The meaning of the white paper would almost appear to indicate that the commonal system was good even for Great Britain, but however that may be, the following statement is clearly groundless and based on hypocrisy—

"From the point of view of the Indian residents themselves—how they appreciate our views?—This system presents a far wider horizon than any other that would be the case of a commonal electoral roll was introduced, and this alone makes it acceptable to all supporters of the Indian claims who have at least the political discipline of the Indian people."

They might have asked us whether our view are popular to the demand. (Laughter)

A Tribal Constituency Constitution.

Then again, a reference must be made to the unfortunate Wind-Whistler agreement, which would have established a common electoral roll with the same franchise applicable to all communities alike. The commonal system renders it possible to establish an other great disparity between the communities in Kenya, we shall find on which franchise for the white citizens and a college limited by qualifications for the Indian citizens and especially, also colleges on different qualifications for the Arab citizens, and when the time comes ripe, for the native system. But the representation of India is a third desirable condition. Though the Indian greatly outnumbers the white citizens and though he is to return only twenty, thirty, or thirty-five members to the members of the House,

he is to return only five members to the Legislature against whom, elected to the Imperial community. Now there is a clear majority of the non-official parties of the Council and two or three great years of administration to have—more than half of that. Moreover, the legislative majority would be given in answer to India's claims to equality.

Next, as to representation, the whole system of H. M. white paper is most palpable under this heading. The theory propounded is on behalf of the Indian, the preference made is to the benefit of the white. Starting off with a commonal declaration that would be combined in comparative regulations, whether specific or capital, would not be in accord with the principle of H. M. Government, the Government proceeds to record two findings—

1 That it is completely necessary to restrict the representation of those areas where the African citizens stand in real of serious competition.

Found to Injurious.

2 That direct and indirect financial competition are small and indirect competition exists in Government and private employ, and industrial labour.

Now it is a well known fact that these three policies are not exactly those which are followed by Indians in Kenya. Does it merely happen? Is it a simple accident? We know two facts just previous to the arrival of the various communities in London. When the terms of the Wind-Whistler agreement were made known to the white population in Kenya, they refused even to look at the documents where Indian representation were forth with accepted with a view to eventual stoppage. The Colonial Minister changing his mind as to the necessity of immigration, sent for the Governor of Kenya, attended by representatives whose salaries. That was demanded was restrictions openly directed against Indians. What is going on is certainly directed against the atmosphere for which Indians go to Kenya. Shall I be called persons if I say that our case is lost even on the immigration question? We stated facts and figures to prove that, taking the last twenty years as a basis, the European community has increased and has been able to follow. We asked facts and figures to prove that during the last two years, more Indians have left the Colony than have gone in. We pleaded that, instead of being competitors, at present we even the only people who owned and made the entire country. We pleaded that when the immigration stage was reached the entire world, in the ordinary course of things, failed to, as we were proved. We pleaded that the Government had no data as to the extent of the competition, or as to the numbers of the various communities or professions that the Colony could absorb. We pleaded that it would be unjust without any inquiry to conclude on the proposed and one-sided statement of white authors, or even of members. That our present was a barrier to the development of the nation. The facts and figures and plans have all been set aside, and we have been conditioned. To add a touch of violence to the whole thing, we are told to compare our ourselves that we are not made and as well, but on common grounds. (Applause.)

Which is the Greater Reason?

Which is the greater obstacle to the welfare and the progress of the African subject? Is it the small

trials to the extent who can be separated out of the ordinary laws of cooperation, as is the farmer, who gets paid on a large scale and again, peasantry and fisheries handed by every means that the law will allow." These reports are only failures that the white man, once established in political ascendancy over the unorganised natives, will now help him along in the path of political evolution and in the end gladly surrender responsible government to his hands? Does the experience of Ireland, Egypt, or India justify such a lesson? The white man's means to rule, to dominate, to oppress, is illustrated forth on every page of history—Egyptian—and yet the Cabinet of Great Britain rarely evinced in their pliancy as trustees of the nation, would let white communities that established rule Egypt. They have not been expressed at all by the facts that the Indian feeling suggested rule that "them, that he has been excluded from the self-governing Dominions and that to exclude him from the Cabinet is to treat as constant grounds to be done, but the benefits of British citizenship and, in fact, to deprive it of all value to him.

Towards the end of the White Paper the Cabinet professes to apply the principle announced in the conclusions of the Imperial Conference of 1921 to the particular conditions of a tropical colony in British East Africa. There by representation of the end are meant to identify you with the extraordinary deficiency of conditions in Kenya. In fact, the expression they use is to reduce the principle of the Conference to the conditions of Kenya. "To achieve—well, the solution is achieved by the institution of a colour bar, and by the recognition of Indians to an inferior position and a delayed citizenship.

Changed Times!

How short is human memory! It is not so long ago that we would have been glad enough for the Indian for his services during the war, for his loyalty, his loyalty on the battle-field, and the rich compensation he had earned. Whence are the pledges given, of the full rights of citizenship and absolute equality and unqualified partnership in the Empire? They issue from Loyalty from responsible Ministers, from the press and from the platform, with every grade of authority and in every tone of conscious phrasing. Why into the wilderness of 1935 with its disclaimer from South Africa and India's career there? That resolution applied only to the self-governing Dominions, with which India had in the year 1930 entered into a pact of reciprocity. H. M.'s Government, controlling the Crown Colonies directly, came under the sway of principles of equality and brotherhood long anterior to 1914, and pledges and promises of quite responsible authority.

After waiting for a long time with his protected position, and after enjoying equal treatment a hundred times over, and after infinite opportunities and assistance and having declared that Kenya supplied the real test of Empire and his position in the Empire, the Indian has been cruelly betrayed. Scores of men before pledges, days of many solemn promises, his faith in the justice and responsibility of the British Empire cannot almost be recalled. He is at last understood.

"We now realise that a large section of the British people, the section that keeps the present Government in power, have not come under the sway of the spirit and ideals of the League of Nations, and that in their opinion, pledges made to a people not able to exact their fulfilment, need only to be honoured to the extent that it may be convenient or profitable. The leading factor of the situation is not to be found in the white paper at all—nor in anything about that. It is something outside of it altogether. As Colonel Wedgwood and the other say, it is the fact that the white in Kenya threatened them while the Indians relied on the words of their own. Realisation is truth, but the moment of truth is that a party is able to cause, provide with the "League of Nations" today (Applause) Having had this lesson learnt, rule them Indians, let us hope will not ever forget it again (Cheers).

In making war on the Republic of South Africa, Great Britain professed to teach President Kruger and his right-wing principles of government. President Kruger is now fully avenged. Not only are Indians worse treated under the Union Jack than ever before, but the colour bar of South Africa is spreading over the British Empire, and it is now intended with the power of the law upon the understanding to establish justice and righteous laws in the Empire, which the Labour Party gave through Colonel Wedgwood, coloured characters of good nature in the war bright features of an otherwise gloomy situation. We owe them a deep debt of gratitude. (Applause)

Shared Hope.

One last word. Our friends must understand that in the whole of the struggle India has looked to you for our eyes, our picture that Indian citizenship has right to equality, so, in Sir Robert Hamilton in a wise and temperate speech said, that they will have the citizenship of the British Empire. In this we matter in respect of the Highlands the freedom or immigration restrictions where that agreement and movement are intended? The demand of it is written large on the pages of the white paper.

How can India represent in the settlement for our interest? It stands at over the hope of India and the honour of Britain.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have expressed myself, as I told you before, with fellow and brother on the situation as it appears before us. What we are to do in the future is the question, I am sure, that is apparently young hearts here, so it is appearing young hearts in India. (Applause) In short interview I have given indication of my personal views, but they are only personal views. It is difficult to take decisions when one is far away from friends. James thought, mature deliberation and necessary before plans can be laid. I will yet a written promise I will not think that the momentary say, what will be done in India. But I will say the more more what I have said before, that India has lost more a home because she has never shown that she can reach citizenship in the only way in which a strong Western Power understands commitment. (Cheers.)

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Responsibility as Abolition?

Marxism, according to the "Threat of India", defines—albeit, abhorrently—the "Powers". Even the unfortunated, outraged words of the Nagpur volunteers on the 18th vis-a-vis the later part of a protest. What was it say of the "abominable jail delivery of the persons convicted by the criminal courts for having taken an active part in a rebellion severely revolutionary in its aims?" Indeed the abominable jail delivery would be a monstrous protest if the persons released answered to the description given by the "Powers". But the Government thought that it was of the two parties was which it was (yet—though) the conviction may not be by so many words—what is a list of names—except the most respectable members of society as "Vagabonds" and "Moralist applicants", members on whom the "Threat of India" showered contempt since in those days and by a characteristically hypocritical note, one location as "men of solid world position". It was just a display act of cynicism, there was no abolition of lawless forces. The abolition has yet to come, not an abolition created—as in India—by threats and intrigues, but a pure and voluntary abolition following upon a recognition of the people's right to govern themselves, and upon a renunciation of its ancestral position. If this abolition ever comes about, then and then only may respectful judges have seriously to consider if that action does not violate of the nature of responsibility.

The Truth about it

We never thought it to have upon our imagination for details in enable us to read and at other of the parties to the Nagpur struggle. These commentators have been at pains to prove that the leaders of the Nagpur Satyagraha entered into a compromise arrangement in alleged members, on view of the fact that he could not carry on the fight any longer. *Arise!* at that we present them with Pandita Jawaharlal Nehru's emphatic statement at a meeting in Ahmedabad on the 18th day, that "a letter was received from Nagpur saying that they were desisted by the Government so they were told that the order would be withdrawn whereas a fresh order under the Police Act was issued. The letter informed them that volunteers should be sent as Satyagrahis would be continued". In defiance of reports it is a matter of common knowledge that two leaders, one of Indian under Mrs. Gandhi, and one of our under Dr. Keshava, were ready awaiting orders on every day. Regarding the "surrender to the District Magistrate" of which some of them have told on media much capital, Pandita Jawaharlal said that the notice specifying the name of the prosecution through the published area on the 18th contained names such

leading as "Proclamation against Police Order". He also informed his audience that those who were released the next day took back their flags and to satisfy themselves also passed through the prohibited area. "Yes", and the Pandit "if the authorities chose to regard the copy of the notice as the prosecution that was sent to the police as an application for permission, they were welcome to claim themselves".

Lalaji's Views

It is no use discussing Lalaji's statements of his views on the present political situation. He tried to enter into a controversy and he has begged himself not to try to convert him in their way of thinking. We wonder why then the friends who had an opportunity to see him and discuss things with him then issued an publication of that statement. We, for our part, will not content to pay for Lalaji's speech merely on which from recent reports he seems to be well on the way. We shall then repeat him to hear the other side and consider his statement.

Findings on Nagpur Satyagraha

Pandita Mohdali's adverse criticism of the Nagpur Satyagraha is based on his considered opinion that "in the taking of the last sentence through the prohibited area with the presence of the authorities and showing the orders of the Police Department about calling 'yeh' the signatures of the Government had previously abandoned their principles along-co-operation". We hope Pandit will revise his opinion in the light of facts stated by Pandita Jawaharlal at his Ahmedabad speech. After the basic information is cleared he will not be in a better case the opinion that all the sacrifices have been wasted.

"Hartal" or not, protest?

One can understand Pandita Mohdali's feeling hot of everything done by a "Working Committee" dominated by the orthodox non-co-operation. One can also understand the deep anger which he has directed against the Committee, as it is beyond the bitter-sweet. Pandit to say anything about an agitation without a merit. But what pains comprehension is that the venerable Pandit should have kept so off the rails, when he asked his audience at Durg a whether Mahatma's son against India as his secret to be a permanent line against the Government at such moment at all conditions and all times. That hardly does justice to Pandita's own power of reasoning, and his general sense of fairness. May we ask why Pandit and not a word against the *hartal* on the 18th of March last? The present Working Committee will continue to having not been able as yet to the working more than regarding a general *hartal* regarding the Nagpur decision. But even the Pandit has yet to demonstrate that Council easy is a better form of protest, not to say, a better solution.

Composition of the Councils

Councils	Attendance (total members and special)	Members	General Committee (1933)	Total strength
Council of States	23+14=37	30	25	55
Legislature Assembly	12+12=24	10	21	34
Nagpur Council	21+20=41	21	21	42
Boarding "	2+2=4	2	2	4
Boarding "	20+2=22	20	20	40
General Provision Council	10+11=21	10	10	20
People's Council	22+1=23	22	22	44
Police & District Council	17+12=29	17	17	34
General Provision "	10+7=17	10	10	20
General Provision "	24+1=25	24	24	48

Mr. Vallabhbhai's Statement

Mr. Vallabhbhai's statement was received by you long after the echo wave is past. It is a significant document which would do credit to any true disciple of Mahatma. The facts leading up to the preliminary interview have been recounted with remarkable candour and fairness, and one can safely say that Mr. Vallabhbhai must have been pained even to have to make a reference to all sorts of hostile conditions against what is considered the Nagpur Congress. Pained as it may be it was a clear duty. He owed it to the released Congressmen who were fighting in prison, absolutely confident that the flag would be kept flying by those who remained behind. He was forced to make it clear to them, if not to this surprising world, that they were not, not because some one had plotted for money or cloutery on their behalf, nor because the movement was defunct, nor because the Council had passed a resolution that they should be released, but because the honour of the flag was risked, and the Government had seen the wisdom of letting them a day longer in jail.

We have no doubt Mr. Vallabhbhai's statement will give a quake to all the crisscross, brown and blackcross, involved against him. Pundit Jawaharlal has, as we have shown in a note, fully vindicated Mr. Vallabhbhai.

We wish Mr. Vallabhbhai had organically rejected the wounding reference to the "Congressmen of Nagpur whom the Government (or shall we say the news-hound) " "Government " has unwittingly betrayed. Not that he did not deserve to be exposed, but this great statement was no place for it.

Mr. Vallabhbhai was devoted to Nagpur to carry on a task which was hardly star in consequence. He has carried it out valiantly and unflinchingly. Those who fought while the struggle was on, demonstrated by their manner of fighting that no battle could be fought in a cleaner manner. It was left to Mr. Vallabhbhai to demonstrate that more could be won also in a cleaner manner.

A Prison Official's Confession.

It seems a strange expectation to fix upon for freedom by denying him of a few hours of rest. Yet this is just what governments seek to do by putting criminals in prisons. The lunatic problem might perhaps be solved by sending a thief to jail, but it is at the cost of creating a still more difficult problem, what to do with the man he has finished his term of imprisonment and completely refitted himself for freedom? Administrative methods of dealing with criminals are more efficacious than those that lead to severity. The doctrine of prison reform should leave us in this the doing of good rather than the building of more of these costly institutions. There is, indeed, no rest when, but have been made by the Inspector General of Prisons of Burma, Lt. Col. Kapp, in his concluding general observations in the latest administration report issued by him.

According to him the Government believes the various possible sources of getting men in prison, by very effectively exposing the futility of the present

system. In the prisoner selected from amongst 10,000 for whom other release is a general rule the good system is a document that amounted with reference to the class of people who are prone to leave him where the Bureau Inspector General says, so —

"There is a general release, an adaptable normal, and quickly leaves him to follow on a more convenient and that is what happens in a jail—any jail. A man readily leaves him to become (leave or find) a good person, but this meaning by which he becomes part of a more or less efficient machine, in the worst possible manner for the few left, and the more perfect the machine, the less likely probably is the individual as the time of release. The soldier finds it his duty, or his discharge the proper mark more so."

"It is certain that many of our 'good' prisoners have good thoroughly had nothing. They are adapted to good life and have developed a special kind of 'good' and 'bad', many of them—hardness, hardness, hardness more—had freedom has had a thing, and make an determined fight against the various troubles and prison life. These results are good prisoners, and they are the origin of the popular legend that prisoners come back to good because they have a better time made than out. It is also clear that under our criminal system and that means others to fall into crime."

Information ought to be the aim of imprisonment but these governments have miserably failed. Dr. Kapp says:—

"When we ask how we stand in regard to this, we must, I fear, admit that our goals are not, and probably cannot be made, reformations. The facts of adaptation and some connection with voluntary stand in the way. But, some men do make themselves fit for freedom while in jail, but they are few and they do it in spite of, and not because of, the good system. I do not believe it is possible to fix a man for freedom so long as he is subject to material surroundings. Other methods are necessary, if the object is to be attained."

The ugly truth is told by the Inspector General that—

"Involuntary still, in my opinion, includes our whole system of punishment. It is especially considered hardly decent to subject the majority of the primary basket of average, but surely it is always there. If so, it would be more honest to subject instead of trapping it, and releasing the defence of the prison system on other grounds."

The following observations of Dr. Kapp are worthy of quotation by all those responsible departments who would offer successful attack that severity of treatment is a prison for crime.

But many will ask, if good is not impossible, why are we not doing it? The answer is, that it is a failure to expect that human punishment does not deter us should therefore increase the punishment. Punishment might be really effectively deterrence, both as regards the individual and offender and the potential offender, if it were inevitable that there was no. The man who commits a crime before he has an accident chance of escaping both detection and punishment, and he is fully prepared to that belief under our present system. To put it briefly, fear does not deter him from crime. Another argument is that we are merely belittling to punish a man by imprisonment with the

The key theme was to be found in cooperation, not in the Council, but in the way that the Mass had shown. He knew he cannot meet Mahatma for making to release him with the help of Councils and his representative committee—that will not represent it and we have shown. He knows that the thing cannot be done, was exactly the one answer to his own brutal and harsh. That is his his heart and he knows that it was Mahatma's life breath. In a passage of mindless rage, Mahatma has revealed the chords of Nature—

"It is the magnitude of such violence which has been the leading factor. You take President Kinger, when with a handful of his uneducated countrymen turned his attention against the British Empire, and he would stagger forward. He knew that he would receive every blow, woman and child and even with a single blow head to widow. And England yielded when she was called, with the bloody feet that the floor had poured for her. And even as Ireland has been staggering forward for many a long year. And England has yielded when she is no longer able to bear the sight of blood pouring out of the thousands of Irish women. I know for certain that it is no legal violation, dangerous to maintain justice or constitution of Councils and Assemblies that will give us what we want. We shall have to stagger forward into the South Africa and Ireland have been obliged to. Only instead of separating South Africa and Irish Ireland non-cooperation and leaving from the living examples of their own actions the art of spilling their own blood without spilling that of their opponents—

Michael Dwyer

The Crowning Triumph

What a pleasure in publishing before the eyes what need by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel at a meeting in Nagpur held on the Independence day to welcome the returned Ghandhis—

I take this opportunity of making a final statement with a view to dispel all doubts, as not at rest all the statements that have been raised by the tabling, mischievous and maliciously reports circulated by interested parties regarding the happenings of the 18th August which resulted in the successful end of the struggle. It is well known to all that this struggle had to be commenced when under the guise of regarding procession on public roads the District Magistrate of Nagpur prohibited procession with the national flag beyond the District Court buildings in the civil lines by issuing an order on the 1st of May 1932. This order was regarded, and as later events have conclusively shown rightly regarded, as a challenge and as such in the national flag and a denial of our elementary right to peace and traffic the flag and to carry it in a peaceful and orderly procession on public roads. For about a month even a single person, man or woman, attempting to carry a flag into the prohibited area was arrested. The force of the arrested persons were increased. When such open prohibition of law replaced in its way civilised society, that was being perpetrated in the matter was of her own order was publicly exposed, the Government of Central Provinces had to make an admission about

the legal definition of the term procession. A group of any two persons carrying a national flag constituted a procession as far as the Government right as to the end of the struggle. Another leader, Mahatma went to the length of publicly advising the people not to hinder themselves in the national flag after such a prohibition had been imposed, and finally respectable persons among the Nagpur were arrested on railway stations or vegetable or on procession this to give satisfactory account if they happened to have a flag with them.

The campaign was thus directed not for the purpose of obtaining an unrestricted use of public roads in the meaning of the Indian Act, or for any other any action of the people, but for the challenge of the honour of the national flag and against an attempt of setting up Mahatma in the heart of India under the cover of police regulations. After a prolonged struggle of three months and a half the national flag procession of a hundred volunteers entered the prohibited area and moved through a large portion of the civil lines without interruption whilst a surprising large demonstration of them all over the route through which the procession passed on the afternoon of the 18th August, and this enabled us to publicly announce the triumphant termination of the struggle that evening. I do not propose to discuss all operations conducted in the early life. But for the benefit of those of you who have come out now from within and with the others that want to understand how the struggle ended so suddenly and so successfully after the lapse of the police order, I desire to explain the strategy. For obvious reasons I did not want to disturb the normal course of the struggle and the Government took the decision to let the Council in solution. There was no doubt in my mind that an important expression of opinion however strongly expressed if address was bound to provide the official Government document of the civil war and to reflect the back of the Government's attitude. Therefore, when the momentous arrival day of the Council influence, I at once issued my statement on the 18th, clearing the area of the struggle of all non-representations and misrepresentations by once again repeating the position taken by the Nagpur Government from the beginning, and next day accepted the statement of the Government of the 18th specifying the route, time and restrictions regarding the conduct of the procession, taking into account the special circumstances of London and high feelings prevailing on that particular occasion, and which were further repeated by the early morning on the Council floor. The programme of the 18th was apparently so adjusted as to meet the essential point of view as far as it was possible without giving up anything essential in which the struggle was fought. The result was that the Government thought it better to let the procession pass than to risk a loss, learned early after the procession passed through the prohibited area and the announcement of the success of the movement was made, the whole country and particularly the Anglo-Indian press was flooded with all news of mischievous, mischievous and inaccurate reports and the conspiracy about our interview with his Excellency the Governor of the Central Provinces was also raised in the press. To me, how the situation was brought about, is of little

inconspicuous. The general impression that the non-cooperation stand on non-cooperation, is calculated. Personally I would not even want for a moment to mention it. I felt worried at a greater stage for united understanding that I aimed long policy to independent publicity as non-cooperation stands all reports and to stand about the non-cooperation or agreement. There is no such in such reports. We have made no comparison of agreement with the Government nor have we given any understanding. The interview took place on the 15th August. It only afforded me an opportunity of placing each other's points of view. Reports have been circulated that an application to the District Superintendent of Police to hold a procession will put in. I would have taken no notice of such reports had it not been for the fact that which reference is made in a letter signed that a very high placed officer of Government is responsible for circulating such malicious and economic reports to the public press. If I wanted to apply for permission, the struggle could have ended long ago. I was not beyond my knowledge that a large procession passed through the prohibited area on the Turkish Feast celebration day, personally with permission obtained from the District Magistrate. Some members of the local Council suggested repeatedly to me that they would apply and obtain permission to their cause. I knew that a mass rally would mean from me to the District Magistrate would have been enough. Obviously there would be no objection to an application for such permission. The Congress has not prohibited such action. But at that stage of the struggle I felt it was impossible for me to do so without compromising the prestige of the Congress when an application was expected to be obtained at the point of the boycott, for that it was the crux of the whole question. All other points were more or less matters of detail. It was easy enough for any one to see that the struggle at that stage was crystallized and was concentrated mainly on one issue, viz. the determination to put down with all the resources of the Government, when they called upon defiance of lawful authority on one side and an equal determination of the people to exercise their right with all the resources and resources that it may involve to offer civil disobedience against arbitrary and despotic use of authority on the other side. In the introduction given in the District Superintendent of Police of my proposed plan of action against his order on the 15th, there was nothing by which it could be interpreted as an application. On the contrary the copy of the programme clearly indicated that it was intended to test the newly issued order. In any case I have no doubt I would have failed in my duty if I had not shown submission of such an unusual change to be pronounced in all its aspects especially when such a change was made for the first time since the commencement of the struggle. It would have been wiser to take the police by surprise immediately after the District Magistrate moved from the field. To my mind surprise attacks are not permissible in a struggle of this nature. The huge concentration of police force in the prohibited area shortly after the 15th was

sent, and which I is not for me to explain, easily put the seal of such intention. If, however, that intention as the result in the programme regarding the conduct of the procession were considered convenient enough for setting free an ideological battle, I should be happy to think that without violating anything I also referred to some extent the endorsement of the Government and made it possible for them to return with honour. But I repeat that an application has been put in but has any permission or license been obtained. I have noticed some controversy going on in the press as to the effect of the non-cooperation of the Council on the struggle. It is not my duty to express my opinion whether the Council proceedings have helped or hindered me, nor is it likely to be misunderstood. It is enough to say that the Police order was issued after the Council resolutions and no action was given to any of them till the end of the struggle, but as soon as the struggle ended all the independent processes were discharged. Let there be no doubts that a government that claims to know its business best and manages nothing but force, either moral or physical, can ever understand genuine action, even if such action against the detailed rules of a Council Resolution. All such attempts afford opportunities for subtle and sometimes even more subtle to those who are not there to defend themselves. Such resolutions can only serve the purpose of their government as a machine tool for a selfish purpose if the order is supposed of independence of them. The Government were in a hurry to issue to release all the prisoners as well after the procession was allowed to pass and I think the Government of the Central Province is wrong honorably I repeat to that that seven out of about a thousand persons released have been yet been detained for some offences against public discipline. I trust however that they will also be released soon. Even the little delay that has taken place, is I have no doubt due to shortcomings beyond the Government's control. I am glad that my brother who followed me here unselfishly when my arrival and who closely co-operated with me in conducting the struggle almost up to the end, agrees with me entirely in the particular case, about the failure of these resolutions, though I must say, on different grounds. It is well known to all that we stand close apart in our political convictions. But we both go back from Nagpur more or less satisfied in our historical political convictions.

I welcome you all who have returned from your self-imposed action back again to our side, where you will find ample opportunities for much higher service in a greater struggle awaiting you. With your return, back savings or today I stand on stronger grounds to continue with greater emphasis what I had said on the last occasion that the Nagpur Flag Struggle has ended in the vindication of the honour of our national flag, the regeneration of our right to rule powerful and orderly processes in public work and in the complete triumph of truth, non-violence and selfless.

But there is nothing to boast of in our achievement. Victory does not lie in what we have achieved, nor even in what we have suffered but in our readiness to suffer more and more till we achieve our final goal. Before me when I say that the truth of our struggle is not due to us or the least degree but to all of you who have suffered and many others who were ready to suffer for the cause and also to the indestructible energy and the admirable sense of discipline which the Congress Committee has shown throughout the conduct of the struggle.

I cannot share the statement without stating before the public as well as Government an important fact which has come to my knowledge whilst I was trying to trace the source of all the malicious reports that were circulated in the press about the leadership of the Hindu Congress across various places of evidence, which probably also accounts for the furious letter written appearing in the *Times of India* in the last week of June, after the arrest of Shree Purnanand Nagpur and his co-workers, as also for the general attitude of that journal towards the movement throughout. In the issue of the *Indian Review of August 1933*, there appears a telegraphic message dated 19th August from the Government of Nagpur under the heading "Suppression of news", "Reserve a hint to authority". The report of the correspondent of the *Times of India* of the same date appearing in the issue of the 19th of August under the heading "Government authority suppressed" happens to be a verbatim copy of the Commissioner's message appearing in the *Indian Review*. Reading the two together it is difficult to make out whether the correspondent of the *Times of India* is the Commissioner of Nagpur or the Commissioner of Nagpur is the correspondent of the *Times of India*. It is possible that the Commissioner of the *Indian Review* writes to Bombay correspondents by publishing it as the message from the Commissioner of Nagpur instead of "from his own correspondent", misquoting him. For sometime I did not believe that the statement was issued by him. On inquiry I found that he had done so. I have been wronged however that the Commissioner of Nagpur was not authorized to issue the statement that has been written by him in the *Indian Review*. Besides I have observed that the Government of the Central Provinces are unable to control the journalistic activities of the Commissioner. On a former occasion also he had brought the Government into trouble by his activities in this direction. In connection with this very movement, despite all its orders not to meddle with the affairs of the Government. In such a manner he goes to and fro. Whilst I readily acknowledge the genuine desire of the Government for an honourable end of the struggle and while I have no doubt that the action is justified, I feel bound to say that the Government cannot escape the responsibility of its action in the end.

We have to think that that at a time when personal prejudices, party politics and communal animosities interfered with national sentiment, when political views and high and common interests, and when there of doubt and

only were getting the upper hand, the Nation as well as the humble opportunity of demonstrating the undercurrents of solidarity, strength and the readiness of heart of the nation and a united and understanding of friends and misrepresentation by him, this act, clear and unambiguous display of moral weakness will be taken to heart. Based by the nation with pride, and will inspire greater faith in the morality of the masses of truth, non-violence, and selfless, which alone, as Mahatma Gandhi has said, are united to the creation and the defence of our nation. Peace Mahatma.

Reject the Ignoble Association

The Right Hon. T. T. Srinivas Sastry has issued the following, statement to the Associated Press of India:-

"I feel it a great misfortune to be put out of action when there is such an urgent call for service in the name of the motherland, but I have been warned that I must take complete rest. It is to avoid a collapse before doing so I wish to say a few words to the public. I advocate without hesitation a policy of vigorous action by our country to induce our governo to relent. If we could manage for a moment that we had our own Government when the Cabinet decision on Nagpur was announced, they would have taken instantaneous action with the same heart with which the example can't right hand moves to protect from injury any part of our's body.

Sometime ago the representatives of two Deodars, disclosed at the representative tribune arrangements made by the authorities of the British Empire Exhibition of 1934, threatened non-participation and carried their point. That is the way in which serious displeasure shows itself. If my Government could take such a step no Cabinet would think of treating it as they have treated it in the case of Karna. The withdrawal, if a possibility could be considered would be left as in the nature of a blow at the League. Considerable efforts should be made by influential local committees to keep back public relations and semi-official agencies while the Government and statutory bodies, the Imperial Trade Board be reached by the usual channels of public opinion till the new Legislature can take the constitutional course open to them. Nobody supposes that the withdrawal of official representatives of India from the Imperial Conference will reduce it to a state of impotence or paralysis.

Those, however, who take self-interest and study its consequences in human affairs will look for certain grosser reactions, to the two American agencies, which is unchanged. It is not any longer to persuade the average British politician that amongst our intelligentsia and their representatives in both circles feelings of resentment and indignation are of the same kind as in the rest of the world. The Deodars as well as the British statement may think that our indignation is unphased and serious consequence of our absence, but they cannot help being concerned in contemplating our absent place, that without human action had found a becoming decision.

To Avoid Women Issues

Again, who will pretend that the treatment of candidates recommended to our future legislatures will build loyalty on the suffraging communities at all adequate in the future than we have enjoyed? Nevertheless, such action as we can take is fully approved and cannot be avoided except at the risk of worse indignities and humiliations. I well remember being told in 1918, "If we let you why don't you let us in return? We have accepted you full power of independence." When one is in the grip of a fully paid, potent and philosophical education it is no wonder. To be out with all one's strength may not be attractive either, but it is at least a recognition of one's weakness. I just happened that my imprisoned father suffers not to much to punish the treatment as one of wounded pride. The prosecution of these measures provided by the denial of equality in the Empire will be severely abhorred and resented everywhere by the Government of India in which such attitude. The Viceroy and his Councilors will only be increasing their own detestation and paying the Assembly has a fixed and implacable hostility which can only hasten the day of responsible Government in the country. That would be a gain not less great for us being lost. These developments which the household name India is sure not be made clear to the intelligentsia at the present stage. Their political education will thus receive an impact which nothing else can give and candidates must regard it as their primary duty to obtain seats in the local bodies conveying votes in the usual way.

Are they Our Privileged?

One is sometimes amazed, and sometimes irritated, by the consciousness as to which the treatment of caste in this country is not by any means justified and cherished, we have to the position suffered as on by the law of national honour, but how can they altogether as who push by the divided condition and in our a few cases least? Are they our Privileged? Do they set up themselves as our teachers? If so let them show us the better way by their example and not quote our social status as the position for their unworthy practice. We are struggling, though our unwashed religion and civilised education for opportunities of reaching the world-wide spirit world. While these opportunities were due to coming here as a dignified. Women world copying our own system, our practice of segregation, our social hierarchy and also our own dignity, our ancestral education and our discipline as a representation of ourselves. We are endeavouring to get rid of these ugly Indian traditions. Reformation and reconstruction in the country one which we no longer support for their custom systems than their attitudes by divided nations of the West in civilisation.

For to be it from us to quote or even to condemn the enormous hierarchy of British rule in India, I have often spoken and written of them and of the glorious history of the British Commonwealth and I hope to live to do so again in better days when British Imperialism shall have shed its power and assumed its right character. But I was not to appropriate

people with a high destiny while their wealth and culture throughout the years League of Nations writing up after another deflection, a column has after the first passage. Thus as the and day as India near the Indian heart which can never without studies the long tale of wrongs and indignities to which our people have been subjected within an Empire that takes all the time of human brotherhood and even-headed justice.

Refinement of Ingratitude and Tyranny

I cannot stop now to tell the tale. Let us look at Kenya. We have gone there for some reasons over The British Government came there only to safeguard our interests. Not only did we furnish the accounts but we carried our influence to establish the British Protectorate. The earlier British officers thought that the new territory would be a suitable outlet for the congested drainage in India. Our early labour built the railway in 1901 today we only railways but Government officers are run by our clerical class. The company system was very old it was replaced recently by the rule of Indian wealth. Indian Postal Code was introduced, our money drains to the end of Kenya were then come to keep the Union Jack flying. We are the only people now that do anything so much and train the people in the art of civilised life. Great numbers of Indians were here and had their after many years during which we were needed, employed and encouraged, to be now told at the bidding of a few unscrupulous Whites that we are a danger to the nation, that we are a moral and physical burden and that our future independence must be retarded and finally stopped. This is the refinement of ingratitude and tyranny, the change of which will become my heart though it has been my constant struggle night and day during most months. It may not be pleasing to Government but it is good for them to know that there is hardly an intelligent or patriotic Indian who does not consider the statement as getting with a long succession of richesses pledges in the direction of human brotherhood in favour of an unrighteous pledge made by international selfishness and in the face of sacred justice.

Party Nationalistic Treatment

The Kenya settlement is a prime national institution. It shows the limitations of our white life. Party interests and party selfishness were now involved as well as a heavy burden. I am happy to believe that members of the Council of India Society are everywhere in their duties, while reminding me to their liberal mind and that of the founder, in co-operation with men and women of all parties in the country to bring to get their citizens wrongs righted and in the speedy achievement of Swastika which is the sovereign good of the land.

Appendix

1. The National College, Varanasi will be grateful for presents of books from people who have read and can spare them for being added to the library of a small national institution.

G. R.

The Present Situation

Those suggestions for a pre-Indian Congress of youth. They are taken from a letter received by Mr. Mahadeo Desai from an unknown friend.

What I was most curious about in my conversation with Mr. Bhagupaticharya I had very hardly heard about his intention to appear not only before the house, but also from public life, and I have now read his article "Enough".

Now, if I were in his position I could never have any part in the ideal experiment of Bhagpaticharya, about N. C. C. mostly because I was shocked before him only, by one opponent, who was not in fact, much opposed. I could rather do nothing than give up the good and happy life.

Next, if Bhagpaticharya, by reason of anything in my character or temperament, would wish me to go to some way, change into the hands of some one else of that different chance I would be the first man to stand most cheerfully to their wishes to reject other and I would do it to make the sacrifice of the thought that I am not N. C. C. Bhagpaticharya might be under a severe handicap of temperamental defect.

Again, if I felt other than negative self-resistance that the present life with its life and to N. C. C. Bhagpaticharya, but cannot be myself in the sense of remaining in a position of power or of separation, however much at the same time I was eager to serve my country or Bhagpaticharya should immediately return and proceed to stand in a more of self-discipline and self-sacrifice. The more that time, I have some temperamental defects which go to shatter people who do not know me as I really am, would not accept more than my part for what man matters who has not the defects of his nature? In the with Bhagpaticharya or perhaps also that you would want.

There is a very strong interest in the history of the N. C. C. movement and now is the time to give way to a word of self-discipline or a spirit of sacrifice but one fight above all things to do and above head against the onslaught of Congress, Bhagpaticharya, eye men of violence from the opposite camp, at a time when all related hands are proving fatalistic and are being used, and are over by the latter. The flag, Bhagpaticharya, must be kept flying while it happens. And therefore I think this is not the time for Bhagpaticharya to return.

This is the last part of my argument. The next part is the Mahadeo Mahadeo. It is clear to be returned. Dr. Kishore and Mahadeo Mahadeo, another Kishore, present, have clearly been. They are all I cannot be that, Bhagpaticharya, and good against in Bhagpaticharya. About Mahadeo Mahadeo, I am almost sure that he must have Bhagpaticharya and the N. C. C. and to an appropriate compromise. Bhagpaticharya, to my humble opinion, should be moving of the sort he is contemplating without consulting Mahadeo Mahadeo and having his approval. If Bhagpaticharya now return, Mahadeo Mahadeo and the rest would feel directly weakened in strength of party leadership.

I have another idea and that is not the least in part of importance and I would venture to draw your careful attention and the attention of your

friends to it. I have read the article on Party Politics on "Young India" (July 1954). I consider it is worth its weight in gold. I am thinking for something not on the extreme suggestion or compulsion of party politics in the course of our present fight for life or death. You must, I think, feel distressed and disappointed, but hold on to it. We are prevented from following a single concentrated attack. That is, before, we must be united in strategy, if the strategy is to be effective and successful. The demand in the following way of the Congress is not strategically but for the attainment of light, which is also almost the same, within of the very much of non-cooperation. Bhagpaticharya, would have to think, for the sake of the cause of non-violence, I am daily getting to think that it might be desirable, if we must accept it, to have Bhagpaticharya a point of view, for Bhagpaticharya, and without under his flag to separate himself from the Congress party, but without coming to the Congress party, and working among the masses on the same departments of constructive work as carried by Bhagpaticharya. In other words, let us have the whole field of Congress politics in the other part and let us not come in any way in violence to the Congress as regards any plan of political work, which it may choose to decide itself. If that is possible, then the Congress may work politically as a whole body under the guidance of the Bhagpaticharya, and their immediate, and if the political situation then Party is good enough, it will prove a strong by Bhagpaticharya in work, just as when we (1951) the movement under the whole Congress, in the guidance of the Mahadeo, and we have had a taste of what Mahadeo politics was like. There was a prolonged spell of Mahadeo Congress, and we had found the Congress should work themselves as an all-India body, and not start to work whole apart independently and therefore independently in the political (Congress) Congress and without coming into violence with it. In that way the hands that would help in the growth of a spirit of non-violence throughout the country which is now being prepared under the present conditions of divided political strategy and divided political feeling. My position, then, we must not be thinking of the formation of a new political party at all to fight the Congress and violence, strategy of the Congress, and as the opposition to fight of a new political movement from the Congress. For the Congress cannot so before the Country's sake of that movement, but politicians must not be advised with me until now, as to what political programme may be necessary to combat the Congress.

But let come to the leadership, though the most of the role is to serve the country morally and spiritually, not politically—to a new awakening of collective conscience. Let us achieve all practical politics, Congress or other for the time being, in order to win the end of the way is a new look through the process of non-violent constructive work as done in the hand of Bhagpaticharya. The question of solving the problems of substantially and all India, unity, of spiritual and Khadi work on the basis of the masses, of education, the use of appropriate by the religious, the culture, and a new structure of life for values, young and old, violence and non-violence directed to us, of one person, the weight underlying the principle of violence.

These "democratic" and "liberal" Congressmen will not support the growing of national unity by uniting the anti-British-Bolshevik forces of the country. Their main aim is to put a stop to the development of the Indian people's political consciousness. They will not do this, as they are dominated by political purposes, but they will, if necessary, lead the people in the villages to participate in the Congress there and now. When the Congress has a clear aim before it, it will undoubtedly make its own place in the political life. If we, Congressmen, do not do this and the other party go on fighting without such aim, and spend considerable billions of money in the manner in which we are now doing, we shall be strengthening the very root of our weakness and therefore strengthening ourselves and Bapu's followers and prove that of any politics or any political action which is not the expression of the people's developed national life. Parliament has Bapu would never think of a political strategy or any political line. Bapu wanted when he started the B. G. D. movement, to combine the two together, his policy and with the spiritual work the two proceeding pari passu and ending well reaching to each other. The Congress party now want to separate the political work from the spiritual work, and would try to attract Congress by some political action. I doubt that if we could work on the ideal of a general political life, a new political strategy to the Congress. There is no connection with him or with the political strategy as an expression of the developed national life of the people, the Congressmen's work, under a representative political system would have required a tremendous expansion that the Congress has further the parliament of the Congress which is in strengthening and supporting the representative system of self-government as a national work in relation to the organization of political life in the country, would only think of strategy in terms of some political light or movement as taught in the West and are adhering to the people taught and of the methods of the Indian Revolution in terms of western political methods, which are anti-life. Therefore, if Indian Congress has to be won in terms of a truly Indian scheme of politics, and not in terms of the West or in other words, if the spiritual life of the Indian people, the masses has to be preserved and nurtured in the period of Swaraj, there is need of a new expression and of fighting against all who are ready with the Congress party as they have. For supposing we agreed to come with the other party, in their terms and as stated before and without of thought against them, this would mean that the only expression of life has to be and would lay the age at the root of the fundamentalism of India's spiritual methods of winning Swaraj. Therefore, to achieve this aim, the followers of western political methods must be kept at an arms length by the following of Bapu's spiritual methods of winning Swaraj. Therefore, they must separate and work independently of the latter for the time has come up for them to do with Congress policy if it was to be of the Congress which type but only among the work of a truly Indian type of Swaraj—spiritual and political in one, and not merely political. For the purely political type of Swaraj would be in the Washington type

the goal in the manner, but only of the class, as Bapu has undoubtedly shown in his Indian Home Rule

Therefore, to conclude if Bapu's scheme of a truly Indian type of politics is to be conceived and practised, the spiritual ideal of Bapu's Congress politics must be so stated to be accepted or rejected in the purely political ideal of the Congress party, as it will gain a second place. But the love of unity among Congressmen must be too deepening a feeling for the mass completely absorbed among us that of an Gandhi-like work which as to the Congress at my cost, then love of political unity must always be present and none the other party would not swallow Bapu's spiritual political methods of work for the attainment of Swaraj, our present Congress party could only think of doing as in western unity by the methods of Bapu's methods and by the guidance of a man like Rajagopalakrishnan who has dared to fight for Bapu's rule and Bapu's flag against the conventional guidelines of western thought and open him. Therefore if the other party cannot think of accepting Bapu's spiritual political methods and will continue to remain uncommitted by Rajagopalakrishnan, Mahatma Mahatma ji, Dr. Keshab, and others, whether they should solve the problem of Congress political unity by separating themselves, for the time being of any rule, from Congress politics and therefore weakening Bapu's ideal of non-violent work in the country, then we will with a view to purify the love of the masses and they will be purifying themselves and life. When the Congress has been well led along Bapu's line, and when the entire unity of the people, and has made appreciable headway, Indian Congress in Indian home, for the benefit of the masses would follow as a matter of course.

If Mahatma Mahatma ji, Dr. Keshab, Rajagopalakrishnan and other leaders agree on the line I have suggested and support a Pan-Indian campaign of work, Bapu's ideal and methods of work would be the starting the spiritual revival of India by the united efforts of the whole body of genuine non-violence. That is one way to Rajagopalakrishnan to whom there has greatest leadership of B. G. D. Congress politics, but his relationship would in such case be not one individual relationship, but a general relationship by all who would work for the country along Bapu's line. I have no suspicion that if Bapu were now here, he would rightly of divided Congress politics with all its proved literature and integrity and violence in thought and work, and separate himself with his devoted followers to concentrate on the work of purifying the masses and a preparing them eventually to fight against the bourgeoisie with their spiritual weapons in Indian home of political method. He would not make Congress unity a pretext to be manipulated at my cost, even at the cost of weakening Indian spiritual to western political methods. Bapu's way of achieving unity in the Congress could be, I repeat, along the line I have suggested, by having the whole body of Congress politics to politicians of the western type with us the Congress party people are India's political strategy can only be an expression, however inadequate of our individual strategy otherwise India would lose its soul and stand a martyr in the name of unity.

Mr. Joseph's Presidential Address at Salem

The following is the more important part of Mr. George Joseph's Presidential Address at the Twenty-Ninth Annual Conference held at Salem on Sept. 1.

Political Situation

It is a commonplace to say that the political situation is difficult and critical, but in the affairs of State all things are difficult and critical—either actually or in possibility. I therefore return to be depressed or comforted that Two years ago we were on the high crest of a movement which was on the verge of revolution. I am here to declare that the meeting at Salem of last year's year with the problems of constitutional administration accord to me a terrible thing. Today the position is different in some respects, but in point of great difficulty, the period of mourning is nearly unapproachable from that of enthusiasm—each day with its host of explosions from far and near, all that will come, therefore, certain to do it is enough present trouble with difficulty, business and courage. One of the problems which confronts. There is no day shown of business, but today's business is no longer than yesterday's; tomorrow has no greater bid time that through which we are immediately passing. It is in this sense that I intend to address myself to three specific problems—The Special Congress, the KKKKK and Ku Klux.

Special Congress Necessary

In my humble judgment, a special Congress is necessary for our needs today—there is nothing but everything to national council three meetings of the All-State Congresses have failed to get us on to them. Obviously there is only one course of action—the people themselves with an all-State Congress. There is another constitutional method by which a check could be turned. The day-to-day was enough, limited enough, but to turn has been exhausted. The discussion of an authority was not due to the relation of the George case. It was due to the attempt at compromise, attempts for which the leaders of the majority party were as responsible as anybody else. It is our rebellion and counter-rebellion that have prevented the re-entrance of the socialization, it is confusion and paralysis. Let us hope that the special Congress will give a clear decision, yes or no. I know it will, because, the average individual is a more rational and clear-headed person than responsible leaders.

But what is the issue to be decided at the special Congress? It is some other than this—should the Congress continue to pursue the policy of non-cooperation, or should it go back to constitutionalism in the matter of the social alternative. It is inherent in it whether the two late constitutionalism is temporary or permanent. The simple problem is whether the present should take place.

Non-cooperation

Of this let there be no doubt—The departure of 1911-12 was moral, violent and without a precedent. The Congress decided that the doing of certain acts, new in political practice, would achieve a visible political result—that the withholding of children from schools the raising of banners to parties, the burning of crosses and polling booths, the giving up of titles and business licenses by the

Government, non-cooperation, going on and on without a definite will was there. This was no doubt a strange proposition, and I was universally spoken by almost every individual who had words to say as to political leadership in constitutional methods. The Government also failed to rise, it seriously and Lord Chesham was chosen when he described this failure and more. But in spite of all oppression and misadministration, non-cooperation shows something, both seemed to be on the brink of a revolution: then by Henry George which looked like a miracle, the right hand, the man who was responsible to these day-to-day proceedings, but how moving George, was sent to prison for a period which at his age seemed to be like his chief colleagues, and with hope and optimism a moment ago, are in a state of confusion and quarrelsomeness that they ever were before. Some of them are sitting on what high chairs down they are finding themselves. As for the sleeping folk, they are in a state of bewilderment and weakness. The old phrases are no first the will, but the conviction of reality is absent. At this stage, the constitutionalists, the men who opposed the new methods most violently in 1910, but whose judgment was perverted by the wild games of the new violence their original position fortified by them are back in the old judges, asking themselves whether they had to a party success of the new decision. Their intention is to have the Congress to practically support the Congress, so that the constant civil disturbance, leading to the non-payment of taxes. In other words, they are ready at the same point where they were in 1910.

The Dis-United

I can only understand a confused non-cooperation of 1910 arguing to himself thus—"We thought non-cooperation was consistent, perhaps under certain undefined conditions. It has in it possibilities of success. In 1910-12 we put up a fine show fight, we had a great man as our leader, and we did all we could to win; but though our machinery is broken, we were beaten. But the conditions of success are unobtainable and the method is therefore fundamentally wrong. It was a white-goose chase from the beginning. The people are clearly lost, what they are prepared to do with a short run and find good before them, they would not look at non. Any way I am tired, I cannot stand the heavy work involved—there, first of success, children away from schools and going to places at home. Violence is impossible. Two alternatives are now—two policies—what is there to me, what am I in there? Or go back to constitutionalism. I shall have to cut the trouble out, but that is only one. That will pass through. On one is gone, I do a certain amount of good present which one of a better thing into the trouble and turning to the effects. No more institution ways of life in prison, responsibility, misbehavior with the social reservation that when the critical moment comes, I shall cut all up the whole and be

fought with his blood and the blood of his subjects. Perhaps he is prepared to tolerate for the 'sake of the Union' 'broads,' and he lets an 'Indian' give his 'brothering' them. But if any body laughs at this gesture and looks into the cause, he'll be killed.

The reality is as I have described it, and the conduct of India is in every way being a new set of facts—more overwhelming than the orthodox strength of England—has the League decided, its last paper posted, unopposedly, has had a grandstanding effect on the Moderate Party. It has taken their left to the left, because, it has alarmed Mr. Asquith, and has brought his declaration and advice into line with Oswald's. He feels that 'war' would not suit the time and has counselled within I think, whether to let the matter be settled by the up to the inevitable point he has no way of escape, but in the event that better, non-compromise will appear here, without passing on the threshold to any serious dangers. The British Division should be kept out by India. Mr. Asquith should withdraw from the Imperial Conference, or, the Indian Members of Government should resign—this is Mr. Asquith's proposition. If he gives a clear understanding here, and not himself in the end, regardless of personal consequences, I believe he can achieve the rest by his doing. In Japan is in the Imperial Conference as a friend, not of the party in the conduct of his leader, plus a clear declaration, Mr. Asquith will certainly withdraw. The non-official members of the Government of India are in every way being won. As for the third Member, a remarkable member of the Assembly secured me that Mr. Chamberlain would be quite prepared to take the lead of his non-official colleagues. The Cabinet also does not strike me as an overwhelming difficulty. The country would with Mr. Asquith well in his hands.

Delays and

But all this will be only a contest, a simple indication of discussion. Inequality will continue to Africa and all the other colonies. It should be destroyed, but it can be done only by fighting and winning.

The whites in Kenya are intoxicated with a sense of power, because of their physical might. They feel that the Highlands, the crown of the country, can be completely dominated against Indians and Africans. The Indian would surely and rightly needs to keep on their power is admitted to without a challenge. The Imperialism has corrupted the whole of Europe. The whites in Kenya are heavily convinced that the best of the best, which is known where, and that the gift of the land in Kenya is an inheritance of a Divine purpose. Consequently, they hold it righteous contempt of all those that are not able to stand the test of time. All the world's wrongs are seen and seen in a Divine prohibition. The Devil is the god of evil, and in the heart of Europe and will be made to be known by a greater Power. If in India, in Africa, we can prove that the future will be stronger than the Devil, we would also prove human equality by shaking the link of the Devil of the Devil in his weapon. I read the speech of Mr. Burke in the House of Commons I observed it, because it expressed the greater link of a man, Indian people in the arms of his master and contempt for them, who having fully refused to pay the price of Africa.

This problem is to reach across not of India. If there is strength and endurance enough in us, I feel that the whites in Kenya will be able to win. Kenya. If the British take the dispossessed Africans, Indians and Africans will surely win, they can destroy the connection of the Highlands. Kenyanism in its own. If I could influence my fellow countrymen here and in Kenya, I would strongly counsel them to stand to the right. They should look on everything into the Imperial position and everything there all they are needed, it only involves mental and physical. Whether they will fight or not, there will be a connection and some that cannot be broken. We are the best to maintain the people and to other humanistic reference now, how to be left in a breaking contest.

Our cause is just and Kenyanism will surely win. But in the matter, the co-operation of the Africans and the Indians should be secured. Their presence would make the condition of non-white people difficult to achieve, but it must be achieved at all costs, even if the Indians have to fight alone. But I am not hopeful, Kenyanism is the one solution. I am clearly convinced that the condition has to be exposed in consultation with our people in Kenya. The presence of the Government of India will extend to the white Kenya colonies that, working in the line of privileges now enjoyed by Indians, a. g. in the Highlands. The absence of Kenya is a duty, not only for working equity, but also for protecting racial interests elsewhere. It is not a long but a world-wide, spiritual condition.

The ultimate consequences of Kenyanism in domestic and international transactions are difficult to prophesy. But I cannot find any way clear, along any other route. Civilization is known. There is no hope, no history, no possibility of freedom. By the possession of the land, for an equal sharing in freedom, by nature deliberately provided and passed through the ages, violence is not for us. We cannot hold the land. The day is tomorrow and again of tomorrow's weapons, that would break and break the sword, for the breaking of our people, for the reason of our civilisation. History is the reason for our civilisation. What is not for us, but freedom shall be ours. The solution of this seemingly hopeless problem is the unassailable security of the nation. The security has been our will through our own generation. What the spirit of our country will, it achieves. The achievement is Kenyanism. We are bound to achieve and achieve, to follow the straight path, Kenya. America has said by her side beside the world, for a Colonel death with physical force, destroying the people of the earth and nearly destroying himself. It is necessary, and the people are in the world and look for the world, and the world. It is given to us, children and children of peace, men and women who have sick at the sight of blood, to find courage and courage and enough to destroy the evil and to find the solution. The Congress is the standard bearer of peace. We have chosen to protect the people, let us not convert ourselves into a party caucus. We are a brotherhood of suffering, what can we have to do with a party caucus? We must do.

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Exhibition runs through the Government way here on with the buying of exhibits out of our money and trying to develop India into making use of the handicrafts alone. The Government will claim that it is with the people in the matter of the economic problems and that it belongs to the Imperial Government's decision only as to date born. But is there any proposition to start in the Exhibition? It is money has been wasted already. But it is an opportunity and was a matter of confidence that we should not throw good money after bad.

No Empire

Mr. Chatterjee has contributed a noteworthy article in the Journal of the Government India Society. "No Empire" writes Mr. Chatterjee, "hereafter our choice. Degrees in colonial methods we may we will not willingly concede to all India when we are surprised and surprised". This is clear and conclusive.

An Incomprehensible as Fire and Water

Mr. Escherich of the University of India Society writes having some official status of the Society in equally plain and clear language that "good or bad, the British Empire has proved a dream". He holds that the British and the Indian Empires are "as incompatible as fire and water. If they are to share there can only be a separation, not a synthesis. But, let there be a common empire, say he, that Empire membership is possible for India. This may be getting built up by the law and justice in the case of the University of India Society, but it is now the law of the land.

The Will to Suffer

It does not seem that even in matters there are any longer be different. In achieving non-cooperation the various the fundamental of our method here there is the following words of Mr. Chatterjee is known to the British Imperialist challenge as to what had and are to be beyond the Indian to support every protest. Mr. Chatterjee says, the people of India will develop a will to suffer. They will no longer be disposed to submit the Christian right people but that the people of India with a religion and a philosophy that has given them an invincible belief in the endurance of this world and the reality of the soul, have an advantage over other people. In such a non-violent struggle the final result, whatever it may be, will be, says Mr. Chatterjee, either the disappearance of the people of India or the disappearance of India as a part of the British Empire. The Indian progress of resistance by suffering cannot be longer postponed. Let us hasten the converging convictions of all parties into speedy action. C. R.

Propaganda

We think it was Sir John Hamilton who said propaganda was preferable India for the necessary public appearances must be it is a very wrong and the truth is not obscured by the substitution of the word publicity for propaganda. We are afraid to allow the comments of Pandit Motilal Nehru to be repeated by Pandit Javaharlal. But the propaganda of the Government leaves no guile. The facts in Nagpur are clear and speak for themselves. We do not intend to repeat them. The Government's

attempt to make a law in a single a sentence, is a masterpiece of misapplied good. We are afraid to believe to make what the Government, which is an enemy to the British, has not managed to provide for people that Germany was the winner in the last war, or whether it is not the British representatives who have succeeded against the Germans had lost. One should not be too sure of Germany, it would be an interesting to know. But the moral of this situation. As politicians we have no right to expect that the Government will ever make good better. They have not the British power that it was in. "It was not when it was best." Assuming the British Government were to be better, not only that it was better when it was better but it did a great deal to show. We are bound to meet and fight and beat this Government as a limited victory in the future. Whenever it happens we would accept our position, not and looking to make any condition the real idea of all movements was that statement in the Indian Journal of the year before the final deal by the British. It is not words Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel who has had to struggle with official propaganda. Mahatma had trouble with General Dyer long ago and with Lord Reading later in the office of the As Secretary.

Realities

The Empire decision has brought has been many political moves, including amongst them. The Indian Social Reform has required the suggestion that we have now have been granted the members but to the extent of a total after we agree with our contemporary nearly equal only. But there is one thing which is not clear as to what is to which we object, because the situation does not seem to be. It is a controversy over the efficacy of non-cooperation as a means to end their self-determination the standard of national action and to be Mahatma and it is a matter of fact, the efficacy of resistance by non-cooperation is as common as the British empire. It will be left to us, for as far as we know as non-cooperation has produced resistance and means of getting us out of the Empire wrong. The problem is, how long does it take to end that has come from the political machinery of the day. To see what the disorganizing work between the 'non-cooperation' and the non-cooperation is that and clear. We are this despite the fact advanced by certain types of state intervention to be non-cooperation the British empire. We know that the British empire is paying with the method of resistance, the largest of British goods before the favorite in India. But we do not want to start with a non-cooperation movement. With a certain certainty, we do think to be non-cooperation and we are decidedly against resistance. There are a number of persons but they should do for the moment. The pragmatic conclusion is that it is not in our power to resist.

The efficacy of policy all the more suggested depends on the decision of the Government. Such a decision could, or perhaps, cannot be considered in the country without the consent of the Government. Decisions against Mahatma in the public service is to be a decision. To talk of resistance is to go to the full part in non-cooperation. But there is a danger of resistance is inconsistent with non-cooperation. The motion with us in India is not of strength. Resistance

Mrs. Valhalla's Answered

The following is the text of the statement issued by Mr. Talleghien Ford in reply to the summons of the Chief Executive of the U. S. Government:

While I was travelling to Delhi, my attention was drawn to two places, viz. one named by Mr. Vaidya as Padi in connection with the House Member of the C. P. Government, and another by the Chief Secretary of that Government, both relating to the various stages of negotiations about the Koyas struggle. Having read both these papers we I felt bound to return to the path, the trail into it. These hints led to conversations with the aforesaid persons as to the manner in which negotiations were being conducted being in my brother and the House Member and also the various papers and the House Member's report at Jabal-Padi and Padi with the object as to a later stage of the C. P. Govt. would like to see at the end of the coming year. For under I do not desire to be contented as to be contented as to the matter of the Chief Secretary, but will only be contented as to the matter reported of them. I may say as well that I have no quarrel with the statement issued by Mr. Vaidya that he was in touch with the House Member. It matters not what time, probably I should have said nothing but I mentioned in connection of the C. P. Secretary in place mentioned, Mr. H. Padi and the House Member very highly say in their joint statement that neither party would publish any statement of any of the nature. The Chief Secretary has however told us that this is the case and the Government have no objection to this statement. I will make myself a separate article not only the whole correspondence but also the full report, as far as I remember, of the interview. That no statement, but at all Government in India, is reported as to the fact that a party is not to be published. It is the case the C. P. Government has gone further and a party of the House Member is preparing to present at the members that they themselves prepared to that an independent and what as far as we can see, one might say, circumstances in which such statements may be published. But I have understood that they are now would be a great and a great success and I am sorry that the C. P. Government about whom I had carried a somewhat favourable impression I repeat that I take no exception to the joint statement, but I desire to state my various views on three points in the statement of the Chief Secretary and would wish to see what the C. P. Government has got to say about it.

First, as for the interview with the Governor, Mr. Winthelph Paul got a letter from the Chief Secretary requesting me to see him and discuss the situation with him. We did not mind doing our business. It was suggested that we should interview the Governor. We were not called upon to make any reply to this suggestion and we left, glad, that Mr. Winthelph Paul got a letter from the Chief Secretary letting us know that if we desired to see the Governor he would be glad to see us. It is the worst day of the outbreak. We are all still isolated in the Buxton and I cannot see the

should be nearly three hours. We had agreed upon any kind of writer request for an interview, but the three stories in it which the interview story about the an... answered by me above.

Secondly, as the parliament has proceeded, the pressure of suggestion if not applied for previous action Meeting of the kind. My letter to the District Superintendent of Police speaks for itself. It is nothing more or less than a notice of objection of what was being going to do. In my opinion there is nothing inherently wrong in anything for taking parliament for a procedure, but in this struggle the whole scene was absolutely uncontrolled and illegal and any a plan for a procedure on our part would be concerned, and rightly so, by the Government as well as by the people, as a sort of counter as our part. In fact that was what the Government was going to do and we refused to give it. When Mr. Vithal came and his first interview with the House. In other before the Council sitting, the House took notice of what he said by the chief anti-appeal sent to the Vithalians that the Government had no claim on the past of the Government of this case. In fact of the change in Council as approached the House in Singapore so that to find and in all cases the a certain active release of all cases would be directly concerned. There was no question as to the issue of whether of proceedings or the manner in which the were to proceed. In short I have and the letter with me when I am writing this, but I have no doubt that the statement I make is correct. We at once wrote back to say that we would make no objection to the District Superintendent who were right has given rise to the fifty-year old statement. That was the country of the Government with the matter even before the meeting of the Council. The suggestion is the statement of the Chief Secretary that we agreed to the District Superintendent of Police is entirely incorrect and needs a correction.

Thirdly, the argument that engineers understand that the process would not take any further gas in Bigger Bay implies a major order would result from it. In fact, the report appears to have been deliberately left blank for chosen reasons.

Fourthly, there was no unhelpful gloss by the Government to an war by us to the Government on any point. An rightly pointed out by the students of the joint statement, as a result of interviews we understood the position of the Government and the Government understood us without giving us any understanding by either side I could not be conclusive that all negotiations and interviews were conducted throughout by Mr. Frank White (and likely by such of us when in view of the unapproved statement) something, is an hypothesis. The negotiations were made by the House Member in the speech by the Chair of the National Committee and not by the House. All the interviews and negotiations were conducted mostly the form of casual talk, and this that was done without much more than by each side to the other and there was no question of any side taking an official role. But for that the Chair of the National Committee, a non-aided and non-aided person, was not an observer, to the publication.

all plants, in particular *Quercus* and large oaks will follow.¹⁰

At the end the author states that it is impossible to say whether this sort of talk is meant to take dogmatic notice.

The nation of the world must indeed have a principle of a country which honors the rights with which every of man's worth of cloth produced in the world, to have the life.

It is never pleasing the owner to find any work left over from a contract by a run number. It offends and your people. If the work calls for more pay for the demolition management, things could really have slipped long ago, and they could have a good. If not really, moved themselves from the project.

It is not established that the practically the same quantity of cloth is produced in handlooms as is sold in India. The millowners cannot be certain as to the great proportion of handloom goods that is consumed in handlooms in India. They have viewed the whole in that light to arrive in the hands of the foreigner whether owing to competition in the trade of B or because of some other reason.

A well-known Mexican gentleman has written two long letters to me highly complimentary as to the challenge of holes with shot having them some personal experience as a worker of Indian-mill yards. He has based much of good sense. There was deep feeling. He severely mentions some faults and suggests the feeling that the yard add to the hand-workers never put on at the standard cost. Holes which should be 140 yards long are frequently found shorter by 100 to 200 yards and sometimes even more. The customer who determines the count by the number of holes in a bundle, may be disappointed. Again, this educated worker says that pairs of holes greatly make for use in the mills is generally passed off as business wisdom. Thus for holes with one stick one credit by selling inferior and fraudulent pairs. Consequently buying pairs, even if slightly fewer, is preferred and is bound to be cheaper in the end. The worker knows that it has always to fill hands and is stronger.

If your Kinet has occupied in some extent the field of the field with, a wide field is yet lying before those which may be used. Why not manufacture large standard pans and such other articles as sewing-machines, early sets of ropes which are tapered from thin strand? The price of strands for sewing-machines are very high but no mills here have, in our knowledge, contemplated the manufacturing of these things so far. If the mills here recently began to manufacture small lots of sewing-machines, but success will depend upon the excellence of their articles.

It was a lot, all-around, with a little bit of household labor was in respect to my duty before noon and during commutes as far as possible and to maintain good and excellent youth and to include me of school, too. It would go a long way to protect the state's mill industry. They have a way as apparently to get that home in order before the school could commence with their duties.

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A Calcutta Company has introduced a variety of the above name has recently adopted an improved variety called the "Keweenaw Charline No. 3." This has led to length a reputation for superior and uniform. The introduction was, but the charline is not yet full of value as long. The number of worms has not been made mention of. The information is there's a description of the number of worms of the year it shows and says if, the quantity of length would be 11 1/2 in. per hour (1 1/2 in. of 1 in. = 1 1/2 in. 2 1/2 in. 3 1/2 in. 4 1/2 in. 5 1/2 in. 6 1/2 in. 7 1/2 in. 8 1/2 in. 9 1/2 in. 10 1/2 in. 11 1/2 in. 12 1/2 in. 13 1/2 in. 14 1/2 in. 15 1/2 in. 16 1/2 in. 17 1/2 in. 18 1/2 in. 19 1/2 in. 20 1/2 in. 21 1/2 in. 22 1/2 in. 23 1/2 in. 24 1/2 in. 25 1/2 in. 26 1/2 in. 27 1/2 in. 28 1/2 in. 29 1/2 in. 30 1/2 in. 31 1/2 in. 32 1/2 in. 33 1/2 in. 34 1/2 in. 35 1/2 in. 36 1/2 in. 37 1/2 in. 38 1/2 in. 39 1/2 in. 40 1/2 in. 41 1/2 in. 42 1/2 in. 43 1/2 in. 44 1/2 in. 45 1/2 in. 46 1/2 in. 47 1/2 in. 48 1/2 in. 49 1/2 in. 50 1/2 in. 51 1/2 in. 52 1/2 in. 53 1/2 in. 54 1/2 in. 55 1/2 in. 56 1/2 in. 57 1/2 in. 58 1/2 in. 59 1/2 in. 60 1/2 in. 61 1/2 in. 62 1/2 in. 63 1/2 in. 64 1/2 in. 65 1/2 in. 66 1/2 in. 67 1/2 in. 68 1/2 in. 69 1/2 in. 70 1/2 in. 71 1/2 in. 72 1/2 in. 73 1/2 in. 74 1/2 in. 75 1/2 in. 76 1/2 in. 77 1/2 in. 78 1/2 in. 79 1/2 in. 80 1/2 in. 81 1/2 in. 82 1/2 in. 83 1/2 in. 84 1/2 in. 85 1/2 in. 86 1/2 in. 87 1/2 in. 88 1/2 in. 89 1/2 in. 90 1/2 in. 91 1/2 in. 92 1/2 in. 93 1/2 in. 94 1/2 in. 95 1/2 in. 96 1/2 in. 97 1/2 in. 98 1/2 in. 99 1/2 in. 100 1/2 in. 101 1/2 in. 102 1/2 in. 103 1/2 in. 104 1/2 in. 105 1/2 in. 106 1/2 in. 107 1/2 in. 108 1/2 in. 109 1/2 in. 110 1/2 in. 111 1/2 in. 112 1/2 in. 113 1/2 in. 114 1/2 in. 115 1/2 in. 116 1/2 in. 117 1/2 in. 118 1/2 in. 119 1/2 in. 120 1/2 in. 121 1/2 in. 122 1/2 in. 123 1/2 in. 124 1/2 in. 125 1/2 in. 126 1/2 in. 127 1/2 in. 128 1/2 in. 129 1/2 in. 130 1/2 in. 131 1/2 in. 132 1/2 in. 133 1/2 in. 134 1/2 in. 135 1/2 in. 136 1/2 in. 137 1/2 in. 138 1/2 in. 139 1/2 in. 140 1/2 in. 141 1/2 in. 142 1/2 in. 143 1/2 in. 144 1/2 in. 145 1/2 in. 146 1/2 in. 147 1/2 in. 148 1/2 in. 149 1/2 in. 150 1/2 in. 151 1/2 in. 152 1/2 in. 153 1/2 in. 154 1/2 in. 155 1/2 in. 156 1/2 in. 157 1/2 in. 158 1/2 in. 159 1/2 in. 160 1/2 in. 161 1/2 in. 162 1/2 in. 163 1/2 in. 164 1/2 in. 165 1/2 in. 166 1/2 in. 167 1/2 in. 168 1/2 in. 169 1/2 in. 170 1/2 in. 171 1/2 in. 172 1/2 in. 173 1/2 in. 174 1/2 in. 175 1/2 in. 176 1/2 in. 177 1/2 in. 178 1/2 in. 179 1/2 in. 180 1/2 in. 181 1/2 in. 182 1/2 in. 183 1/2 in. 184 1/2 in. 185 1/2 in. 186 1/2 in. 187 1/2 in. 188 1/2 in. 189 1/2 in. 190 1/2 in. 191 1/2 in. 192 1/2 in. 193 1/2 in. 194 1/2 in. 195 1/2 in. 196 1/2 in. 197 1/2 in. 198 1/2 in. 199 1/2 in. 200 1/2 in. 201 1/2 in. 202 1/2 in. 203 1/2 in. 204 1/2 in. 205 1/2 in. 206 1/2 in. 207 1/2 in. 208 1/2 in. 209 1/2 in. 210 1/2 in. 211 1/2 in. 212 1/2 in. 213 1/2 in. 214 1/2 in. 215 1/2 in. 216 1/2 in. 217 1/2 in. 218 1/2 in. 219 1/2 in. 220 1/2 in. 221 1/2 in. 222 1/2 in. 223 1/2 in. 224 1/2 in. 225 1/2 in. 226 1/2 in. 227 1/2 in. 228 1/2 in. 229 1/2 in. 230 1/2 in. 231 1/2 in. 232 1/2 in. 233 1/2 in. 234 1/2 in. 235 1/2 in. 236 1/2 in. 237 1/2 in. 238 1/2 in. 239 1/2 in. 240 1/2 in. 241 1/2 in. 242 1/2 in. 243 1/2 in. 244 1/2 in. 245 1/2 in. 246 1/2 in. 247 1/2 in. 248 1/2 in. 249 1/2 in. 250 1/2 in. 251 1/2 in. 252 1/2 in. 253 1/2 in. 254 1/2 in. 255 1/2 in. 256 1/2 in. 257 1/2 in. 258 1/2 in. 259 1/2 in. 260 1/2 in. 261 1/2 in. 262 1/2 in. 263 1/2 in. 264 1/2 in. 265 1/2 in. 266 1/2 in. 267 1/2 in. 268 1/2 in. 269 1/2 in. 270 1/2 in. 271 1/2 in. 272 1/2 in. 273 1/2 in. 274 1/2 in. 275 1/2 in. 276 1/2 in. 277 1/2 in. 278 1/2 in. 279 1/2 in. 280 1/2 in. 281 1/2 in. 282 1/2 in. 283 1/2 in. 284 1/2 in. 285 1/2 in. 286 1/2 in. 287 1/2 in. 288 1/2 in. 289 1/2 in. 290 1/2 in. 291 1/2 in. 292 1/2 in. 293 1/2 in. 294 1/2 in. 295 1/2 in. 296 1/2 in. 297 1/2 in. 298 1/2 in. 299 1/2 in. 300 1/2 in. 301 1/2 in. 302 1/2 in. 303 1/2 in. 304 1/2 in. 305 1/2 in. 306 1/2 in. 307 1/2 in. 308 1/2 in. 309 1/2 in. 310 1/2 in. 311 1/2 in. 312 1/2 in. 313 1/2 in. 314 1/2 in. 315 1/2 in. 316 1/2 in. 317 1/2 in. 318 1/2 in. 319 1/2 in. 320 1/2 in. 321 1/2 in. 322 1/2 in. 323 1/2 in. 324 1/2 in. 325 1/2 in. 326 1/2 in. 327 1/2 in. 328 1/2 in. 329 1/2 in. 330 1/2 in. 331 1/2 in. 332 1/2 in. 333 1/2 in. 334 1/2 in. 335 1/2 in. 336 1/2 in. 337 1/2 in. 338 1/2 in. 339 1/2 in. 340 1/2 in. 341 1/2 in. 342 1/2 in. 343 1/2 in. 344 1/2 in. 345 1/2 in. 346 1/2 in. 347 1/2 in. 348 1/2 in. 349 1/2 in. 350 1/2 in. 351 1/2 in. 352 1/2 in. 353 1/2 in. 354 1/2 in. 355 1/2 in. 356 1/2 in. 357 1/2 in. 358 1/2 in. 359 1/2 in. 360 1/2 in. 361 1/2 in. 362 1/2 in. 363 1/2 in. 364 1/2 in. 365 1/2 in. 366 1/2 in. 367 1/2 in. 368 1/2 in. 369 1/2 in. 370 1/2 in. 371 1/2 in. 372 1/2 in. 373 1/2 in. 374 1/2 in. 375 1/2 in. 376 1/2 in. 377 1/2 in. 378 1/2 in. 379 1/2 in. 380 1/2 in. 381 1/2 in. 382 1/2 in. 383 1/2 in. 384 1/2 in. 385 1/2 in. 386 1/2 in. 387 1/2 in. 388 1/2 in. 389 1/2 in. 390 1/2 in. 391 1/2 in. 392 1/2 in. 393 1/2 in. 394 1/2 in. 395 1/2 in. 396 1/2 in. 397 1/2 in. 398 1/2 in. 399 1/2 in. 400 1/2 in. 401 1/2 in. 402 1/2 in. 403 1/2 in. 404 1/2 in. 405 1/2 in. 406 1/2 in. 407 1/2 in. 408 1/2

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Another letter regarding the execution of Khalil, giving lesser details but by no way less important than the one published in the last bulletin, comes from a German companion of Brothers. He writes:

"We are two members in the family. Our annual cloth expenditure before the adoption of Khadi is for the family was Rs 110. After taking to Khadi the expenditure for the first year was Rs 100, and in subsequent years it has come down to Rs. 45."

With reference to the incidental effect on the general expenditure of the household, he concludes with solid conviction:—

"Formerly Rs. 110 to 120 were spent by us only on tape. This expenditure is now completely stopped by the state's life saving scheme in hand."

Regarding the wedding ceremony, he says: "In Bombay the ceremony is the same; but in villages and the suburbs the ceremony varies a bit."¹⁰

Those about whom we carry their own significant, painful. A great deal of hypocrisy is openly ascribed to him by Khand-drawn people, in consequence. But those who indulge in such, hardly do justice to the numerous instances of a pronounced spirit of self-denial exemplified by association with Khand, as revealed in the above letter of a Thai friend.

We wish the strongest wishes of the paper, whose well-meant words tend to suggest those to twenty thousand, had told us how he utilized his savings on whittling; he used the time saved from participating in some social radical activity. The future community is better for his charitable instincts. But clearly does not presuppose large savings in the Bad Hope savings on one side most noticeably using their poverty on the other, and hence a necessary but not enough adjustment. To bring about a greater adjustment a number of individuals must continue to do productive work to the maximum of their capacity and dedicate themselves to the minimum of consumption. The charity is the efficient remedy to bring about this adjustment. It decreases the current contribution of each.

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26



Young India

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Figure 1 consists of two bar charts. The left chart is titled 'All respondents' and the right chart is titled 'Respondents who have been personally affected by the economic crisis'. Both charts show the percentage of respondents for four levels of agreement with the statement 'The government should do more to help people who are struggling financially'. The y-axis represents the percentage, ranging from 0 to 100. The x-axis lists the levels of agreement: Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, and Strongly disagree.

Level of Agreement	All respondents (%)	Respondents who have been personally affected by the economic crisis (%)
Strongly agree	~65	~75
Somewhat agree	~25	~20
Somewhat disagree	~8	~5
Strongly disagree	~2	~0

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alcohol poured to his own opinion. The 22-1/2 ounce shot glass did not mean that to Hefner's colony there was the slightest change in Hefner's view, but on the contrary he made it clear that he was still on the same course.

Age Group	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Unknown (%)
18-24	12	10	14	8
25-34	25	22	28	18
35-44	28	25	32	22
45-54	22	20	24	16
55-64	15	12	18	10
65+	8	6	10	4

Whether there is any truth in the saying that the Nobel Prize for peace this year has been awarded to Mahatma Gandhi I cannot say. But this is true that since the commencement of the Congress of the man who has done the greatest political service to the cause of peace in the world is Mahatma Gandhi. If the Prize is to be awarded to the man who devote the most trouble and labor to the most effective method from which to end Armies and Government war, which is the case then I think man who brings the most effective constructive combination among governments which will not war directly when it becomes an ally being utilized for some time, it is on the other hand the man who has shaped, used and given to the innocent a powerful weapon with which to guard the rights of man, out shedding blood and who has thereby saved a million and permanent contributions to peace in the world should have the medal, then Gandhi is the one. It is to the world America the good.

The far more subtle, but the price would-be-sought for the greater number to be right in general as China today in particular, the man who caused the most of concern to the leaders of Chinese control was natural justice and made it a point of interest to sell as individual wrong, that price would go to Good M.

Revised 10/1/2000

Peace is the triumph of truth, not armed might. My wish is not a chain encircling Gandhi's neck showing for the world to be struck. Peace is not an attempt at coercion which suppresses fears and doubts and holds down their sub-conscious. It does not go, the United Provinces should go to the Gandhi court which has secured such peace in South. Suppression of armed is not peace. It is but the silence of man's evil triumph. Both Chait and Gandhi brought grief and wound, one man's soul, to the leader and the nation.

True peace is the triumph of love over selfish suffering and violence, of goodness over evil. And the Church has helped us accomplish it as no man's recent efforts have done and as no individual can. For love and light still in their work, destruction, hatred,

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The decision of the Congress at Berlin was the only position we make the recommendation. When Madame Helldorf who holds station were then arrived meeting Councils, who held in his hand, close the heart of Helen in Berlin-white even he found it impossible to proceed and give up the fight. It was that I threw up the sponge at once. In reply to an urgent telegram on Saturday, when the Helldorf Committee was either, I sent my reply advising that Madame Helldorf should be given complete freedom of judgment and action and that if he were known for a compromise hands should follow her lead. I said I was clear that the safety was have the power of hard conscience and that the weakness of diplomacy was my road. I said we had done our utmost and in so not any more stand in the way. I understood my telegram reached when Kolchakowski had just finished his speech coming to the same conclusion and that Vatslavski adopted and read my telegram in the next speech.

His new Mahomedan's reference to a message from Mahomed was nothing new or new from the well-known position which Mahomed always looked upon that policy should not be continued from or be shaped to suit supposed opinions of some fields prince and that it looked exactly prince who continued that any profit the action was necessary to the interests of the country. Her words to make such a

ending and permanently breaking Germany. It was Goebbels' propaganda that moved India from bloody revolution and murder during the Great War. It was his message from the East that moved Karna from war and revolution again when France invaded Germany this year.

The press, however, has such weakness is not a. Hated India as a nation or a people, but a cup of blackbuck or a crown of thorns and the crown or of slow death in prison. Goebbels has had his part this day fifteen months ago. The hated India police would be performing a superhuman act of justice to be rejected in history if they should lower their head by recognizing a superhuman act of justice to one who great and powerful India is holding within prison walls as its greatest enemy. The world consists of her direct and indirect subjects to permit such an exposure of her own crime unless India Goebbels is started to act as policeman to look during another European war.

Nihilism

It looks as if we must abandon now all hope of a united and effective political programme for Congressmen and Liberals. I have no hesitation in saying that the chief cause of this is Mr. Shastri's illness. The doctors have shut him up at Bangalore as effectively as Government has shut Mr. Mahasabai at Yerwade. He can no longer, neither as leader nor as newspaper. This has effectively prevented the planning of steps and united action which seemed so near. Mr. Shastri's illness has proved not half as dangerous as they might at have been. A poor and ill-timed opportunity seems about lost by this a critical time individual's illness. Over the resignation of the members of the Imperial Conference which Mr. Shastri recommended as strongly as his government has been a cry to conservative parliamentarians. The proposal has been effectively nullified by the counter-assertion of leading a protest.

The Only Way

What then should we do? The answer yet the clearest duty is speaking. Nothing can be more shameful to India than if she should fail to complete the boycott of foreign cloth even after Xmas. This is the only way for Shastri, for national honour. In speaking among the people of the world, for unity among ourselves—we say that will open the gates of Yerwade and as well. No committee will help us in buying. The speaking school religiously takes us in every parish or well-remembered household will also call the boycott which everybody now wants. Not in highland, all hills or on platforms, but in the villages have we to win our battle. What we want is not more heated information, not the "I have seen Khaddar at home" formula, nor the "will you get me more Khaddar?" support, but the kind of the word heard everywhere in answer to Britain's insult—the law that moves inevitable revolution.

Empire Committee Attended

Of the many wonderful men to which Congressmen has got the Society. Because of the United

Provinces. Only the last instance is worthy of being recorded. The Committee devoted to the Imperial Committee to regulate into police success in the India in Punjab have been arrested as likely to cause a breach of peace. One of them is the Secretary of Imperial Indian League and others are important members of the Sikh Students Committee's members. These two official roles have effectively isolated from darkness. C. R.

The Boycott of British Goods

The Indian Social Reformer mainly suggests that the current manner about the release of Mahasabai, current in Bombay and Delhi, may be founded on the fact of the Government that the boycott of British goods will be accepted by the Congress and that Goebbels if he ever be tried to take down any such proposal. It is well known no doubt that he is accused in any programme of the boycott of British goods, and it is extremely likely that the advocates of the boycott will find in him a zealous and probably fatal opponent. But speculation about the necessity of his discharge from prison for this specific (though unavowed) reason are based on the assumption that the boycott has no possibility of success on a considerable scale. We do not for a moment grant the conditions of this assumption. Our objection to the proposed boycott is clear. We are not going to put our people on the shores of hatred. Not that it is an ugly and responsible enough, but it causes the laughter of scoffers, and loyalty does not help anyone thought or reasoning. But we do not wish to avoid the implications of personal loyalty and appeal. The fact that Mahasabai threw the whole weight of his authority against the demand, is a consideration that cannot be lightly discarded. When it is said and done, his word and decision are of sweeping weight. It was his appeal that brought to political birth millions in the country. To then his opposition means simply and none of them think say the word of him (to say it is a matter of ethics) because he said it was an evil thing to have hatred. But in that case, we are prepared to set our hypothesis on sound practical grounds. Hence, the matter, what is it that is left? A demand for boycott rests on the Congress and its affiliate a spontaneous work to which we think they are not necessarily equal. The Khaddar Revolution was based on understanding the boycott of a specific aspect of support, pure and simple. The Congressmen included the boycott from all foreign countries, but as practical proposition the vast bulk of British imports is from Great Britain.

We do not deny the spread of Khaddar, but we have to confess as all knowers that we failed in our attempt to secure a right boycott of foreign, mainly British textiles. If we stick to it there may be a chance some day of making the boycott of cloth complete. But we have not succeeded in it. What we however did to see to with what justification we were told in the matter adventure are undeniable the bigger? It was more important than without the substance of reality.

The Future

The Senate Congress leaves the political future of the country in a state of obscurity and bewilderment. The problem of Hindu-Muslim unity gives great reason for anxiety, but it is hardly a political question, it is the very foundation of all political programmes. All that we can predict is on the assumption that a break-up of India is fast approaching the two great communities. The absence of goodwill will leave us not with a peaceful but with chaos. All the force of writing we are not quite out of the woods, but a few broad lines of emergency and otherwise are barely visible.

The policy of the Congress towards the Government has assumed two different shapes. Obviously it is going to have nothing to do with the Courts, but the committee pressed to a section of Congressmen for controlling the situation and saving their seats in the Council, with the knowledge that the resolution will be vetoed of in the conference that cannot absolve the Congress from a genuine responsibility in the matter. On the other hand, the resolution on Civil Disobedience has represented the great national foundation to a positive programme or the possibility of a programme in Civil Disobedience, much better and much richer than any defined by Mahatma himself. As the background of both Council entry and Civil Disobedience, the Constructive Programme has been aligned with a suggestion of greater faith and reality than at any time after Barilal.

The protagonists of Civil Disobedience and Council entry have indicated one another publicly and we are willing to hope that the irreducibility thus established will leave the psychological atmosphere free from the least of hesitations. The principles, however, of the two conflicts—the Civil Disobedience—immediately and one pleaser and two Civil Disobedience, the atmosphere in which has to be worked up through the Council, remains unbroken in a life and death struggle. Mahatma Mahaswami is a man of action, an elemental force with a fire kindled for freedom, and his genius may not resolve the conflict in a perfectly unexpected manner, by a method that he could not define to-day, but on which he might stumble by the sheer force of circumstance.

Congress and Civil Disobedience are inseparable, but both of them are a contradiction. Of Congress we have spoken often enough. Whatever the Senate party's programme, the Chamberlain of that school, the man who through the transparent masks of Non-cooperation, the sacred three fold in action and related to the path, are pointing their fingers to Constitutionalism. In one way or another they would return to the same again and again till they succeed in taking the country with their own real and in capturing the Congress and making it lose a political reason. We do not believe for a minute that the last word was said at Delhi in the dispute between Constitutionalists and the Congress. Now that they have been prevented to enter the Council, though in their own right, they struggle in a warlike together at Congress, and not

what they should do. They would submit themselves to the authority of the Congress and say to themselves, and also to those for doing so? Whether Mahatma Mahaswami would punish the Congress to leave the instructions asked for, we do not know. His very refusal to have anything more to do with the "sacred thing" telling that he had given his enough. The light of the common world, however, he is aware of the politicians, and it is quite likely that political expediency may even make be permitted to triumph over the demand of rigid principle.

But we confess that it is the policy of immediate Civil Disobedience that life on with a certain degree of unity. We refuse to acknowledge the cynical plot that for resolution on that question was intended as an overboard meant for the cancellation of disorganised Non-cooperation. If the Congress accepted by the Congress fails to act there will be no Civil Disobedience and the Congress will have no policy of its own. The worst that would happen will be the continuation of the political machine that has dominated the country after days. But in our humble judgment the presence of Mahatma Mahaswami in the Committee is a sufficient guarantee against reaction and the ever lack of an unending fighting programme. From a personal as well as a public point of view he cannot afford to be mixed with the matters of analysis. In all darkness it is not his speed and courage enough that have to be reckoned with in the future of Civil Disobedience. In the present atmosphere of this and that, to which Hindu-Muslim parties have given birth, it would be useful to remind ourselves that our policy is Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience. Mahatma Mahaswami guided almost during many years the words and action, faith and passion, personal sacrifices and sufferings, the whole discipline of his programme on the last show of violence had convinced the people that violence was not only bad policy but a crime but also made his programme impossible. His refusal to traffic with it on any terms for any person had gripped the popular imagination. The lesson of Barilal was that however high the chances of success, however dear the price, he would not hesitate to sacrifice the apparent success of a whole campaign for his one constant of Ahimsa. The lesson was truly learnt in India. The others, the very unity with which the room of his arrest was reached by India, was great power that the word of Barilal was perceived at its true and terrible worth. But let us not forget the matter of laughing (in the future of non-violence is easy to learn or being once learnt may not be forgotten with that ease. Revolution is a hard school to get over that way. Ghandi-Bag and Nagar indicates that the lesson of Ghandi is not altogether forgotten. But it would be dangerous to infer that the self-control of a man leads will be present until the conclusion of some Civil Disobedience. It becomes, therefore, the duty of men with dual loyalty to exert once more the serious will of non-violence. We do not say that a programme of Civil Disobedience should be postponed indefinitely because

Finding that it was not up to the desired level, he got another barrel on to it. Then the boy, according to the master's sworn evidence, pretended to faint. Water was thrown over the boy—and to relieve, as admitted Jagger Abraham to Court, but no further trace of punishment—and the question was repeated, still without answer.

He was then lifted and put into a door-chain and tied up to a log. Jagger Abraham had supper and went into the room and found Kitch not that so weak, but lying still on the ground. So he called up servants and had the boy tied tightly with his hands behind his back and legs striding bound to the post in front of him. Then beaten, starved and punished at a time the boy risked up the sheet. We do not know whether Kitch punished himself—men and strength to cry with a last salute to his God asking why He had forsaken him. But indeed Kitch and his wife are forsaken. Kitch was an "convert" to Abraham's religion. He was very much religious months before the case as he had been flogged. He was "brought back" last April. Mr. Abraham has described in his evidence the nature of these contrivances. Taken from the common knowledge of the common colored slave.

The judge sentenced Jagger Abraham to two years' rigorous imprisonment, for the Crown had established the charge of murder.

We know what this document is, revealed in his presence in the case of words which addressed A local paper reads: "with dry bones" than the colored slave, stone beaten, and half a dozen other concerns used by him in giving the case, looking, crying, weeping, etc. for the whole process. C. R.

The Case of Jagger Abraham who Killed Kitch

After William James Poole, a white lawyer and a resident of Abraham, had given his evidence of encountering the boy now dead, riding Abraham's mare and telling Abraham about it. He said in answer to the jury that there was no intention of the mare having been stolen unlawfully, and when the witness returned Jagger Abraham started to go into the witness box at his own defense, and beginning, he declared the day he found wrong when he saw the boy now dead past along the ridge in front of him going to his house with her. He called the boy and he came and stood about three yards away.

Witness took great pains to explain to him what Mr. Poole had told him, about having seen him riding the mare, constantly asking up with the question "Has your son permission to ride the mare?"

The boy did not reply and witness said he must have asked him about it at 10 times, until he had asked "name on the most important reason that he was not a thief."

This did nothing. Witness then got up, got hold of him, opened a door in the log building and pushed the boy in. The witness had him (Abraham) and he knew that if the boy offered resistance he would not be able to handle him as he called two women who were sleeping and told them to get hold of the boy and put him down. Witness brought a white cloth and tied it round his arms.

The two women were unable to draw him down and succeeded in pulling down the log and they put him down. When witness started to beat the boy the boy looked up at the witness and said:

The object of the beating (Abraham continued) from start to finish was to give the boy one or two strokes and then ask him the question, in terms of saying down the mare. No answer was forthcoming and the whole time that witness was beating the boy he continued with a gun and some of the bullets according to his expression "had such bad" behind them.

"The 'bad' (witness said) was not words at all, and with me I the witness, seemed to hear the boy (witness to Abraham) was actually flogged and not down to his death."

Witness (C. R.) was not putting anything into his mouth, as witness called out of the other witness to take hold of the case. He "was worse than a gun" and witness put the sheet around on to it. When with the latter was looking him that the boy "played possum", Abraham declared he had not beaten the stopped the flogging and sent two of the others for water, which he threw over the boy in small quantities, and after each splash he the same question. He said "refused to reply" and witness put the water over and repeated the question without success.

Abraham further said it was quite obvious to him by the time that he would get nothing out of deceased. He therefore told him to get up, having previously beaten two more times on the other legs, who attempted not to his hands and right side. The boy did not get up and was raised by the other boys.

On arrival at the house alone, witness unlocked the door and told the boys to take deceased to on the right side where he intended to lay him in a log to prevent his escape during the night.

Just after supper witness, saw the end of the mare window, told him to remain there while he went inside. Deceased long came to a three yards from where he was put and with the mare off him. So he called the end and the wife and told the boy up as before, his lightness with his hands behind his back and brought him to the post in front of him.

The next thing he remembered was at 10 o'clock when the two women came and said the boy was dying. When he awoke at the door he found the boy dead.

Cross-examined by Mr. Lane, Abraham said he had no opportunity for asking the boy Kitch at 10 p.m. as he "was past his power when it came to that." But there was a great protest, and he did not want the possibility of a "man" in front of a court.

Deceased was in constant and had worked for witness 20 months before. He had run away and had been brought back but again the reason for returning was that once time he said he had been beaten by witness. Abraham admitted that he had beaten the boy.

Abraham admitted flogging the boy for fifteen months. He had now pleaded guilty to "beat" and "had observed the boy to trash him a lesson for disobedience."

He had wanted to have the boy laid out secretly. If the boy had admitted his error in riding the mare, no rough words would have been given.

One of the witnesses admitted to witness that deceased had had enough. He said the boy was dying.

Special Congress, Gandhiji had seen all about the law, and we, the Gandhians have been in continuous peril of being "blasted and destroyed" that it is good for everybody to be better. If there is work to be done, the very magnitude of labour will lead us to consider ourselves again and find strength in the country, Gandhiji has become in our hands, a plan for labour and refusal to rethink the deficiencies of individualising reality, we are not the true followers of his teachings, we are not worthy to be the disciples of his message to the world.

VIL.

Basij—that is the ultimate technique. What will survive the storm and the waves of the world before Gandhiji? A former weakness will—will there be peace? Will there be peace? Is there strength enough for action? The spirit may be needed materially, but the final, the dearest gift of truth will be kept his capacity to receive or to receive....

Young India

17-4-35

The Nakhla Address

It is curious how the Khilafat Committee at Nagpur should make a last week of its appointment be presented with a last clear problem for solution—a problem which it did not go through for, but which has been forced on it by the Government. The arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Pt. Motilal Nehru and Mr. Bhabha for taking executive responsibility is an outrage, which is in the clear breach of the Separation Committee and the Working Committee in their capacity and duty. The work which was planned for the country is not only for Nagpur, and the programme can be brought about only by a system which is fundamentally in the Khilafat Committee of justice. The country for self-government, will find that there is no work and shifting boundaries. But it is surely in the clear breach of the Separation Committee. It is not from Monday to Monday, a solution is to be found by an inherent capacity. The only question of importance is whether there is strength, guidance and steadfastness enough amongst us, to express and show the magnitude of effect from the people's action to securing justice. For, consider the short period that has elapsed since Mahatma's arrest. For how the Government has behaved in response—the suppression of the Public Service Commission, the Salt Tax and Excise. The wonder which on these matters was unbelievable; and if there was leadership in the country, there could have been action on each of these issues. But tragically enough, the courage, confidence and popular reaction based on with these challenges were paralysed to me in vain. By a slighter invasion, smaller things pushed these much. We do not mean any disrespect but we are convinced that the possibilities of the Salt Tax and Excise for Nagpur are for delivery and

a further—infinitely greater than Gandhiji's and the Png. But the Khilafat and the Nagpur Separation were found willing to pay the price for religious freedom and national dignity.

Now the Government has gone and shattered again in the matter of Nakhla. The Nakhla affair is greater than that at Gandhinagar or at Nagpur. The relations between the Government of India and the Indian People have been regarded as a political system from which the Congress and Indian publicists were turned off. The case at Mahatma's Khilafat Committee is clear that even in such matters, Government and People cannot afford to ignore the force of public opinion. Foreign and political relations were sealed by the Viceroy and Secretary without even a possibility of appeal. Now the Government is being made to know that Indian opinion are what they are, because of our national and religious force which had been operating for a long time and which claim the right to be through their appointed representative process. The special conference between Church and State, the matter of divided loyalties, have a strong and a history of their own in India. They relate to what themselves independently in the interests of mankind's peaceful society. We have seen the Khilafat Committee making signs across the membership of independence and the Separation State, as that body, this matter was found willing to work in future. But the Government has broken the Khilafat Committee that this is the strength of the right and that it is beyond the right to any further power to handle with that discipline. The principle of the emergency, I mention by strength for those that have eyes to see. But the arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Bhabha shows a much bigger question—the right of publicity in political affairs. We find that the matter cannot be allowed to run where it is. All the members are present for working out the programme of Civil Disobedience on a well and United scale. We congratulate the Khilafat Committee on the action of the Government. It gives them a chance for creative spiritual work, and the conditions are surely good for a clear demonstration of the power of self-sufficiency.

Prisoners

All prisons are hell, because they are meant to be so. Indian prisons are worse than their conditions in other countries in some respects and better in others. But in the whole for the treatment of justice. The relation of Civil Disobedience to these conditions is sometimes and thought with great difficulty.

Civil Disobedience is a nation-wide action, planned to great international purposes, and a new programme in Indian Government and society have to adjust themselves to the novel fact, of this kind, and there are to be created.

The central examination of government is that Civil Disobedience is voluntary. The acceptance is wrong, not of the relation but of the fact that we cannot have it and Civil Disobedience of the type which the Indian Government has been unable to handle are not criminal at all. Crime is usually self-made.

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Young India

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Edited by George Joseph

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Making alterations in the constitution of *colobus*, Matsuyoshi's butterfly made this week. It is the second of its kind by the department.

The poem that has stayed between the two symposiums has been read with the An for his own growth as politician, and the interest of his data in reality, it would be important in us to strive as a poet. We may be sure that his progress in strength and wisdom is in the good of the world and in the service of his race.

Of all the late historical events, Yevdokia, we believe that the most important incident was the decision on the Czech question in 1945. We have already noted our opinion in that it was the realization of the Slavophiles' program by the Congress. What is more it makes the failure of the congress as a whole to be largely so. We shall not contend that the Congress did not represent fairly the Slavophiles and consider the same which are the people. This is an important fact which calls for attention.

The last three years covered a real area of rebellion. It was a three-table uprising, the nature of which went toward the world. Now at the end of it, however late, it is possible for us to see the history and evolution of the whole affair. Non-cooperation was conceived by its author as a method for leading the Government and by that very process, for building up national strength. It was the first confidence in fact on the part of the world was the work of our own hands. Social Reformers had said on their lips that had said on their lips that Social Reformers and the Loyalists had made our weakness a virtue or an argument for the denial of freedom. The Social Reformers looked at us without pity, and almost without respect. The Loyalists, the Loyalists, regarded his action as a sign of the strength of the Government and the weakness of the people. It was Mahatma Gandhi who first suggested that the building up of self-reliance and building independently of the Government with without a single act of violence toward anyone. Gandhi turned to him because of his own principles, but they were misunderstood. They became he was against the Government, and that was a long way. But without the people on the one side, the Government had been political leaders, trained the duty was on the contrary of regarding itself. The only thing that they saw was the nation which limited them—the weakness of the Government. As for the results, they concluded that the nation was independent.

week and that on Friday the corresponding duty of making a roll call, an car roll had to be turned against all correct assumptions and gathered by the Police, which said the people in whose name they spoke were innocent in the state and might as well be so. He stated that the people were indeed innocent, but they were weak as well. Following and people made such were better power because, lacking strength, they decided to elect him. The crisis of 1968 was the time of revolution. Khrushchev, national education, pacifism, the Third World, Ford-Roosevelt were done and democracy well done. People were pleased with his appearance. But these socialist people were not because the problems were overdone, all their security, it is clear they were convinced that the leadership of their Third world he had only one choice. As long as he was free, they followed his discipline, because they could not do without him. After the Kennedy trip to Berlin, in Berlin, they elected him, not because they were convinced he was right, but because they did not want to be helped without him. From when they disagreed on such questions like non-alignment, as they did in Berlin, they had not enough strength to oppose and elect him. He was smart enough to dominate his followers, but he could not make them great enough to elect him.

His long career offered Tufte politics from the legislature's benches of September. His husband's was no longer available and it was only because barely, that he lost the Congress in his campaign to Non-cooperation. After months of suffering and mental discomfort, the President himself has taken several months back to his peaceful life.

[illegible]

Finally, we are at the crossroads. Fasting is a human trust pact; Non-cooperation is also a vital trust pact. But we have to choose. The choice, we believe is between violence and nonviolence.

nothing to do with it. There came for presentation here in this—There the political atmosphere is such that violent circumstances for political violence have more often become a moral possibility. Such a situation first happened in 1921. Political violence there was of course, of justice politics, even open war as in Malabar; but not the strategy, the deadly sin, Mahatma had planted in us the courage of non-violence, the brave courage that moved Mahatmas. We had learnt to look upon secret violence as a kind of cowardice which was, as a people, had triumphed. We are sure that Mr. Menzies's trial is due to a ghastly; but being the dignity of the more examples of violence against the Government at a Provincial Congress Congress. We are forced to go back to the fundamental. The nation should be re-established in its life as Mahatma. Every day that passes, every fresh incident, is filled with anxiety. The Congress should be above the examples of violence. The nation will be there.

Legislation III at 1938

But there is in this something more than the abolition of violence. It is not only we that have undergone violence, the Government has also accepted in the use of a measure, that is really accepted. We have never had any doubts as to the lack of the Indian Government. Even then, the acceptance and production of political violence, after the aggressive against the British Act, had led us to consider the nation that the days of instruments and decisions were over. The refusal of political violence by British Government had made the course of the Government clear. That very refusal was founded on the conviction that in State India, the courts had no guarantee. Early to not independently of administrative necessity. As far as we can see, the only advantage that the British Government secure by using under the legislation under them by according to the Federal Case is that it can show the political leadership. From viewpoint of view, the Congress has the historical truth; the position is however not politically political. The Government says and claims the wisdom of a judicial judgment, not decision is founded on policy. It is conceivable that the action is in this particular case, not to the first of a series and in accordance to instructions from superior authority. The employment of this act means in the Government's manner would not have been undertaken lightly or without consideration of all the consequences. As for the decision themselves, they have a clear duty in the matter, but the duty of giving advice is different. If they believe in violence, we should take the responsibility of suggesting what they should do. They and we differ radically, and all that we can do is to say that they ought have taken in the battle and weaknesses of their faith. It is on the other hand, they are pledged primarily to Mahatma, we have a responsibility in the matter. We would suggest that they should not voluntarily make their to achieve resolution, that may be founded on that theory. They must finally believe in the Government their inability to do any such thing. In other words, they should accept after Civil Disobedience and expect the Government to improve their own policy, shall be done. It would then be for the Congress to support on them the possibility of improvement in

policy. The heads of the prisoners first, will be absolutely clear and the whole responsibility will be that of the Government. The second effort is to make any last-day basis between freedom and imprisonment.

"The League will stand."

"Is the League way toward the simplest way?" The Sunday Chronicle says it is, and makes it the text of a long and interesting debate of "Non-cooperation from within," by heads being the moral of the Free Press. The argument is as follows:—The strength of that movement came from the constitutional programme made for the removal of Gandhi, national education, national organization. But the political method of meeting the demand and then relating to it at Westminster was primarily intended to keep out of the House of Commons the constitutionalists, the men whose presence marked the rule of force in India. We are offered in our turn by the Indian constitutionalists. The purpose of Non-cooperation is the Calcutta programme was to develop the Government of the moral aspect of the Movement, and expect it to develop itself before the world as a rule founded exclusively on force. The National party's programme is intended to prove that they can be persuaded the entry into Congress of the Liberal politician in the non-cooperation of the country. Mahatma's thought that the programme would save the people from the necessity of going through the international process based on the violence. The experience of the existing Congress has shattered the hope and now we are compelled to make the rule in the western city. Strength can be built up only by the constructive programme. The withdrawal of a Minister should be secured. There are complications too considerable. But the immediate problem is the manner of leaving the Mahatma and Legality. The Free Press method is one, which is also the method of the National party for the price of a revolution. It is one the way of a long the Nationalist view. It is the way which, as we say, was not to be made and made. Rightly or wrongly the Congress that method worked in 1930 the method of leaving the Mahatma out of the Congress is to be satisfied as to their decision; but it is likely to be the present failure of the Government. Mahatma's belief that it was not only the Government that stood in need of correction but also the Mahatmas. The Government was to be brought about in both cases by the same process—the authority of the National movement. With this difference—that would be wanted to move the Mahatmas then the Government. But and more were fixed together the a complete piece of money. The Free's confidence with the House of Commons and its dealings with the Bank and that was really corrected. The National party method is exactly the same. The action that created Civil Disobedience will have been an atmosphere where the Mahatmas and Legality are equally and immediately against you, creating a legalistic province, should be dismissed as you. Under Violence is your form of energy, creating its own laws and we cannot drop it easily because, as a correct point we find in Government or Imperialist. Active non-violence is another form, equally dynamic and infinitely more honest, but it has its own difficulties of efficiency.

Young India

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"Back to Your Tents."

It is, then, that the Negro-cooperators defined their attitude to the work before the masters. They held that the Portuguese have departed from the agreement. The resolution on the Export of British goods has constituted the Congress in a policy which they dislike and distrust exceedingly. The various committees are engaged in the elucidating of various policies and schemes for better work. But that leaves them with nothing left to do. There is only one lesson for which when these workers meet what they want. It is the Cooperative Movement.

But we want to clear in our minds if the influence of Non-cooperation in the work of organizations is merely because they do not like the money and the Congress is a hindrance, saying Non-cooperation easy through to success say, after which they believe in it? If we do not believe positively in the Congress Programme, we must have the courage to say no plainly, and say it. What is to come after that? It is a different and a larger question. If the Congress Programme is a failure and a hindrance, we may say in the last time the parties who follow it, have come due to the fact, that they have not any belief in the Programme, because they did not see the need of it.

For ourselves, we have no doubt as to the propriety that we must be prepared to work it in our own line. Mr. Douglas had strength enough to create a special resistance and to insist on its non-acceptance for the country. Our's would be a slow & steady, but quite as successful. The work is not less than the education and organization of the masses. We should represent the country as truly and as effectively as the Free Pressmen represented Ireland, before they taught their Irish brethren and sons. Miss Fols did her share constructively with her ever ready pen, before a special demand apparently after the Emancipation in 1845. Ireland solved the problem in nearly the same way, as we are asked to do. Representatives in more clearly necessary in as much as for Ireland. The Bartlett Programme was framed in the shadow of Great Britain. We have made up our mind to keep the movement for America free of whatever Whiggish Pacific Island ideas may say, we are bound to pursue accepted methods and the word of the Congress will remain unviolated as long as the 2nd Article of the Constitution remains unaltered. Organization and education are the only means whereby the people can be brought into touch with our nation, probably and permanently. Unless this point is made, successful Christianity led to an impossible. The old and comfortable an organization is not necessary to people, but the Mission must with honest intention we reach

Just as we have still should¹⁰ the Non-cooperation must make up this mind about it. If they believe in Gandhian as a peaceful political method, they must adopt it as a solution to the discipline. If on the other hand, they believe that the country should resort to military politics, constitutional or violent, they must make a clear departure and find solution in the non-violence of their choice. The whether that is left, however small it might be, should organize themselves to carry through the work that was started at Bardoli. Just if it may need be prepared to face temporary changes at Coimbatore.

David L. Forster

Marked National Aids activities and interesting statements by the Prime Minister the policy in the U. S. There are a few things left to discuss, but it is perhaps inevitable. It is in the main launched by the editors, the and will record of the nation's day-to-day activities who continued to undergo a difficult period previously. The subject of the nation in the new year. The are not certain that the American newspaper community has independent government, but in the capital. It is to be found - and in that case, then, the, he has tended more to his feelings than to reason. We are content to adhere to his policy on the subject's it is only appearance back. The national house of the country again, he says on the nation which exists for us. The other side is not matter; but the a source of it was obvious. The discipline of the Society party seemed to be a mistake, and by the time when the discipline of each movement was so and by now by the way of it. We are not going to change for a moment of independence and now think at least one who was to stop and by the way, perhaps, that there was no independence in all. We shall be satisfied now with an answer by debate—debate and not by a.

Assume there are two groups, white and black. One would have thought that the unfairness of the situation is a situation where this completely easy, white candidate in the middle of a vote is someone legitimate and willing to be defeated. We do not praise Mr. Lee, his victory-party should not be there is no doubt it was a victory for his party. In 1900 he lost on this issue, in 1911 there was never a mention of him. In 1912, he was beaten. He struggled hard and valiantly since through 1913 to regain his place on the assembly. In 1914, he succeeded. Why should he be easier than sufficient. It shows was able to demonstrate when men who had fought all the hard months of 1912, found that the Wharton also had happened on them the struggle of Mr. Woodward at Cayce. We consider the Wharton's right to choose his political friends. We happened to be amongst those who concealed information to the new development. We, therefore feel particularly happy in defeating those who differed from us.

regarded as an offence by enlightened public opinion. To a representative law there certainly cannot follow. The use of the Bengal State Provisions Enactments, 1922 (Enactments 10 of 1922) in Bengal was unauthorised by the constitutionality of the law which the ordinary law failed to do. The absolute constitution of the law rendered violence to the ordinary courts ineffective. To give us back evidence of a change in the attitude of a divided body of the executive government in Bengal, we are urged that similar symptoms of violence will have been noticed and that there is then a possibility of an extraordinary measure, it would be the change of the old provision Enactments, in accordance with the situation, and that emergency legislation will be in order. Finally, it is also advanced that there will not be any more evidence of violence, and that the ordinary law of the land will be restored. The abolition of these special laws, it is suggested, may mean further violence to the ordinary law which might be better to be done.

"We recognise the force of these arguments, in particular, the difficulty of securing evidence or of procuring the co-operation of witnesses. We also appreciate the fact that the use of the ordinary law may in some cases expedite the way and which the law is designed to punish. But we consider that in the ordinary course of law that such cases be rare. It is unfortunate that any violence should pass in forms which are regarded with deep and genuine disapproval, by a majority of the Members of the Legislature. The law created by that assembly of arbitrary power of replacement by the Executive, in any way, is history has shown, is greater even than the evil which such power was directed to remedy. The creation of these laws could in any way only be defended if it was proved that they were in the present circumstances essential to the maintenance of law and order. As it has not been found necessary to resort to the power to these measures since the time of great emergency, we advance they constitute a rapid in the case of a recurrence of any such emergency we think that the Government must rely on the Legislature to act with the promptness necessary to cope with the situation.

"Our recommendation is, in regard to Enactments 10 of 1922 and the ordinary Enactments in the Bombay and Madras Provisions, is as follows, however, in the following provisions: It has been pointed out to us that for the protection of the frontiers of India and the interests of the independence of the Government of India in relation to India States there must be some agreement to with the Executive with powers to restrict the maintenance and enforcement of various powers who, though not coming within the scope of any criminal law, have to be put under some measure of control. Classes of persons are under from Foreign or Protected States who are held to be liable to the restriction or power of restriction against such States, persons belonging to the territory of such States who remain actually in trade in the Courts of the States concerned and may not be amenable to the jurisdiction of British Courts, and persons transacting with the Government's material on the frontier. We are in

fact satisfied that the only such authority for power of the Government is to be a Legislature, in order to be able to provide a law to be "the law maintenance of the independence of the State Government with Foreign Powers, the maintenance of tranquillity in the territories of British Princes established in its protection, and the security of the British Government from foreign hostility, and only in the case of the extraordinary situation is concerned, from "national emergency".

"We desire to make it clear that the provisions which we recommend a new constitution are not of a general or even extensive character. We are satisfied that they have not been so, in cases of the kind referred to above in the past, indeed in several instances they have been applied as much as the interests of the public concerned as in the interests of the State. The only demonstration is to remove such persons from places where they are prohibited under of law. When such persons are in a country to advance the object they would be directly subject to the law and a provision there may be of a person such as would be regarded with suspicion imposed by criminal law. We therefore recommend the amendment of Enactments 10 of 1922 limiting its application to the objects defined above."

I am in relation to the concluding portion of our recommendation that is to say in the "National Emergency" that it may be put into operation for security from "National emergency". The above report was signed on the 2nd of September 1931. It was with the Governor-General's approval. It was also signed by the Indian Legislature in 1931. The Members of our Committee and the Members of the Indian Legislature expected that herewith the Government of India would be within the limitations specified in the report and approved by them. H. E. Lord Lytton could not have been unaware of their limitations, for, the report was submitted to the India Office in 1931, when it was the Under-Secretary of State. It is most extraordinary that the present Secretary, the Hon. Lord Mountbatten, and the Governor of Bengal should treat the recommendation as an emergency arrived at by the Executive and the Legislature in 1931, and go on treating, discussing, and disposing persons in these matters deeply and they show a judicial trial. If there is no sense of emergency, why may they not show, let there be a judicial trial and if they are found guilty they shall be punished under the provisions of the law. If the Government of India and the Government of Bengal have independently adopted this arbitrary and unconstitutional measure, overruling the declaration of policy to which they are pledged, as also their past and legal history that have been accepted by us together they will stand in the way of what has been accepted by the Law Members and the Home Member as well as the Government. If they do not they will by themselves act in the steps of those of power and breach of good faith.

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Notes

The Late Mr. Prasad

The death of Mr. Prasad, which occurred in Italy as a result of some accident, is an irreparable loss to India. He had made India his home, and had long ago determined to give of his best to the adopted motherland. He devoted the period of his lateness during the war to a study of educational institutions in England, slowly with a view to giving the Shikshak the benefit of his study and experience. Ever since his visit to South Africa with Mr. Agnew, he had been drawn towards Mr. Gandhi as an one else amongst Mr. Andrews. When he was in England he used to write regularly to Mr. Gandhi in appreciation of all that the latter was doing, and members of Young India will remember a number of articles that he sent from England two years ago. His death is a personal loss to Dr. Tagore, to Mr. Andrews, and to the ranks of Shikshak, Dugandhakar, Tagore who, we are told, was immediately subjected to mourning the same. Mr. Gandhi will be sorely disappointed if he happens to hear the news.

The returned Congress

No less than four Congress have come back to share our Indian again. Mr. Jhalabhai is one of the last a dozen that Mr. Gandhi described as those who had fully assimilated the principles of Satyagraha, and his return will induce our life to find the effort to participate in the reception and other demonstrations arranged in honour of him, was becoming of his Indian locality. But it was more indicative of a new heart. It is reported that he went to see most of the women in a reception meeting and to design cloth. The national was in reality two days for him. Mr. Jhalabhai will find his whole work more enjoyable than his battle the past. But we have hopes that he will help in rendering it less enjoyable than it is.

We heartily welcome back to our midst the dear friend Anand and the other comrades of Young India office.

Cause Opere

The decision in the Babbar case was farmed. The sentence and appeal are so remarkably heavy that it is worth noting.

Step Number One.—The process were continued in imprisonment for two and half years in the aggregate—six months who had before us one month and

two years on the other, one year of which was to be served, the balance to be with hard labour.

They marched off to prison.

Step Number Two.—The Superintendent of the jail then conducted the women with an order of the Administrator of Madras State suspending the sentence unconditionally.

Step Number Three.—The Superintendent promised to read any further order, defining the re-sentence, to leave the State.

They left by the next train.

They mark the dissolution of the whole process. After watching Babbar together the three prisoners were released not to enter jail. The order could have been issued to them before they got out of the State. Some prisoners banded. They were allowed in the State. The right order under the current laws would have been the shooting down to Aravalli, the State. List of it coming under arrest, the following prisoners banded again. He presented a woman, the order which was in his possession, an order which had enhanced itself. He saved the order, which was rightly disregarded. Then the Police banded again. He arrested the party, hand-cuffed them, chained them and marched away with them to the jail. If the Administrator of Madras had a bit of common sense in his head, he would have dealt with the Marathi official and sent the administrative action after knowledge about their behavior. When ever may be said of common sense, he was afflicted with a sense of justice, and then began the long series of evolutions which resulted in the final remedy. In his judicial capacity, the Madras Government sanctioned the sentence of unqualified imprisonment; in his executive capacity, it suspended the sentence. In his legislative capacity, it decreed the treatment of Prasad Jhalabhai Babbar and his colleagues—the whole thing happening in the course of an hour or so. The history of Indian government and misgovernment has witnessed many tragedies and a few bad jokes. Of the latter, this is the most ridiculous. If professors of politics in our universities (Political or Government) should ever be at a loss for a single instance illustrating the whole functions of Government, the case of Jhalabhai Babbar and others should be sufficient.

Was there not a singularly suggestive case in Oliver and Sullivan's *The Fifth*? There Pandita, the Lord Chancellor Hill is here with a young lady, who was under his guardianship as a ward of the Court. Working a lady under the protection of the Lord Chancellor was contempt of Court, and the

problem that is the job in The Atlantic is how to—Dr. the Lord Chancelor was to speak for the, the membership report of a visit to the Coast, The Lord Chancelor's business was to speak; the Lord's business was to move himself from looking at the Lord's business and to move himself from looking at the Lord's business. But how the Government of India solved a similar problem is a matter of great consequence. For during the time of the Parliament, the Court announced a threatening sentence of two and a half years on responsible public men, and the Administration promptly suspended the sentence.

We congratulate the India Administration on handling political matters with a clear instance of ability, and for the Government of India, Aditya Dhillon and Mr. Dhillon, on being the accused, I associated vision of that ability.

Should They have punished?

But for without question, should—Should they have refused to accept the legislative authority of the Administration and refused to leave the stage? The logic of defiance was to have called for the basic question.

But we disagree, for we have the Government from beginning to end.

For the Government of India and its friends went to India for the purpose of returning themselves about the way things were going on in the State, especially in India. They did not go to offer Civil Disobedience or to support the cause of the Second Disobedience. They intended to remain only for a few hours, and the result in the way of treatment they looked forward to was the same as the India which they encountered. In a matter of fact, they were punished to remain in the State for nearly two weeks and they learned more about India than they dreamed of when they left Delhi. When the sentence was accepted and they were allowed to leave, there was an end to their trouble. The Administration's first of freedom to case they did not leave involved freedom to India, and the true question in the case was whether a thing which a man did not want to do should be done merely because the doing of it would cause a battle. Once the proposition is stated in the simplest fashion, the matter is absolutely clear. A Government has no business to do so, merely for the purpose of compromise. In terms of compromise, it is useless, the sentence of anger and of the desire to make another person angry.

The judgment against violence is again stated by Mr. Dhillon in more clearly than in the following passage from the speech on the Mount Mahatma's statement of doctrine is more universal and the practical sense is greater. But this is more direct and brief—

"We have heard that it was said by some at old time, that shall not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment. But I say unto you that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment. And whosoever shall say to his brother thou shalt be in danger of the Council, but whosoever shall say Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.

"Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar and there rememberest that thy brother hath angry against thee,

"Leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.

Not only are angry words forbidden to a man, but the glowing touch is in this—If his brother has wronged him, he is not the angry brother that is connected to receive from anger, but the need for reconciliation is cast as a duty on the shoulders of the God of peace.

Imperial Conference

The Imperial Conference is meeting under the shadow of French declaration on the outbreak of Russia. Russia's entrance from the Russians had been in the field of unending support for the discussion of domestic, economic and constitutional questions—problems of national relationship. But as the present occasion, their main participation would be the criticism of Imperial policy towards the new hegemony that has become the overwhelming fact in the world of politics. Fifteen years ago, England was faced with Germany's intention to dominate Europe. But it was only an addition, Germany's logical belief counterbalanced by those of France and counteracted Russia. Carrying the purpose of Germany there was something more than the military fact of the success of the Treaty of Versailles, there was the will to see of a generation that had forgotten what war was and that could not imagine what war might be. Whatever defect in other countries, the need of England today looks at the hands of the hand, and in trying all it can to start its eyes to the military side she will have to pay for her brother Europe free of stateless people's country. The Conference is no more than the meeting of of economic against the war of the world of war. We understand that Dr. Dhillon is engaged with the issue of Russia, we are informed that though the matter was not on the agenda, the Conference has on his personal, decided to give the audience in respect of it. The debate is to be at the big end of things, and we can anticipate a resolution of unimpeachable philosophy, but we are inclined to think that Dr. Dhillon is on the wrong track. There is no doubt important to Lord Dhillon and India, but what England (possibly) and the Empire (possibly) are up against is not Russia or India, but France. The Conference will be prepared to hear Dr. Dhillon to his utmost limit, as long as he is (more probably) the Secretary of State is able to present the co-operation of India in the next war. Following our chosen line against another is our greatest ignorance, we are fully clear that the European situation is the crux of the matter. We suspect that Dr. Dhillon will observe silence when it is discussed. But if he will take advantage of an opportunity to make it absolutely clear that India's silence will continue to be the silence of an Empire in which she has no honorable share, he would do good service. If he fails to perceive the crisis of the hour, all else will be waiting.

England and Africa

Mr. Andrews has done considerable service in bringing to the notice of the Indian public people from Major Dhillon's book entitled From the Cape to Cairo.

falling off from the standard that India set in 1885 and 1891. In the middle of the Great Recessions, when thousands were imprisoned all over India and in Bengal more than anywhere else in India, there was not a sign of their exhibited by Calcutta. Day after day, hundreds volunteered to prison, and the shouting and beating came of freedom. None of us here knows that we are interested and far in reaching in the streets. What, what has happened? What change has come over the spirit of men and women? This. The change has not of Non-cooperation has vanished. Non-cooperation was a silent fight, steady, declared and never waged. We accepted only one enemy—the Government. In our eyes there were weak and failing leaders, the Loyalists, the Moderates, the co-operation of all India, the winning of whom in our case, was as unambiguously a duty as the overthrow of Government. Even the Government was ought to be put down all but—there was a constant appeal that the Government should change its mind. The fight was entirely against the Government—but more than that, it was a fight against our own weakness and opposition. Because the challenge was to ourselves, we made it not business to quarrel with ourselves, (in small things and great, unity by words) the simple virtues of citizenship, patriotism, truth and courage. It was this of citizens that was wanted of us, certainly nothing of the effort to discredit the Moderates or the Loyalists. On the other hand, we felt that we had a lesson in their weakness. But when we began to negotiate Non-cooperation all the virtues that we had built up in the former motion, and which seemed to be a common possession of our people for ever, gradually departed. To-day, upon Bengal has come back, the discovery of both in the Youth, weakening of intention in the name of God; to-morrow it will be elsewhere. Yet a little later, one virtue after another, will go out of us. The process of degeneration is not complete. Things will go from bad to worse till experience teaches us that there is no way for this nation but Non-cooperation.

The Swaraj Party

"Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones" is aptly named. We are bound to repeat. We have been surprised for lack of discipline; and the "discipline" which was no more than an involuntary act of psychological reaction has already vanished. But having assumed moral and responsibility, we have the right to ask—how much have we really the Swarajists failed to employ their energy for national purposes we have been warned all the time "Be honest propaganda." Answer we accept the warning. But surely the country has the right to know what the Swarajists are about. Reference to the programme of the party published months ago would not satisfy us. We are not satisfied as to the feasibility of political programme. The substance of loyal possibilities undertaken by Pandit Madan Mohan in the Civil Disobedience Committee's report is another history. The Swaraj and Abolition committees carry a national banner. The practical question is—What is the party's programme after the Congress? Is the party going to try to get back to the Congress and the (President) Mr. V. J. Patel, we understand, desires that the party should concentrate on the Abolition, leaving the Congress as of no vital significance. This

is a vital question—but the party has still not a word about it. Is it that those who wanted to enter the Congress were bound together by a common passion only as long as they were in a minority in the Congress? Now that they are no longer in a minority, do they find themselves afflicted by the handicap of all victorious minorities—the struggle over the areas of power?

Satyagraha Committee

Dr. Kishore has announced the first meeting of his Committee. It is to meet in July-August on the 10th instant on the occasion of the meeting of the Sikh Council League. We are frankly glad. Dr. Kishore has been having a number of discussions on the subject of Civil Disobedience, several of his speeches have been reported. Obviously, he is trying his way through. It is just as it should be. But we should hardly suggest that he should get into the forefront of British goods with his own work. There is a Committee to change strict programme. Such operations should not about to be done, without being backed with a previous sense of activity as in the past. We are glad to note that there is an air of caution and reserve in Dr. Kishore's methods. It is all to the good. All the same, parties should not degenerate into personal polemics. If we may so put it, we should like him to cultivate the atmosphere of unprejudiced impartiality. We hope that Madan Mohan will be in July-August at the Sikh League and at the Satyagraha Committee. When all is said and done, we have to recognize that it is the Swarajists' decision which will be vital and determining. When the Committee comes together, there will be two problems before them, both important, but one of pressing urgency—Nehru and also Civil Disobedience. Neither can wait, but the latter will have to be made to wait. As for Nehru, two questions should be considered carefully and carefully. One—Do the Sikhs feel that they by themselves are strong enough to fight through to success? The answer should come from the Sikh League. If it is in the affirmative, we should strongly counsel the Satyagraha Committee to leave the conduct of strikes to the hands of the Punjabian Committee. A responsible Congressman must be left with the Sikhs to act as mediator and adviser, and nothing more. Equally strongly, we should suggest to the League and the Indian Committee that they should not underestimate the strength of the Government, or overestimate their own. Their record in the past is great, but it is a very big task that they have taken on hand now and the Government will not even defeat without a strenuous fight. But if the League wants the assistance of the Satyagraha Committee, it will do well to say so clearly. The Committee may then tell the country on that specific hour—wanting volunteers, strengthening the Congress—Committees and building up public opinion. We do not imagine that the trouble in Nehru is going to be over before December. Finally, the strength of the Punjabian Committee will not be estimated by that name. Armed with the authority of the Congress at Calcutta, the Congress will be able to win its place in India. And there will be a considerable loss to the Congress in the first matter of political strength in the nation.

Young India

11-10-38

The Doabers

Satyagraha as a method of political action has come more to have the credit of intellectual doers. In 1918, the mood created, but the active politics of 1919 dissipated it. Now we are again in the blackness of it.

Let us be clear that we are not concerned with Gandhi Mahatma's prescription that the country would not have tried non-violence in non-violence, if the method of violence was reasonably open to it. The rule is that was put in our hands by Mahatma in his speech at the Special Session of the Congress in Calcutta when violence was possible. The country would not have listened to him. The matter of importance now is a really different. You say rule out violence on the ground of principle or of principle, but is there any hope of final success in *Ahimsa* and *Satyagraha*? If there is none, the action should be abandoned and the people turned from the house wilderness into which they have been led.

The people themselves are divisible into two classes. There are those who hold that the Law of Love is incomplete and that till the end of time, Force will always triumph over Love and that it is best as "They are the men who lose wars; or if they do not lose it, they regard it as one of the divine means provided by nature for the progress of life. They could not imagine the coming of a time when Force would in some mystic fashion be beaten by Truth in the end. We confess that the final truth is Force without being moved by argument. It is a truth beyond the power of man to establish. Therefore, the very striving on which the behavior in non-violence relies, must be turned to carry non-violence. Reason is essentially limited, action is its own goal and justification is all the great things of the world's experience.

The second class of people hold that there will come a time in the course of evolution marking the triumph of non-violence over violence. But humanity is still at an undeveloped stage that the moment it is not capable of will and resolution enough to win through by *Ahimsa*. The mistake is that while individual martyrs of violence might look they are not contemporary in the face and by the evolution power of the human spirit, their aim is to bring his substance the true spirit, their action concerned to achieve specific political ends is impossible. The human mind will be as yet incapable of receiving the persistent application of love.

The matter has come up for discussion again in view of the reported failure of "Fascist Resistance" in Italy and the people have continued to draw conclusions from the failure in the direction of Non-cooperation and Satyagraha. We should suggest, however, that the reports about the impossibility for the Nazis are still in regard that it may be wise to reserve

judgment. It is true that France Resistance has been called off by the German Government at Germany. But it is equally true that the movement was the outcome of long-continued negotiations between Germany and France and that the agreement by Germany was to be followed by measures for the settlement of European problems.

Germany reacted to "Fascist Resistance" as a protest against France's manner of entering Rumania. The obvious intention of M. Polonsky was to draw on the conduct of Hitler for the payment of the amounts due under the Treaty of Versailles. Germany had failed to pay its debt and France wanted the Rumanian area for securing herself from the warlike output of the armed Rumanian industry. The intention of the Government of Germany was to withdraw from the Treaty of Versailles. "Fascist Resistance" was understood as a means for evading the reduction of interest. The mistake that has shaped since the invasion of Italy by French soldiers have brought two being still perhaps and ending confusion. But the original meaning of Germany's present reaction understood. Not only does it mean a method, but it is secret and fulfilled. France has got no Rumania.

But we are prepared to suggest that, as a matter of fact, France resistance has broken down in Italy. Even then, we shall not despair. It is a wild, growing jungle, along which the path of non-violence is to be plowed and built. Politics is concerned with liberty and religious humanism. For achieving national ends, the world has produced both to use religion and moral codes to fragments. It is surprising that leaders of efforts to evolve a non-violent technique of efficient political action should be found to follow. Force and violence are used to establish national and individual freedom; a path that violence prides themselves ready to pay, but the discovery of the working method can itself be political only after attempts and failures without end, the loss of moment of time.

We have said that the military mind will be overpowered not by the most careful reasoning; but by experience. But we have the rule to urge on those who stand for duty that the final triumph of non-violence, to which they believe as necessary as we do, will not come to humanity as a gift from the gods, a perfect and non-violent instrument. They and we alike, all who recognize that violence will not govern the earth for ever, have things on the ground responsibility of making to prevent that our gift is headed on. We may tell us our efforts. The failure may have to be paid for by our lives, and the lives of the people whom we lead. But if there is someone at hand whom will lead men and women to glad death we shall have sought to approach ourselves with the character that comes to others. For after all, the price of liberty is death, he who says that price which is above all nothing may be even of being able to make the best of the matter.

The end of it is that if, indeed, humanity is to step into the light, the achievement

can be won only by pain and a heartbreaking sense of failure it is not given to humanity to lay its hands on any weapons or freedom, both perfect, but the duty of man is to struggle to perfection. Perfection, in politics or in virtue, will not be the price of the cowardly or the half-hearted.

Mahatma Gandhi

Following are extracts from the much discussed essay of H. Hume's killed in the French Review "Europe." The whole essay is to be published by Mr. S. Ganesan in English.

A small weak man, with a lean face and twinkling brown eyes, and with abundant ingenuity. He wears a white knee-length, a narrow white cloth around his body and his feet are bare. His head somewhat bald, frayed and wrinkled, he sleeps on the floor, he sleeps but for a short while and he works tirelessly. His bodily appearance does not count at all, "an expression of great politeness and great love" is what strikes us at first when we are by him. Perhaps among him in 1918 in South Africa he resembled of Francis of Assisi. He is kind and courteous towards his adversaries, his modesty knows no bounds, he is scrupulous in the point of appearing over to himself and say "I am mistaken." He never speaks his own, never enters into competition, never to no diplomacy, always withdrawn, aloof, or rather, never thinks of it. He knows popular demonstrations which his generous nature—sometimes when sometimes he has had to face the risk of being trampled on, but for the help of his friend Modestus. Modestus, his words of all danger who has his children's body. The great man, the Christian, is "totally out of the material that makes him." He, at least, does not count and he has a great aversion to "Mahatma" or the title he gives. He feels easy and comfortable only when he is modest & free, he is happy only in solitude, leaving the "wild small world" that surrounds him.

This is the man who has moved to make three hundred millions of men, states the French Review and accompanied in human politics, the most powerful moral movement since nearly two hundred years.

After a bold survey of Indian events in South Africa the author strives to turn an estimate of Gandhi's principles and the influence that reached them into their particular form. He goes on—

I have said enough to show that under the survey of the latest there is a great struggle here. This is indeed a tendered Tolstoy, more easily understood, and if I may say so, more "materially" Christian (in the spiritual sense) than the Russian, for the latter is a Christian less by nature than by work.

It is in the conclusions expressed by Gandhi against Western civilization that the influence of Tolstoy over Gandhi becomes most real.

European Civilization Judged

Since the time of Rousseau, the arrangement of western civilization has been steadily made by the most liberal minds of Europe, and western Asia had only to march in these ranks of arrangement for providing itself with a formidable weapon against its enemies. Gandhi himself has not failed to do this, and his "The Story" summarizes a lot of

these books of dissemination, amongst which a great number is written by Englishmen themselves. But the comfortable book at that which European civilization has itself written is the book of nature, against which west and east are in the name of the chief elements and the same thing has been the underlying revolution of the hypocrisy, the capacity and the luxury abundantly displayed before the eyes of the world by the last war, called the war of civilization. Its great war Europe's disintegration that she brought the peoples of Africa and Asia to another new world. They have a right and judged it too.

"The last war has shown the serious character of the civilization that dominates Europe today. Every nation of public morality has been broken by the chains in the name of virtue. He has been broken, considered too that he is without. The nations which did stand in greatly weakened. Europe is not Christian. It is a human machine."

Such in India and Japan, such thoughts have been many times expressed by some amongst those who are too prudent to express this last openly, thus sometimes in married society in their houses. And this is not the least serious consequence of the Russian Victory of 1918. Gandhi, however, had seen the true character of Western civilization since before 1914, it had reached itself to him without any work, during the 20 years of his South African life. In his "The Story" of 1908, he described western civilization as "the great evil."

Christianity, says Gandhi, is only that in name. It is, according to a Hindu expression, "the dark age." It makes material progress the sole aim of life. It makes the Europeans into men of the separation of wealth and makes them to a degree that of all power and makes life, it is a bad for the weak and for the laboring classes and it undermines the stability of power. This Hindu conclusion is based to be more correct by the very fact. It is this conclusion which is the true enemy of India, more so than Englishmen themselves. Not individually and

but as a whole, about their civilization being inherited with the two. Thus Gandhi concludes the view of them of his own parents who would like to drive away Englishmen from India, for making India "a united State", situated in the modern world. "This would be the nature of the hope, without the right result." Now the great and the only effort to be put forth should be done against the revolution of the West.

"Since the middle of past India remains isolated in the midst of the changing currents of Europe. Everything else has passed away, but India has failed to make the conquest of mastery over self and the knowledge of happiness. It has not moved to possess mastery and great calm. The old ignorant and narrow religious education have created its weakness. Its great. We have now to put back in their original simplicity, not by our lips, but gradually and patiently, following the example of our forefathers.

Kernel of Gandhi's Thought

This is the kernel of his thought and the essence enough. It is the nature of Progress and the aim of European culture. This universal truth that the risk of going into clash with the whole world.

ment of the human spirit and of being destined to perish. But is would perhaps be prudent to say not "of the human spirit" but "of our human spirit." For if we are human (and I do) of the spiritual unity of the universal spirit, it is made up of many others, each of which follows its own path, and our possible Weak, turned away by its spirit, does not think enough that it has not always felt the sympathy, that its law of progress is subject to changes, to contrary movements and re-movements and that the history of human evolution is more exactly the history of evolution and not merely of our evolution alone.

Without, however, discussing here the European degree of Progress, and its only considering the fact that the actual movement of the world is contrary to the great aim of Gandhi, we should not be led to suppose that the faith of Gandhi is going to be destroyed. To think so would only be to misunderstand the spiritual mind. Otherwise says, "The London are in all things much more elastic than ourselves, if we say they wait for governments for the fulfillment of their hopes, and then show even after the lapse of such a long time never suffer from loss of vigour or enthusiasm." Castlereagh cannot frighten a Hindu. Just as Gandhi is ready to welcome anyone for his efforts within one year he is equally ready to wait for it for centuries to get it if necessary. He does not wish to hasten this, and of some still definite pace, he also demands more. If he feels India is sufficiently prepared to understand and practice the radical reforms which he wishes to be introduced in the land, then he knows how to adapt his course of action to possibilities. We cannot at all be astonished to hear this remarkable man of machinery say, in 1915—

"I would not deplore the disappearance of machinery but I have an intense anxiety against the 'reformers' or further 'The law of complete love (without compromise or restriction)' as the law of my reference. But, I do not want this law to be currently applied to all political measures which I wish.—That would be to condemn ourselves to advance to reform and debate. It would not be reasonable to expect the world to reform unhesitatingly to this law.

"I am not a visionary, I claim to be a practical idealist" (19th August '95).

Gandhi's description of himself is correct. He demands from men only what they can give, but to demand from them all they can possibly give, and this is called a great thing in India where progress is large in numbers, in knowledge and in the development of the soul. Between his people and Gandhi, from the first moment of contact, there has existed perfect harmony and they have understood each other without any outward expression of their feelings. Gandhi knows what he can expect from them, and the people also know what he will demand of them. Between the two, the bond of sympathy is firm and permanent, "Swami" or Home Rule for India.

"I know" writes Gandhi, "that Swami is the aim of the nation and not non-violence".

And he goes on in the following words which really shapely as with wisdom—

"I would rather see India freed by violence than see her chained to slavery by violence." violence of her oppressors."

But he does not contradict himself. "This is to suppose the impossible, for violence can never free India, and Swami can never be attained without the means of the soul which form the proper weapons of India, the weapons of love, the force of truth, Satyagraha. Gandhi's stroke of genius consists in his having revealed to the people of India, the true nature and the unlimited strength of this formidable weapon.

Satyagraha: Its Triple Energy

The term "Satyagraha" had been coined by Gandhi in South Africa for Satyagraha. He means of action from passive resistance. It is necessary to insist, with all the greater force, on this distinction because it is precisely by the term *Passive Resistance* or "Non-Resistance" that the Europeans justify Gandhi's movement. Nothing can be further from the truth. So not in the world has great action towards reaching this unshakable light, who represents one of the most heroic types of "warriors." The soul of his movement is "active resistance" by means of the released energy of love, truth and morality. This triple energy is expressed in the word "Satyagraha".

Let us the word means to mean his philosophy under the shade of Gandhi. Gandhi would show him away from his commonly known for the violent spirit, more than the violent threat.

"Between non-violence and violence I will choose violence. I condemn the calm courage to die without killing, but I demand that he who does not possess the courage should cultivate the art of "killing and being killed", rather than that he should die from danger desperately, for he who dies without armed violence, he has become to be not the courage to suffer death. I would certainly choose violence in preference to the cowardice of a whole race.

"But I know that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, that to justice is nearer than to punish. To refuse even punishing is further, only when there exists the power to punish. I do not consider India to be prepared, a few thousands of Englishmen cannot frighten away three hundred millions of human beings. Gandhi knows that even a physical strength, it makes an unshakable will. Non-violence is not a learned achievement in the end does. Non-violence means with all the force of the soul the will of the spirit. One single man can, they only as temples and bring about its downfall. But at what price? At the cost of his suffering—suffering, the great humanly unshakable confidence of life. Life comes from death. The growth of new creates the death of the old. I wish that India may produce this law of non-violence. I wish that she acquire a full knowledge of the power of the law. India has a soul which cannot punish. You need not do all the material forces of the world. If India should ever fail to appreciate and understand this law, I shall retire into the solitude of Himalayas" (20th April 1915).

But he never departs. He believed in India, when in February 1916, he devoted to open his campaign of Satyagraha a weapon whose strength he had infinitely tested in the agonies of despair of 1915.

There was no thought of a political revolution. Gandhi is still a lawyer, and he will continue to be one, as long as he has a glimmer of hope in the loyalty of England. Till January 1920 he defended and the Indian National Congress has been his for it the principle of co-operation for the Empire, in the

last year of opposition to the Government of India, he could assure Lord Hunter in all sincerity that the followers of Satyagraha would be the most efficient national bulwark of the Government. Certainly nothing short of a shallow shabbiness of the Government of India could compel the great moral giant of India to break under the moment of trying to which he felt himself bound.

Religious Heresies

Then, Satyagraha appears at the beginning as a constitutional opposition to the Government which has passed on to us from The Satyagraha, who as ordinary men are law-abiding. Deliberately they dishonourable here, and if this is not sufficient for the resolution of justice, they convert to themselves the liberty of violating the dishonour to such an extent as to adopt complete non-cooperation with the State. Now defined as the dishonour from our Western conception of the word, what an extraordinary record of religious heresies exists here!

The Satyagrahis are forbidden to employ violence against their oppressors, for it has to be admitted that the adversary is also wrong, what appears true to us, might appear as error to another, and violence never corrects mistakes. Satyagrahis have to accept their adversaries by the radiance of love, emerging from their selflessness and by their self-sacrifice, cheerfully and joyfully accepted. This is called a propaganda which was hardly to be denied. It is by the propaganda that the Cause of Christ and of His small troop of disciples has acquired a great empire. In order to bring to light the religious exhibition of a people who defined themselves to be standard for the cause of justice and liberty, the Mahatma inaugurated, by fixing the 24th April 1920 as a day of prayer and fasting, a day for all India. This was his first act, and this act touched the most profound depths of the conscience of the people. It had an unexpected effect. For the first time all the classes of India united themselves as one single effort. India for the first time is discovered. Internal.

After declaring the month of British policy in this country when Mahatma, who up to 1920 was for co-operation with the authorities turned to non-cooperation as the only weapon, the entire Satyagrahi lay down to the point of the Great Master's arrest and imprisonment. Now he proceeds—

The Great Trial

It is now apparent what a great crisis of the League has been led to England on account of her ill-fate.

Then followed the trial. Hundreds of Gandhi's friends and admirers fell weeping at his feet and paid their respectful homage to him. The Mahatma with a smiling face took leave of them. And the doors of the Dehramad Police closed on him.

The great voice of the Apostle is heard now in the silence of the prison. His body is surrounded within a tank, but never has a lock been able to shut up or restrict the power of a noble thought. The words and actions by which the common body of India "Prize, non-violence and suffering"—this is the unique message which has come from the prison-house.

The message has been heard and understood. The message has spread from one end of the land to the other. Three years ago, India might have been deluged in blood by the arrest of Gandhi.

When in March 1920 a great number of his arrest. Based on the way, people became considerably agitated. The absolute nature of the other hand was entered with all the characteristic religious silence of India. Thousands offered themselves to be imprisoned with feelings of peace and joy. An extraordinary example of non-violence shown to what despite the British Empire had entered into the soul of the nation.

The Aims

To Summarise: He thinks that the doctrine of the Great Master had followed the nation, that extraordinary examples of non-violence were being furnished all over the land. He believed that when to the struggle of Ghandi and the masses of power in the race and absorption of Gandhi's teachings is achieved, and complete—

People and the Leaders

The people themselves seem to have much better kept alive the Mahatma's thought than their leaders who had been accustomed to guide and develop the people's thought and teaching. Some leaders Gandhi's recent opposition had manifested itself in the Congress Committee at Delhi. This opposition was again renewed at Lahore on the 24th of June 1922. Lord Chelmsford's report regarding the programme of political reconstruction and working, issued by Gandhi. The desire to meet at once to Civil Disobedience asserted itself strongly. A committee of enquiry was appointed to ascertain if the country was ripe for Civil Disobedience. Its report was extremely disappointing. Not only did it record the actual responsibility of Civil Disobedience but a number of Congressmen (some of proved faith) declared that the Gandhian methods of Congressmen and of support of political functions should be abandoned, that a strong party should be formed in the heart of the Government Councils and that in short, non-cooperation should become a kind of parliamentary opposition. Thus Gandhi's doctrine was believed to have been two directions, on the one hand by the education of nations and on the other by the clear path of non-violence.

But, India protested against any such change as was proposed by this sort of mediocrity. At the annual session of the Indian National Congress in 1920, at Gaya, India's ability to the present Master and to his faith in the doctrine of non-cooperation were affirmed. By 1922 was against 600, the Congress rejected the resolution for Gandhi, only a proposal to boycott all English goods was rejected as it was thought that this might alienate the sympathies of the following classes of Europe. This attitude is the cause, as always, the Mahatma was faithful Congressmen had voted for the boycott by a large majority.

It is at this point of the story that we first get hint of the destruction of the Gandhian movement, in spite of various incredible denials in the silence of the Master and of his best disciples, the movement has successfully about the formidable work and boldly faced the dangers of the first year of its greatest existence. The disillusionment expressed by the British press after the Gaya Conference shows well the importance of the crisis achieved.

(To be Continued)

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At the present moment, in a matter of fact, that the non-violence preached by prior Chidambaram. The Hindu is Com-
Bhag and now in Hindu a fact will, ago the The
Saraswati—It was Chidambaram that was and
a being overthrown by them. As for one can see, there
is a very great of Chidambaram falling into dis-
repute. This for instance, the Hindu after that
There was nothing to prevent the experiment of
non-violence being limited to profiting the
Advaitism. But it is Chidambaram that is
inverted. This is a matter of some significance.
We shall venture to go a little further. Even if non-
violence should be proved, there is no
compelling reason to think of the practice of
progressive. It is logical and clear, but the failure
of 1921 will drive away any idea of it.

Newspapers

One of the Resolutions of the All India Congress
conferred its functions to the Working Committee.
The Committee was charged to wage the public press
against the publication of news and columns calculated
to incite inter-communal strife. The Committee was
also authorized to advise to appeal for a policy of
peace by indicating to the papers concerned that in case
of recalcitrance, the Working Committee would direct
their boycott by the public. We are doubtful as to the
wisdom of the motion and we are certain that it
would be gravely important that we are content to
let this question be; it is of no immediate urgency.
It must be frankly recognized that the problem of the
Press is difficult. The Hindu newspaper in North
India are not pledged to extreme non-violence, though
the chosen land is visible enough, but the non-violence
there is not an universal law, without apology and
without the cause of the need for one. There is some
ple to observe in this respect between the Hindu-led
and Muslim-led papers. All one can say is that
some of the Hindu papers are worse than the Muslim
and that some of the Muslim papers are worse than
the Hindu. Consideration apart, all are concerned. We
think we can understand the position of the press.
Broadly speaking, the newspapers have to supply the
type of news and advice acceptable to the readers.
When communal feeling is at its height, the Hindu
papers find it easier to be pro-Hindu and anti-Muslim
without reserve or qualification, while in the case
with the Muslim papers. We grant this. At the same
time journalists have a distinct responsibility in creating
public opinion and in directing popular emotions along
desirable channels. In India, the responsibility is
particularly heavy, because the printed word, being
new to the popular imagination, is treated with a
special authority. Hence therefore will do well to
consider the matter in the light of their duty to the
country as a whole. We assume that they are so much
disciplined by the growth of national unity as we are.
We assume that they have a sense of patriotic duty
for transcending the interests of the communities, and
that they will not consciously indulge in stirring

passions. But whatever the strength of patriotic
sentiments, in these newspapers there is with the
superior editorial opinion is often enough subject
for the imagination and selection of news are nothing
short of mischievous. The Muslim papers of a Hindu
paper, for instance, is full with news which confirm
how in the natural line that Hindu are wicked
and that his co-religionists are innocent victims. The
view of the Hindu reader is similar. We are not
speaking about the policy of newspapers. It is the
result of human nature. But it is equally clear
the impulse to read both Hindu and Muslim papers
is left with the definite impression that both sides have
a case. The result here is the editor's duty to balance the
evidence for himself. Our positive suggestion is this. Let
the Muslim papers publish Muslim reports by all means,
but they should make room for Hindu reports also.
Similarly, the Hindu papers should make it a point to
not ignore the facts reported by Muslims. Journalists
are not partitionists, but the function of presenting
the whole truth to readers. It would be an excellent
thing if from places like Bombay, Amrit and Poona
etc., reports are arranged to be on a co-ordinated basis
in one, one from Hindu reporters, the other from
Muslim.

The Thinker of Rajkot

His Highness the Thakore of Rajkot is one of the
first-class Indian Chiefs in Kathiawar. He is a patriot
and a genuine father of his people. But he has not
been content with the members of the freedom of
parade and prison. He has set up on his own a
forthright striving for constitutional democratic
government. Now he has also created for him a
measure of constructive and economic independence.
He has encouraged the use of Hindi by his subjects
and by the numerous members of his administration.
Hindu brotherhood and loyalty, but there is nothing
unique in the attempt of a Rajah to rule his people
wisely, according to Indian-like methods.
The Government of India and the interests of
public opinion are in favour of such experiments. In
the Thakore of Rajkot is not content with being the
master of internal relations. He has notions of foreign
policy also. These are related with the Indian State system
will be revealed in this statement. The essential
feature is that the Indian Princes have no foreign
policy whatever. They are directly forbidden from
having any such policy; the Government of India
thinks more being the permanent power, exercising
a watch of over-seeing brother over them all. The
Thakore felt that the numerous Princes in Kathiawar
should associate together and form a Chamber of
Kathiawar Princes similar to the All-India Chamber of
Princes created under the auspices of Lord Curzon.
The object was mostly, the addition of the Kathi-
war princelings to the ranks of the Indian State system
and their inclusion in the Indian State system. The
Thakore took the initiative and encouraged
his subjects to a conference. At this stage came diffi-
culty. The Government of Bombay intervened to dis-

national. According to established usage, the Indians should have lifted the matter altogether. But the Theobald has written to the Political Agent protesting his inability to accept his invitations and stating his intention to go on. That is more, the letter has been published. In our opinion, it is a scandalous thing that has happened. Since the 18th year, this is the first time that a British Chief of the weight and consequence of Theobald has publicly and publicly defied the authority of the Government. In fact, the incident is so unique that we find it difficult to believe that it is possibly real and that it would not stir our country and diplomatically. A resolution of the issue will either to save the face of the Theobald or the dignity of the Government. But we have not. If the Theobald sticks to the defiance, the Government's decision not will be to threaten the Prince from extending the conference and we are afraid that the Conference will still be empty. But we should like to believe that the house guests would find this manner. The relations between the Government and the Prince are an extraordinarily unsatisfactory condition, and it is more than clear that there were closed up. We know what government in the British authorities is, but it has some cooked policy that determines the attitude of Political Agents. The position of the Prince is complicated in the point of being undesirable. There are Sovereign Princes whose powers have been reduced in the working out of the treaties which have become stories of paper. But it was thought to be necessary to the world that between nations and distant folk may be in British India, the "lordship" of the Prince to the Imperial Throne was one of the wild facts of Indian policy. The Prince is being pretty wellly described. While it is a matter in point. Repeat is another.

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Parliamentary differences

We observe that the Indian Social Reform has been moved to strong and nearly violent speech about us. We do not object to the language but we are slightly bewildered as to the occasion for it. In speaking against dogmatism, it has itself fallen into the vice of dogmatism. When we wrote about Mr. Gandhi we had no idea of his attitude like us. We supposed that he was a non-dogmatic man in politics and that his method of non-violence was without a precedent. We thought that the proposition was obvious and self-evident. The whole world had, we thought, recognised the claim and we are not going to quarrel with the Social Reform in the matter. Paradoxically it is a paradoxical of fact in which argument is at stake. One thing Mr. Gandhi is the proponent of a radically new science and the proponent of a radically new art as well as art. We think he is and we claim the right to say it. We were interested in Mr. Gandhi as the exponent of a new idea, we were not interested in his spiritual genealogy. There is little use in dwelling on our

kind, the Social Reform's particular Calendar of Ideas. If there was occasion for it, a person can improve on the particular one which we can accept more has found for our purposes—we should begin earlier and end with Mr. Mahatma. But that will have nothing to do with the business we had on mind. Even if the occasion was relevant, we can provide the Social Reform with authorities out of it. We do not like the production of greatness, we are for the condition of our reality. But there is nothing harmful about it, and our house of sciences is sufficiently developed. But if there should be a comparison, we venture to say this,—the science beginning with Raja Ram Mohan Roy and ending with Mahatma and Gandhiji. This are those of politics and policies of varying capacity and vision; but they are no more than the fact that any cultured people are this in practice almost at any time. They are the sciences and masters of their people. But with some knowledge of history, Indian and foreign, we may say that Mr. Gandhi belongs to a category far and away above anything of which they were capable. He is a world-maker, the inventor of an absolutely novel technique in the science of spirit and action which will go digging down the ages. It is not science that is always the case, but there is no modernist modernity which seeks to destroy the dynamic sciences of life in terms of a dead cause. We're do not want to end in mind like the a note of apathy. We are interested in the ability of these temperamental growth. The real trouble with the Social Reform is that its philosophy of life is evolutionary. It is founded by revolution (method, thought and everything else). The processes are too swift, the circumstances are fundamentally changing. We have an objection to the steady state, but we decline to believe that speed and variety and transactions beyond the grasp of the common rule of intellect are inconceivable also. If an antiquarian somewhere us, it is no business we looking up the history of antiquities. We should consider how one and proceed to deal with it, but as . . . It is not we talking as that Gandhi could be put into this particular apparatus as this, of course, the means which has existed earlier, and he could be as has had a done to reach the particular . . . of the Social Reform's position. But the difference is not dangerous and cannot be met? There is something in Gandhi which seems to be at the periphery of history now. When the days that had his appointed him are done, history will have to treat a few more centuries in understanding him. The Reform concludes that Mr. Gandhi is more inspiring when viewed as the last term of a historic series. We do not deny that. He may be inspiring, as one entry within of wild stories for young India. But it is the contradictions and very fact of creative energy that we have to deal with, that the world has to deal with and which some day even the Social Reform may understand.

small enough to be anticipated successfully. This is obviously a blunder which they should be cognate. On the other hand, we should not go to the opposite extreme and merely recognise the existence of the present state. At bottom, the presence of our Prince as member on the path of India is of little consequence to the Government. Putting the difference at its highest, the Ayala and Mahabharat Raghavdas Singh is the ruler of India and the Government must take care to be the ruler. But there is something else—pride, the eternal burden of anger. If the Government has not courage enough to acknowledge that they had acted wrongly in the matter, a settlement should be possible that we should stand today. The Government is in so much mood, we do not suppose that it will change in a hurry. The only means for bringing about the change is non-violent direct action.

But the third question that the Government has posed to the last local issue has been the importance not merely for the State but for the whole of India. It is acknowledged by everybody that the Provincial Committee has not demonstrated violence in any shape or form. It has grown from strength in strength and become a power in the land, by its courage and hard work. It has taken up the cause of the deposed Maharajah and it is being supported by the vast majority of India. The Government has now notified the Committee and its auxiliary association as unlawful. Nobody denies the right of organized governments to put down violence and movement in violence. But the primary condition of all public life is liberty of expression as long as it is non-violent. Public opinion may be strong enough to destroy a government; and no Government in the world has the right to take it cannot rely public opinion to its support. The attack of the Government of the Punjab on the non-violent activities of the State is an attack on the public life of the whole country.

An Appeal

The following is an English translation of an appeal issued by Dr. C. Raghavdas Singh to the Tamil Nadu -

You might have read the message which Messrs. T. Raghavdas and H. V. Raghavdas. That would show they regarded their efforts in the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee. Encouraged by the love you have all along shown towards me, and with the permission of Dr. Rajan, I have come forward to say a few words regarding the work which these two friends of mine have now undertaken. I request you to consider this matter deeply and then act according to your well-thought-out decision.

History of the Committee

During the past three years we in this province have accepted Mahabharat Singh's leadership in full and have been trying to follow them to the utmost ability. From the beginning of the Non-cooperation movement we have spontaneously stood on the front ranks. The people had the fullest loyalty and confidence in Mahabharat and in his personal leadership we worked

under him and carried out their orders with a heart with this loyalty, the confidence and the discipline was the greatest. Mahabharat Singh on the path of non-cooperation and then when, on account of differences of opinion arose against us after this was the last intention of our movement had to fulfil our duties in future, which was impossible. The latest the attempts made to reach the Government at Calcutta at the Punjab meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, a compromise resolution was passed regarding All-India propaganda. Since it was opposed to the resolution of our National Assembly, the Congress we along with many others the other provinces refused to accept it. We repudiated the A. I. C. C. resolution and decided upon continuing Mahabharat propaganda. The Provincial Committee which met in Salem in September approved of the decision, withdrew the Boycott and decided that Mahabharat Propaganda was the only proper course. And this decision was communicated to the Special Congress.

The Mahabharat's Lead

Meanwhile our great leader Mahabharat Singh had come out from prison. After considering the attempts of the United India Party and the present condition of the country, he has made a compromise at the Special Congress regarding Mahabharat Propaganda. You have seen myself and my friends have taught against every other great leader over this difference of opinion. But we decided that we should not reject the Mahabharat's advice and so we turned to his decision. In this movement for freedom, the Mahabharat's is an equal responsibility with Mahabharat's and we must give proper heed to their counsel and it is well known that it is in this spirit and not because we have changed our opinions that provincial leaders like Dr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, Raghavdas Prasad, Jambhaji Raju, Konda Venkataswamy and myself have acted in the manner we have done.

The Present Question

What is to be done when the Congress makes a decision that is repugnant to the conscience—that is the present question. What is the Congress? It is an assembly which we have organised on democratic lines. We must respect it even as we respect a legislative body. It is the embodiment of the nation's feeling. We can respect its decisions, but we must not oppose its resolutions. We must accept them insofar as the Congress is acting in the spirit that is a long's. This is the highest duty and the highest virtue. If we begin to find fault with the Congress and to oppose it, we will automatically end our desire for freedom. For everything the people of India have to do, the Congress organisation is indispensable. The Congress is the only organisation that we have set up to fight the alien Raj, and we must be willing that with in the least be disloyalty to its permanent authority.

Setting Unrighteous

There is but one condition for the above course. We must not commit ourselves to anything unrighteous. If the National Congress decides anything that is opposed to our conscience, we must not carry it out, but we must not simply take it for granted that the representatives of the Indian people would so easily submit to a course of unrighteous action. To

Along the roadhouse line we have no, in according to our lights in the proper sense. "O, those who are engaged in this war for liberty, in the maintenance against us, or have nothing against us, to them should be explained. It may be said, 'You opposed the Dingley resolution.' But there is all the difference between a resolution of the Congress and the resolution of a Committee that appears a resolution of the Congress and renders it unworkable. The most that I may say is, that the Congress is with us. We would be doing well when we decided to do good, a good effort is not attended by a person and because of it."

Estimate and Adjust for Missing Data

Perfectly loyal to Maharashtra's principles, we have been doing our work here in the Tamil Nadu with unity and discipline. I implore everyone not to undertake any work that may impair that unity and that discipline as a mark of the common effort.

The grass parted from his head, down here, the life, he is surrounded now as above.

There is one in the Travel Note who does not know the great sorrow that Mr. E. F. Remondone's Brother has done to the country since joining the Chicago movement. And it is necessary for me to write to the Remondone's party of trust, his wife, Mary and her good mother. They stand in the front rank of that glorious band who realize a thought of self-interest consider the sorrow of the orphaned flower than their life. I can never forget their mother here for me and their good help in whatever I undertake quite successful of my children.

Thinking they propagandists against the truth, Americans in the early proper sense, they have relinquished their offices in the Congress committee and they started setting up new organizations. A few other patriots also wish to get out of the Congress committee.

Only as the new social welfare front there comes will work on the workings of the Congress system. They argue that Congressmen grow up in local, national, provincial, and each of them are in their separate spheres. Their institutions are wrong. We searched every thing that we had, our wealth, our life, to build up these organizations that they may carry Robinson's principle far and wide. If in a week of the present conference someone can think to get up new organizations, we are open to discussion.

Highly as Mchekung was, he returned and re-occupied the Congress and made it his chief weapon. He is, in retrospect, one of our early leaders. While I like him, it is the duty of my group and mine to make it to keep the Congress representative to people under it is not a guarantee that those there will defend the rights of the people as we would.

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That is the essence of the Duke. Remount? The answer for that we have been following here, not. I am convinced even at this time I have found out what we must do as a nation? Not at all. Whether nationalized position may say, the Congress has not asked us to leave the Comrade in to take part in the election. This would not mean all after he found a field. That is a whole new matter. The Comrade is already in the field.

In June 1981, the Company has resolved not to do any further acquisitions.

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

It is asked what shall we do now? Has we not at some well publicized time? Have we not reached that the inevitable programme in the last way to Norway? Whatever most people may say, I am not the sharpest nor the wisest, nor the best of all those who are in the world and night of this we who follow the inevitable path to Norway? And have we done our duty for the others too?

Then as much as thou to be thou know, may thy body
and what shall we do? Is it right? Let us stay away
what work and we shall make the name of the opening
what man through the heart and breadth of the line.

There must be no fringe club in Tamil Nadu. Members included, every one will be willing to take part in the movement. Let the Spaniard, who has again so many times threatened to take the life of Mahatma, first discipline his own men. Let us not destroy the only flag in amongst us. Let others be our adversaries. We shall stand united, and in the next congress which opens in the Netherlands, we shall achieve victory for Mahatma's mission.

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[illegible]

What will happen in this movement in the future? Will England, learning from her past mistakes, not show herself stronger in supporting the sentiments of a people? Will not the most humane of the people wear steel cuir? Nations and peoples hurriedly start movements and I very much doubt if the people of India would renounce the losses of Malabar for any length of time, if their losses were not already for a long time recorded in the pages of the press. A general might increase by his own inherent activity, independence of the free, whether or not his teachings mixed with the s of the Indians, but such a general was most efficient and active without any when he in the movements of the systems of his race, of the movements of the time of the hope of the whole world.

Teach a Believing People. The principle of Ahimsa remains unswayed in the heart of India for two thousand years. Mahatma, Gandhi and the Gurus of India had transmitted this principle in millions of souls. Gandhi has only transformed his former blind for his glorification. He has only equipped a separate class of the past which had been living previously in a material history. At the onset of his rule, they have arisen, they recognize themselves as free. The spirit made more than a message, he is himself a great example. He has succeeded in himself the last words of his God.

But these circumstances of the world do not happen by chance or hazard. And if the soul of India has turned South from her forests and her temples, it is for sweeping into the world the profound response which the world anticipates that have waiting for a long time.

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Indeed, the report already goes beyond Japan. Later also, however, could give it. The reason has almost proved to be Japan's desire.

It seems as if people don't sleep because

there's too much information around them.

the world. The Jews were crucified for their Messiah whom they, after having brought up and nourished with their hopes for salvation, failed to recognise when he came back. Moreover, first in the bloody arena, earlier than the Jews, the Hindus have recognised their Messiah and it is with a glad heart that they now accept the sacrifice which should deliver them.

But, like the first Christians, all do not understand the real meaning of this liberation. For a long time the early Christians regarded us with the *Allohu*, *Spoken From*. The hopes of a large body of the followers of this Indian movement do not go beyond the reign of Burya in India. I do think that this political ideal will soon be studied. Europe bleeding from her wars and revolutions impoverished and destitute, deprived of her prestige in the eyes of Asia which she has been suppressing, will not be so a poor land to continue her leadership in the end of days, even the advanced peoples of India, India, China and Japan.

It would not however be enough if there merely arose a few more nations, however rich may be the new harmonies with which they will enrich the human symphony. It would not be enough if there were born of Asia did not form the vehicle of a new principle of living, of doing and (what is more important) of being for the whole of humanity.—If so short they did not provide her advanced Europe's new Pathway.

A horrid of violence has swept over the world. This destructive storm was not a sudden or unexpected thing. Characteristics of brutal national pride, studied by the industrial "theology" of the revolution, propagated by the blind confidence of destructionists,—and, to crown all, a century of religious, social criticism and glimmering philosophy, an unending call of the machine, an economic materialism in which the real duty of civilization all these have led us to that unhappy predicament where we have lost the treasures of Western Civilization. Each man threatens the other in the name of the same set of principles all of which still only work the principles of Greed. Each claims to be composed of Finance, international individualism, oppressed classes or oppressed classes—each claims, as the new spiritual progress, the right to use violence. Yet our last century harvest was breaking the Yagis, to-day it is still worse. There is right, the human has continued up the ladder.

In the new world which is fast taking one shape, no religion, no hope, no great light. The Church often embodies concepts which however are earthly and profoundly unspiritual as we are to come into that with the strong, not, however, the church, were into the example. But and corrupt practice that honesty, but we find that they are hesitating that they speak of a faith which they themselves are not sure of. Who will prove to them the existence and efficacy of this faith? And how are it to proceed in the midst of this world which denies it? In the only manner in which every faith can be proved and justified—action there, this is the message to the world, the message of India. "Let us accept ourselves." And Yagya has said the same thing in magnificent words for us this old principle Yagya and Gandhi are at one.

"O Yagya! O Gandhi!" cries of India who, like the India India in Yagya, deep within your hearts

without the world and the material,—the light a largely of human action, the human a vast dream of light—this streaming forth from the house of God, to the world itself by the philosophers of East and West, Yagya, Gandhi, Yagya the India.

The Lesson of Gandhi

Our light, Gandhi has said, lies for its slight friendship with the whole world. Non-violence has been enough men and it will stay. It is the harbinger of the peace of the world.

The peace of the world has been in the future. The solution to human chaos is, in the course of the past fifty years we have steadily seen the material, the violence, and the weakness of the human race. This however should not prevent us from being it still. For men amongst the what of men there is still comprehensible daily, almost, more and less. We do not quote the materialistic British who vaguely twentieth century Europe, the destructive character of the economic conditions, and the violence of political systems and crises which have turned, around the scale of our age, a hard crust through which light cannot penetrate. But we also know of what material the real is capable. History shows us nations where the eyes of potential scale have passed through more glory than this one. At the moment, we have in India the leaders of Yagya, the Master-Servant who with his devoting eyes and controls his steps to return the Yagya from falling into the sky."

The Realpolitik of violence (conventional or revolutionary) may refuse this optimistic faith, but they thereby only exhibit their ignorance of Yagya. But then and now I find the faith in me. I am a persecuted and exiled man in Europe and in my own land we are only a handful. (Are we really only a handful?) But if nobody shared my faith, what matters it to me? Perhaps, for those possessing the opinion of the world, even it and yet believe in spite of it. For faith is a faith. And our own violence is the highest faith that we have to wage. The path of Yagya is not that of violence or weakness. We are less conscious of violence than of weakness. A whole world of violence prohibits to maintain that good. Self-interest is fatal to peace, it is really something and work of faith. [But then who do not believe in who they, keep back from the struggle. The path of peace is that of self-sacrifice and suffering.

This is the lesson of Gandhi. Only the Yagya is waiting to be. Every one knows that, without the Yagya, India would have refused to be Yagya. And the British Empire is like the Roman Empire. The time has been reached. The end of the British people has been started in the very day, and violence are heard all over the earth.

Great religious experiences in the East have always a rhythm. One of two things will surely happen: either the faith of Gandhi will be accepted with violence, or it will spread itself just as centuries ago. Christ and Buddha were born in the complete consciousness of a world dominated, of a principle of life that will lead human humanity to a new and more peaceful resting-place.

Printed and published by Swami Vivekananda, Author of *Yagya* and *Yagya*, Yagya, Yagya, Yagya, Yagya.

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by George Joseph

Vol. V

Alamedaabad, Thursday 23th October 1923

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Notes

Dr. Kishore is reported to have called upon the Provincial Congress Committees to make a list of the people who will be prepared to stand themselves as volunteers for Civil Disobedience. It is a necessary step to be taken and we have no doubt that the Committees will cooperate with him. There is doubt whether he has made allowance in his calculations for those who have been already enrolled in pursuance of the Gaura programme. Over 1,000 volunteers were enrolled that day, and we believe that the Provincial Committees will be able to supply the Satyagraha Committee with the list. We suspect that the volunteers, as the recruiting system may be treated as a machine. It was only in Nagpur that their services were mobilised on a considerable scale. In any event they have to be put on a wage system, as they have been. They should be given work to do. They should be provided with a two-fold programme. The Satyagraha Committee should state how many more volunteers they want to get together. Secondly, we think it would be advisable to get the Congress membership list worked up to see what the figure is for the Budget programme. An attempt should be made to collect. The figure should be clear, as also the proper allocation. At the beginning of the year, the approach was that an appeal for volunteers without stating the purpose for which they were wanted would not be needed. We hope we shall hear some of it now, because the Satyagraha Committee is working up to an objective which is particularly definite. What is more, the party themselves will give birth to the conflict. It is right to be, as we are, among us. But at the same time, it is necessary for the Satyagraha Committee to be careful about the propaganda of the day. The Government's handling of the Sikh problem is fraught with a good deal of stupidity. It is important that the Committee should guide its policy and advise regarding the New Government in which the Government is engaged.

A rather barren economy is emerging the press and but for the importance of the programme, its weekly would have been still a day. The approach was Dr. Kishore and Mr. Lajpat Rai. Mr. V. K. Rajwade has had his word also. The approach of it is to be the solution of the Satyagraha Committee, the All India Congress. From a purely constitutional point of view the Satyagraha Committee of the Congress is a very small. It is an other—the disposal of funds. The Satyagraha Committee will work with which to do its work; it is the Working Committee and to permit the All India Congress that another two persons. And members of Civil Disobedience which the Satyagraha Committee may volunteer will come to apply to the executive for assistance. If the All India Congress, however, there will be no gain, and the whole scheme will collapse. All the more, it will not be turned the capacity of a lawyer like Dr. Kishore to avoid the party constitutional difficulty. If the Committee consider that a compromise of action is necessary, we deeply that I will proceed to do what it considers necessary is a condition of matter for the All India Congress. It will go on with its work and if the Working Committee approves, it will be its business to ensure the All India Congress for a decision. In case of failure of work in the Satyagraha Committee will resign. This is a double; but we must be equal that the discussion is there because it is a double. Whether there would be an immediate programme of Civil Disobedience in the practical question, it is decided in the affirmative it will have to be put through, despite a broken economy of legality. Let us be one of the part of expediency; the body will take care of itself. We have no doubt about Dr. Kishore has seen, and we trust he will go forward.

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But he must be one as to his language. On the whole, we happen to agree with Dr. Kishore, and we therefore propose without the slightest hesitation to endorse the decision of the central board. It is Civil Disobedience that he and his Committee are in charge of and we will be interested in the movement towards that he is making for local influence. The Government's handling of the Sikh problem is fraught with a good deal of stupidity. It is important that the Committee should guide its policy and advise regarding the New Government in which the Government is engaged. It is a double; but we must be equal that the discussion is there because it is a double. Whether there would be an immediate programme of Civil Disobedience in the practical question, it is decided in the affirmative it will have to be put through, despite a broken economy of legality. Let us be one of the part of expediency; the body will take care of itself. We have no doubt about Dr. Kishore has seen, and we trust he will go forward.

"The members of the Boyard Committee and those who sympathize with them in practice, now, that the successful experiment of the Gandhi discipline has reproduced them, think this would prevent the General Boyard in spirit of such virgily opposition must pause to consider the arguments advanced against them in a prepared mood and must retreat their steps if they leave the slightest fear in their opponents.

The first is a personal argument—"President of the Gandhi League has already met so many a leader. If we refuse to yield now, Mahatma Jh will go away from us and we cannot afford to lose him. Therefore accept his suggestions." The great Mahatma himself persisted that Sarbajit at Delhi. He kept repeating to us that it was time and not someone that mattered. It is our terrible duty to enter a protest against the spread of this false gospel. From outside Toronto, John Maclean has sent a message which to this date may well, in spite of the many oblogies it has undergone, "I have faith in my programme, but just my character it by all means of your best interests." Thus the discipline came forward and, say "we have faith in the programme has always it just for our sake" Just live on this piece and so that.

The second is the argument of unity. The members of the Boyard Committee are unity. The sense of spirit is such harmony as divide the latter and with expectations and enables the soul to high endurance. Those who had been to Delhi know how feelings were aroused by the resolution which brought about the unity. There was great at the denouncing of the Mahatma in prison. An outbreak of protest and a call of those leader and followers, young and old, celebrated the death of Non-co-operation in thought, faith, style and what of the achievement of the country during this war words of unity? There is peace, united? The discipline of death seems express. May a cold member in carrying the role someone has humble freedom. A member of the Good Government Committee was appointed, which finding that the values will not tolerate another campaign of non-cooperation of limited suggestions were united with working national time by meeting periods alone. There are two kinds of unity. The one is justice some for life and the other, the very existence, a death. The one is the love's embrace which liberates the heart, the other is the gladiator's grip which ends with killing. Among the former we have brought about the latter. Our chief duty therefore is to destroy this unity before unity and prevent the ground for the advent of evil unity.

Thirdly, it is contended that the rebellion will undermine Congress discipline. It is said that Congress resolutions must be obeyed whether we like them or not, for, it is argued, when we refuse respectful obedience to the Congress we shall not succeed in destroying its power, the Government. We deny in the doctrine that we cannot achieve freedom unless we become submission. Mahatma's tendency in the very essence of slavery. The faith that there is of political life in the country will be crushed if freedom of action is not allowed inside the Congress. This has been made abundantly clear by Mahatma Gandhi himself. He wrote on the 2nd March 1932, on the eve of his arrest—

"We must recall the Congress becoming a body I know the line of sympathy following a Congress man and thereby putting feeling and intelligent obedience to the Congress resolutions. But I shatter the line of sympathy between a Congressman merely because it is so old and a great institution or putting obedience to its resolutions whether or like it or not. The rule of majority has a serious application to it, we should yield to the majority in matters of detail. But it is wrong to be subservient to the majority on matters where its decisions are illusory. It is a state in which people are like sheep. Under democracy individual liberty of opinion and action is jealously guarded. It, therefore, believes that the majority has a perfect right to act differently from the majority in law as it does not act on the name of the Congress."

He wrote on the 24th December 1931—

"Let us not push the machine theory to a ridiculous extreme and become slaves to the resolutions of majority. That would be a revival of brute force in a more vicious form. If rights of individual are to be respected, the majority must tolerate and respect these opinions and views. Loyalty to human institutions has its well-defined limits. To be loyal to an organization must not mean subordination of one's ethical convictions."

There is more in the same words but it would be idle to quote Gandhi in an age which conditions. Men out of date.

Fourthly, it is argued that our action will destroy Congress prestige. It is said that propaganda among the people in defiance of a Congress resolution will discredit the Congress and therefore is inadvisable. On the other hand, we wish to point out that it is our terrible endeavor to expose the Congress, through against a resolution of the Congress, that will justify the existence of the Congress, while upholding the force of its voluntary resolutions will undermine its basis. What is the Congress? It is not as that set up as a target for our blind enemies. True enough, it is the word of the British Indian Government. The Government directs its support largely through the Congress. Non-co-operation is the art of withholding such support to the Government and rendering it to the Congress. Gandhi used to speak of "demobilizing" the strength of the Government so that all the national forces may be available for reconstruction through the Congress. The Congress gained its prestige because through it we succeeded in shifting the centre of gravity from the Council to the Congress, thereby released in the coming election will be a reputation of the Congress, while every vote withheld will be a vote in favour of the Congress. The Congress will have power and influence in the country only to the extent in which votes are withheld from the Council. When the last election, Mr Rajagopalachari made free of the specific gravity of a certain election, the votes cast in whose favour were well within two digits. May we not respectfully suggest to Mr Rajagopalachari to consider whether he is not now increasing the specific gravity of the Council by pursuing our propaganda?

Lastly there is the Gandhi argument. Why need you do anything when there is the Council to take

inward? Elsewhere this little group also left it stand like the stone of co-operation. Charles is the child of Non-co-operation and it will not survive the absorption of the Congress. The way of the Charles and the way of the Congress are as the price, adoption of the one implies the rejection of the other. How shall we turn the Charles except by betraying the Congress?

A word of personal explanation. Since the inauguration of the N. C. D. movement Mr. Rajagopalachari has been the chief of the members of the Rajput Committee. He was our Sans. Inspiring all our action. When he was called on to the higher duties at Ganga we shared in his sorrow, though the sorrow of his burden was not his personal problem. It is therefore, with not a little of hesitancy that this cry is issued, for, it is the first time that we have dared to address him publicly. We can only wish that the situation in the country had not prevented us taking this course of action, but, we would have proved ourselves unworthy of Mr. Rajagopalachari's leadership had we avoided the heavy path of duty.

Maulana Mahomed Ali on Bardoli Programme

To a representative of 'Independence' who craved himself of the Maulana's visit to Lucknow to interview him on the present situation and his plan of future strategy, Maulana Mahomed Ali said:

Make up Losses of Two Years

You ask me to express my views on the present situation. I don't think I can say much more on the subject than I have already said in Delhi and elsewhere. Finally, the situation is discouraging. But no situation can be should make us despair. Instead of moving forward as the world had every right to expect us non-cooperators, the signal that I expect from our co-workers is that they should bring the country to October 1931 to the position which it occupied in October 1931. We have gone back a great deal, and the first thing we must do is to make up the losses we have sustained in the interval of two years. The appealing word is not so prominent to-day as it was two years ago. National education is in no better condition. Perhaps the heyday of Law Courts is the worst sign. For I have that many non-co-operators have been converted by the High-courts and in resort to pleading as barristers or Vallis have come. And the Hindu Congress, of which we had been leading as much, overwhelmed, we would have seen less of spontaneity than we did two years ago; but also! there seems to be greater reliance of the State to create High-courts India than to take back our depressed communities from the bosom of the Indian. Finally this leads me to the sorry question of Hindu-Muslim unity itself. I do not take it too lightly. In fact, I do not think this time it is a question case of the reconciliation of the Hindu-Muslim communities. It is not a question to be a word of separation against Gandhiji which was under no cooperation among all the communities of India

Minor leaders who could shake my personal differences and had made his journey with the down of Gandhiji at least found an opportunity to express themselves when our great leader and many of his Associates were not present, and the only way in which they could express themselves and re-establish their leadership was by further inter-communal division and dissension. The best way for the present situation is to consolidate the 'unhappy' case along with the word, policy and programme of Gandhiji.

No Change of Attitude

I say that in some quarters I am believed to have changed along my incorporation and to have come out of jail a 'new man'. Wherever change has taken place in our line of conduct and along my incorporation but along my release, for I went to jail in spring time and have come back to my people in the winter. I wish I could comfort myself with the belief that I am a 'new man' today than I was two years ago, but I am certainly 'a different man'. My attitude towards Government has in no way changed, has the best thing that I can do to understand its power and will is to find out the feelings of the nation, and the shortcomings of the national character as disclosed along the incorporation of Mahatma Gandhiji, and to prepare the nation for its great fight for freedom.

Working Within the Empire

Then distinctly in October 1931, we were put in a position to achieve the independence of India, we are still here in that position to-day. I want may say today while the Empire or without it, and my Great Chief had sufficient faith in his programme of non-violent non-co-operation with Government and co-operation among ourselves. I believe that Government would be compelled to recognize our right to have freedom within the Empire. If any day, we are convinced that this is not possible, I would only mean that the faith of our Chief in his programme was in some extent misplaced. If for nothing else, out of sheer loyalty to him, I would make one more bid for freedom within the rule of Empire. But in light of a change in the Congress Charter to-day is to convince the world that we have done everything that is humanly possible to do on the lines chalked out by Mahatma Gandhiji and yet failed to bring the Government into a more frame of mind. The question is, have we done everything that is humanly possible on these lines, and my complete answer is that we have not. We have wasted two precious years in party squabbles over these divided Councils and lady over petty personal differences. Let us give the Bardoli programme a fair trial and I even then the Government is unwilling to recognize the leadership of Gandhiji to rule India against the national will. I shall be the first to raise the standard of complete independence and take the consequences. To-day the rule of Independence reminds me of the famous words of the great poet of Lockhart, who in his golden days were:

"Their imagination rose as high as the towers of the Alhambra, while their hand is lying on the neck of the one-horned horse, whose neighing is the note of a strange liberation."

opportunity all over the country. But there will be something more. It will make the Hindu-people a really unified race.

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The Official "conspiracy" is the case against the Akalis is a veritable *tour de force*. A document running into thirty-five printed looking pages and really two hundred paragraphs, it traces the beginning of the "conspiracy" with the visit of Mr. Gandhi to Amritsar in 1920 and connects the end of it with the latter Akalis. We can anticipate the contents of this trial, but the historical allusions are absent. It was the Indian case to connect the Non-co-operation with anything that went wrong in India and we were told of the substance only because of the Government's temporary media from traffic. But the Government's printed version into a complicated prosecution has resulted in the revival of the old habit. It is true that Mr. Gandhi deprecated political life in 1920-21, and every one who has anything to do with national or political affairs came under the influence of his thought and programme; but that is no justification for the attempt to establish causal connection between Non-co-operation and the Akali movement. The only point of vital contact is the Indian case on non-violence; beyond that there was, and is, nothing. After all that time, we need not also with the Akalis. The Indian agitation was followed by similar efforts in Palestine, Egypt and the Ruhr; but it would be futile to declare that the phenomena in these countries were part of a conspiracy initiated by the Non-co-operation and worked out in its last form by the Akalis. The mention of Mr. Gandhi's name in the complaint is as tantamount as the *Morrow Post's* statement that the Indian agitation is financed from Moscow. But we imagine that the Government's version must implicate in the attempted establishment of relations between the Government's Protection Committee and the latter Akalis. But, in our judgment, it is a failure and a failure that the Government may succeed in establishing foreign contacts as to the violence latent in the Akali movement. It may even manage to secure a "justice" despite its own effort. But the truth will be far from that. So far, the Akalis have kept their hands clean and we have no reason to imagine that they will break the pledge of non-violence in the future. They have kept themselves aloof from the latter development, in spite of considerable pressure. All that the Government can get hold of is the connection apparent to the public into the force in the Doab. The Akalis were no more guilty of violence on that account than the Government officials were; both the Akalis and Government were seeking for information. Public opinion has come to that conclusion in the matter, and it is all that counts.

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It is long and suggestive conversation that Mahatma Mahomed Ali had with Mr. Dutt, a report of which is published elsewhere. The substance of it is his demand that the Congress should really resume work as if the year since the Nagpur had been wiped away. It will be observed that Gandhi's speech, the same speech in substance of Young India. There will

be many to welcome such a policy of apparent going back, but when the whole thing comes with it, we believe that it will be the only programme on which the Congress can be completely inspired. Still, the Akalis in the new thing in Indian politics. From the Mahatma's expression what he is after is not the Congress programme, but the one framed at Haridwar, namely, the one which was adopted which at Haridwar, after Chauri Chaura. After at Haridwar and Haridwar, the task which the Congress set before itself was to establish. It is clear to everybody now, that the existing situation at the end of 1931 would not have been possible but for the Haridwar programme. Treatment of non-violence, collection of money and the distribution of Chauri Chaura had to show no movement. But it was a primary task, and Mahatma Gandhi. All things look back to the June of 1921, the understanding of the Akalis, as that in which the largest amount of work was done for the national cause. We stand in the same position under Gandhi all the constructive agencies which were then built up are disappointing; schools and universities, communities and associations which are on the basis of national life. If we expect revolutionary change, there is little else in our thinking of bigger things. It is the essential preliminary of success.

Our Immediate Duty

(By Pandit Sunder Lal)

Immediately after my return from Delhi just a fortnight ago, I learnt that two events of far-reaching effect had happened in the life of the Indian National Congress during the last few months. The one was the resolution of the A. I. C. C. at Bombay, condemning propaganda against the boycott of Canada, and the other the "conspirator" resolution at Delhi. I was deeply affected at the extent that as a leader, but few believed in non-violence. Non-co-operation as preached by Mahatma Gandhi and as passed by long ago under Congress as the only right and, under the circumstances, the only possible road to the unity and regeneration of this country, I could not but feel extremely shocked and grieved at the two events had taken. My pain has not since gone on increasing as I have been realising the effect of these incidents upon the general morale of the people and the workers, as also upon our national life as a whole. These events have not only caused a sad demoralisation in the ranks of our workers and workers' organisations in almost all phases of our activities, but they have also seriously affected the prestige of our one representative National Assembly and have even begun to undermine the faith and confidence of the people, which have been our chief support and our main hope during the last three years of struggle. I am told that even Mahatma Mahomed Ali is whose hands I believe quite weak and rigid; we have got the rule of leadership for the next few years as has, was joined to know as Akshatad has the Delhi resolution was being understood, understood and followed by gentlemen standing as witnesses for various Legislative Councils under the protection of the resolution. I shall have with the formidable experience definitely working in the First. The fact that I had experienced after letters of several

Congress Committees are openly seeking individual candidates, with their whole-hearted co-operation. Candidates are standing, and campaigning is going on in the name of the Congress. The entire Congress organization in some districts is being used for this purpose. Some people have not even desisted from dropping in the name of Mahatma Gandhi in favour of Congress entry. They profess to rely upon the already well-known concept of Mahatma's as the linchpin of Delhi. One would not have minded about all this had the anti-British effect it is having upon the entire movement. This movement was initiated to us by Mahatma Gandhi at the time of his arrest and it is our sacred duty to preserve it in all its sanctity and integrity.

The real issue arises in our absolute faith. It has been before us ever since the appearance of the C.I.O. Disfranchising Committee. Day by day, it has been leading itself upon our attention and through our misapprehensions of unity, disunity, compromise and the rest we have been continually forming it or trying to avoid it. I cannot in the least blame those who never believed, or at any stage ceased to believe in Mahatma Gandhi's programme. Although some of them might not have been quite frank at first, yet one has to admit that on the whole they have been quite consistent and the methods they have pursued are just the ones they have followed. The real responsibility for all the present and past of affairs lies on the shoulders of the Congressmen who profess to believe in Mahatma Gandhi and his programme.

I am absolutely convinced that in spite of all this depressing, the masses in the country have to-day as undiminished a faith in Mahatma Gandhi, his principles and his methods as they had ever before. I am convinced that they are even more prepared for sacrifice and suffering to-day than they were ever before. I am confident even that out of the few thousand representatives that assemble at a Congress an overwhelming majority have still faith enough left in Mahatma Gandhi's programme, vision for the country, and they only require a clear and strong lead from those at the top. I hold that the 'first-of-light' feeling, that some of our best men read in the eyes of others in Delhi, was rather a reflection of their own inner weakness. Nobody, however great, has got the right of monopolizing for India's one National Assembly as one would imagine for his personal interests. Nobody, however great, can be permitted to evade a grave responsibility when he has once undertaken or tacitly taken it upon himself before the nation's elected representatives. Personal safety is no excuse, nor the disease or even death be any excuse. We should not, we must, play the first with the destiny of our people as our National Assembly. Responsibility is responsibility and as long as our hearts are pure, we have to face it boldly. As I have, we have to be thick-skinned also. I shall be very sorry if any words of mine are interpreted as involving the slightest disrespect towards any of our beloved co-workers or respected leaders. I do repeat it, and I hope I shall ever repeat it, as honour and a privilege to work as an humble soldier in a Swadeshi Army headed by Mahatma

Mahatma All and Shri Sri Rajagopalachari, both real leaders, of whom we have every reason to be proud and to whom we owe the highest allegiance. But surely we shall be able to march on to Mahatma if we do not even try to monopolize where the shoe pinches and do not loudly and badly push by our mistakes in the past the anxiety and anxiety to our lack of political experience.

Let us now sit down and look around us. Do we not know that the United "Congress" is openly described as the sole end of the struggle? Are not attempts being made to get a "Mahatma" from the Congress Congress to favour of Congress entry as to make the Congress responsible for the defection and ingratiation of the policy to be pursued in the Councils by the Congressmen abroad, on account of the circumstances at Delhi? Is there not now being organized by politicians who are just masters in that, a scheme to "invade" at Councils by killing separately and categorically both non-violence and non-cooperation as announced by Mahatma?

I have no quarrels with respected leaders who deserve the highest credit for having made their views as plain as possible. They have consistency, perseverance and energy. But surely it is high time that we also stated our views and showed equal consistency, perseverance and energy for doing above all else. But we must really believe in things in which we profess to have faith. Let us now make a clear distinction between those who believe in one set of methods and those who believe in the other set, the two can being philosophically and radically opposed to each other.

But let it then not be to suggest the creation of an artificial majority. Majority or no majority, our methods must be absolutely fair and overboard. But we should no longer shirk from our responsibility to the Nation, to the Indian Congress and to Mahatma. We should even transfer our share in the present disorganization visible at present. We should stand up like honest believers, in non-violent non-cooperation as true pillars of liberty and do our duty by the Congress Congress to a unity, organized and systematic map. I feel that it is the duty of the Provincial leaders to lengthen courage in the hands of Provincial workers and Provincial delegates to the next Congress and make an honest and vigorous attempt to bring the Congress back to the path of Swadeshi Programme, which is our only hope. Let us not talk or observe any further, but our support to any compromise or cowardice in matters that concern the nation's hope. If we win, we should take responsibility during the next twelve months in an honourable and faithful manner. If we lose, we should also organize ourselves and work outside the Congress for a minority strong in faith. Until and unless we have put up a brave and fair fight in defence of our principles and programme, the talk of working from outside the Congress is at best only a counsel of evasion. Surely we both to ourselves and to the people must be stronger than that. I claim to understand something of the Indian people. I am absolutely confident that if we only move on with energy, we shall succeed.

system will bring it, and nothing else. However there be here, when the interests of law are felt? It may be said that the Government will not drop the prosecution. But if the Hindu non-co-operation with the Government, the prosecution will be dropped. Hindu witnesses should refuse to give evidence that is false.

A Talk with Mahatma Mahomed Ali

[Mahatma Mahomed Ali on his way to Agartta stopped at Alubekhat for a couple of days last week. He paid a visit to the "Karnaphan office", where the Press staff and the office staff had gathered together to pay their respects to him. The Mahatma addressed them in Bengali in the following manner:]

"You are engaged in work which will soon come to history. History will take note of your work, when fifty years hence they write about our country's struggle. It is my small privilege to have Mahatma's manuscripts to set to type. Hence, in writing, any other Press would give you first, but as my Press could have collected you the privilege to be first there is a work which history is bound to record. In a sense which makes Mahatma's manuscripts, it should be treated as such as its noble pleasure."

The Mahatma was in tears as he uttered these words and he could not proceed further. Mr. Mahatma then his place in the Karnaphan hall report of the talk he had with the Mahatma about current topics. We translate it below.]

"My Countrymen—Bhai"

Q. Tell me something about the situation in the Punjab. How did you find the Sikhs?

A. There is a mental fog. They are a handful of men, the others have been taken, very few men of light and leading are left. Good and evil have been taken in it as one like. Their work is becoming very difficult. But they are a God-fearing people, and the Government that followed in other parts of the Punjab on the arrest of the leaders will not affect their minds. It is a great worry that there are no Constitutionalists among them. There is therefore at our feet of the catastrophe that followed after the arrest of Mahatma—viz. C. D. Gosselin and the "village head", as I call it, of the Councils of Congress. You must be assured, but I really do not know about the progress of the Congress programme. It is a pure case of village mind.

Q. But what then did they also think of going to the Councils?

A. Well, the general Indian atmosphere affected them too. As a consequence fighting as a religious issue, they were affected by this. They were back to allow people innocent of their religion to go to the Councils and legislate about their religious matters. But now the question is not: All of them are to tell.

Q. What is their plan of vengeance?

A. Well, they know how to fight for a lay of mind, and to die for a principle. They have many numbers of men ready. I told them that America is a larger field. They feel it more convenient to send men to India. But I have no information that they will organize an *Amrit*.

A National Challenge

Q. What is it to be our part?

A. Well, I told them frankly that it is a national challenge. The Government wants to test us to death. To-day, it is the test of our cowardice, to-morrow it will be the test of our will. I told them that they were our Vanguard. History need to put this test man cowardly in the Vanguard. India changed from with Ganga's light going to with the sword of

Government is, we believe in believe that it will succeed in people the Hindus for the school. Even if it does, the confidence of Hindus for violence to death against India is a constant guard will be a magnificent act of bravery. It will be an act of bravery which will conquer the school of India.

another in substance. (We who are about to die when they are killed) as their lives. Do not the quality is the one, quality in the test. I told the Sikhs, "We are not Hindus, we have to make you our comrades, and willingly to keep ourselves in the service. Do not, however, believe that the campaign will be lost the moment you are all killed out. The particular campaign may be lost, but the campaign will go on."

Let Reading have another look

Q. Have you seen the *Times* programme in you?

A. Yes. It has contained a sudden affection for me. I agree to largely in its columns. My going to the Punjab seems to it to be inconsistent with my present impression. When I said we should not refuse Government, I did not mean more than that we have no time to give India to Government. But as about ourselves and our own house to order, the fact does not mean that we should exclude the very Government and bring down Lord Reading has been having his feelings these last years. It is wrong to a national challenge, we are quite ready to follow me. Let him look up his nose.

Q. What do you think of his speech?

A. I will say nothing about Government, but here is a personal representation of the Government speaking to a man whose courage we all admire working to death. It is a God-fearing man. Look at his words, "His Highness has asked me all that to rule in India." Only that could say this, "Who is the Lord?" said I, "That I should show his ruler to be Lord go! I have got the Lord, neither will I let him go! Even so does Lord Reading come to me, "Who is your Lord? I am your Lord, I am your Lord, I am your Lord. It is not necessary to call a Government of which the representative talks in this manner. This Government will be systematically destroyed. The God of India is not jealous, but I am of the God. You must be a free God, and Lord Reading's God would hardly forgive him for pushing to his preserves. I always feel that there is a need to writing now, the justice God should write down. Lord Reading has said that he has said and is clear away."

"The moving finger writes and having writ
 Moves on: Nor all thy party and wit
 Can turn it back to second last: a law
 Nor all thy laws work on a word of it."

Q. I want you to explain your phrase "having the candlelight in one's hands."

A. I am glad you have asked me to do so. I do not doubt the connection with the alchemy of the "Hindu" party. But it is curious upon me that they are following Western methods. They treat politics more or less as a game. They do not seem to me to regard it as Bapu's right. He lifted it from the ready Western rule. He alchemy transmuted the raw metal of politics into the fine metal of the rule. He took up everything that he did with a religious fervour. He took up the Charities with a religious fervour. It was not a piece of work to him. It was *Seva-dharma*. The same with the industry. He gave himself, not himself, with your own hands, rather than be viewed as labour. Hence the lesson of selflessly before anything else. He did that you do is a religious duty. That spirit seems to me to be lacking in their method.

But you too have got back at me once. I heartily agreed with the "no-change party" in talks at their meetings. I was too much got back to reality. Really, as a No-changeer heartily and in the columns of *Young India*, in the newspapers. We cannot be Mahatmas without A's. The Prophet used to say "What you say your Name makes sure that you are looking at Allah. If you cannot do so at least make sure that He is looking at you." Let us leave off all belittles. We shall be judged by our facts, not by our theories.

I have never said that our war with Government is an end. It can never end. It is a conflict of ideas. I have only said, let us seriously propose ourselves. We have not to put off our weapons, but to repute it. It is not, to change the metaphor a day-deckler business. It is to be a Gung-ho-deck business. I shall be clear, after Chann Chann, Bapu said, "We non-violent, fight all violence, stop all violence." We stopped violence, and with it stopped Non-co-operation too. Bapu pursued violence to violence. The danger to-day is in the other direction. Let us thoroughly non-co-operate. I for my part want non-co-operate as regards the Congress. But there are some who do not think they are jeopardizing M. C. O. by going to the Congress. I leave them to be judged by their Allah. Do the Khadi women say, I would give a word of warning. If they feel that they have done their duty I only they set on Khadi, I tell them "No." They are like the country who mainly wear Khadi, without doing anything to add in the protection of Khadi. They have no right to wear it, if they do not protect it.

Through the *Growing Lane*

Q. I have not understood your reference to the *Growing Lane* in your speech at Amritsar.

A. It is the last of the reports. In some ways I have disliked my interviews, but even then, they were gone wrong. I returned by my Amritsar speech to a note that I gave to the Press which in 1930 appeared to me to go to the Congress, and to lead the populace by our action and our responsibility. I replied

to that appeal by a speech at Kanabli. Amritsar put me on a note of the same reply. I told the way to the Congress was through the Congress, (yes), and that the Council of Ministers at the Congress would be the unfortunate women at Kanabli where justice was denied.

Q. You said something about "Shuddhi" also in the same speech.

A. I said I was not afraid of "Shuddhi." If I was, I should have worked strenuously against it, for I am jealous of the religious faith of every Mussalman. But I am not afraid of the Shuddhi that is the salt of the core and the heart. We have to fight a conversion which is greater than we have ever met before. In the *Jaunpur-Ahli*, in the *People's* birth place and heart ground, a dangerous campaign is on, of which we take no notice. I plainly say to the Mussalman, "When do you stand as the *Jaunpur* of the Hindus, then who will hear with the 'Shuddhi' and 'conversion' or who who interpreted the great ethical and religious of Sapper? Do not be afraid of the great day *Jaunpur*. The more you are afraid of them, the more you will drive the Hindus into them."

Q. How are we to stop the unfortunate happenings like those at Agri, Sahasrabad and Amritsar?

A. I think the Hindus and Mussalman who are moved must speak out, they should seriously put their hands in the wheel. The stronger the nationality, the more the *Jaunpur*, the less you are moved, the weaker will be the *Jaunpur*.

Q. You have used strong language about the change of the Council.

A. Yes, I understood the attitude of some like Jawahar whose speech, deeply hurtled me. But I wish to every word of what I said in Lucknow and which is well recorded in an interview you have published in *Young India*.

Q. You know the work of the Delhi Congressmen to Congress. They are putting strange interpretations down, and the committee No-change is asking people to vote for the Congress party candidates.

A. Who are they?

Q. Well, those who took part in the Kaira campaign, who have been to Nagpur, who came by their loyalty to Bapu.

A. Well, please tell them nothing has horrified me as much as their attitude. If ever that interpretation can be put on my comments, I was guilty of a great sin, and God forgive me my sin. Others may put convenient interpretations, but that Kaira should do it makes us think we have described a whole "If India should start in Kaira that others could follow Kaira" (1). We can under the *Swadeshi* as *Swadeshi*, as *Swadeshi*. Well, I am afraid with better to hear this. If the thing proceeds from Kaira where will God-fear Kaira?

Q. We shall see the steps built more at Amritsar. Do not you think so?

A. I think not. If the Hindus want to tell God-fear, let them do so, I shall be no party to it. At Amritsar, I think we begin the programme over again. Back to Nagpur, and back with us absolutely clean stage.

Sikh Affairs

(Extracts from the S. C. P. O. Communications)

More Arrests

R. Chaman Singh, Secretary, Akali Jatha, Tara Dera and S. Singh Singh Chak No 30 Bahadur (District Lyallpur) have been sentenced to 18 years' rigorous and 1 year's simple imprisonment respectively.

S. Telesh Singh, Executive Member, Students of Government Punjabishik Committee and Manager Akali Chak Singh's small Shop, was arrested there on 11th October and has been brought to Amritsar to take his trial.

Seizing Evidence

A big Showa was held at Chhota, District Ludhiana, on 28th, 29th and 30th Inst. The Police under orders of the Deputy Commissioner searched the Showa and took into its possession the rifles of the Gurmukh Khanda. Five persons have been arrested for selling weapons in the Showa.

Periodically—A Subsequent Warrant

Chief Commissioner Singh, Member, Sikh Mahasabhi Society and Member Shikharaj Gurdwara Prabandh Committee, has been arrested on the 13th October 1933, without warrant—the Sub-Inspector saying that his presence was a sufficient warrant.

Denying the Pilgrims

A Jatha of 15 Akalis on its way to Jatha for pilgrimages and recruiting Akhandpuri reached Ferozepore on the 12th Inst. They were needlessly beaten by the Police near the city. All this notwithstanding was taken patiently and cheerfully. At last the Teleshdar was arrested and the rest were allowed to go.

Starving the Jathas

A Jatha of 25 Akalis which left Amritsar on the 10th October for pilgrimages to Gujranagar and to visit Akhandpuri reached there at 10-30 P. M. on 13th Inst and was stopped before the gate of the town. The Police Officer announced to them that they were arrested, after which they were taken to the Small Amritsar Jatha of 10 who reached there at 4 p. m. and was treated likewise. Both the Jathas are kept without food.

News from Multan

(a) Mr. Tejpal Singh was arrested for shooting Sir Sher Ali.

(b) Bhai Shad Singh, Nana Singh, Mohan Singh, and Narayan Singh have been arrested without warrants, which were required by the Police Station when the arrests had been effected.

(c) Arrested Akalis are imprisoned by the Police.

(d) Under-trial prisoners are given gruelish khanna.

(e) A notice has been posted on the door of Sarop Singh by the Police, warning the house against entertaining the Akalis.

(f) C. I. D. is active in visiting the two courts of the Akalis in Multan.

Searches of the Manager's and Chamber's office of Multan Gurdwara as well as office of the

Provisional Board Akali Jatha were made. House of Late Khemraj, Pannaghar, was searched and photos of our Jatha and those Congress leaders were carried away.

Jatha Arrests

The Jatha, of 25 Akalis which left Amritsar for Jatha on the 17th Inst, reached there on the 24th, having involved severe beating on its way out of Ferozepore. On proceeding to Gujranagar in my baggage and to visit Akhandpuri, the Jatha was held up by the Police and required to give guarantees to return within 2 hours after paying visit to the Gurdwara. Of course the Jatha refused to bind themselves to such a condition. Thereupon the Jatha was arrested and taken to the Small.

The same day another Jatha of 15 Akalis from Multan, after pilgrimage of Kaulgah Gurdwara proceeded for the pilgrimages of Gujranagar. The Police stopped the Jatha and detained it arrested. The members of the Jatha cheerfully proceeded under escort to the Small.

Provisions and Dishes

Most reliable news have been received from guests' procession at Akhandpuri through the main banner of Lyallpur. In spite of the fact that the procession and Dishes had both been declared prohibited under no. 144 I. P. C., the procession and Dishes were a great success. At the end of the Dishes S. Teja Singh Bahadur, Narain Singh, Narayan Singh, Jethinder, Gopal, Secretary, and Jathal Secretary, Akali Jatha Mohan Lyallpur respectively were arrested.

Mahila News

1. The Akali Jatha, Mahila, has not received its mail since 15th October 1933.

2. The houses of the Akalis in Mahila State are being searched indiscriminately.

A Policeman's Remarks

One Policeman's statements who was on duty on the vicinity of Sir Dunder Sahib's Mahala could not bear the sight of unapproachable atrocities perpetrated on the Akalis and gave up his service.

Khadi Notes

For Home-spun Khadi Users

A gentleman has received a sum of money to the Government for spending it to encourage the Home-spun Khadi users. The following form of help has been decided upon:—

"Arrangements will be made on supplying to the Sub-divisional, District, or where it fails the local charges the Home-spun yarn of any body living in Gujarat, Orissa or Kachhar provided the applicant has no occupation which could wear it easily.

"The yarn should not be at once sent up into the spinner should communicate first, giving his or her full address and writing legibly. The writer must give the name of the nearest railway station, and mention the weight and count of the yarn to be sent. Those who mainly cultivate the cotton should give the

number of threads and the manner in which the ends of the hanks together with the weight of the yarn. It will be very convenient if they give out hankwise weights. This hank, as a rule, of 8 feet in circumference with less than ten or 100 threads each in them. Each hank may be tied loosely with a strong thread leaving the two ends of the hank to the knot. Every line in a hank must be partitioned from the other by means of the wing thread. This can be done by crossing the thread between every two hanks, which is technically called hanking a hank. The hanks tied in this way make it easy to open the yarn without any damage of the end and spread. Moreover, the quality of yarn required for weaving a piece of cloth of given length and breadth can be accurately determined, and the loss of yarn being short or extra is eliminated. The cost of weight for weaving hand-spun yarn will be much less than at present, if it is spun properly and hanks are tied in the manner described above.

"On receipt of specifications, instructions will be sent. Arrangements will be made to secure the yarn, at one of the weaving centers of the Provincial Cloth Department, the weaving factory at Shikhar Chagpau, Majumdar, of Tipton (Chanda District) or some such convenient place, nearest to the center of the yarn. The yarn should be sent only after the receipt of instructions. The weight and size will have to be known by the maker of the yarn.

"Yarn of 6 to 10 yards should not be sent, all it is at least 3 lbs., that of 12 to 20, all 3 1/2, 4 lbs. Yarn not sufficient for at least 12 yards of about 10 hanks width and 4 yards of 45 inches width will not be accepted.

"When a beginner makes his first yarn, as is often the case, it is a gift for the maker who opens it out on hanks and the weaver who weaves it. In such cases, the owner of the yarn should be ready to bear all extra expenses, if there are any."

For Helpers

The professor who has shown the above help had rightly suggested that there should be work in the world of cotton in the best manner by better spinning competition. He was advised to use the money rather in subsidizing the education of the weavers so that they might be able to stand in their own legs, that is, when it is the distribution of cotton. For instance, persons spinning for themselves may be helped by the supply of cotton or others at half the actual price, or by getting them their own means at half price. It is hoped that these suggestions will be helpful in the future. A number of villages started growing good and clean cotton at present, as if they get it they want to pay the heavy price of it. Such villages stand in need of good cotton at reasonable rates. Some village workers who are trying to make their villages hand spun, are making efforts to make clean cotton for their purposes by getting the newly planted cotton freely in hand-spin. The time is opportune and the it is in time to help them. It is for the farmers of hand-spin to supply such village workers with enough for growing cotton and supplying it cheaply.

Hand-spun Sewing Threads

Darrell and his corresponding Telugu are growing cotton of superior quality. If such cotton is sent in Bihar, Andhra, Madras and such places where excellent pure cotton, and sewing thread is made out of it, it can be profitably marketed. There is demand for sewing and knitting hand-spun thread. Yarn of 10 to 12 yards is finished with three threads makes also thread.

A letter to Madras who are only hand-spun thread, is getting plenty of work to do. To secure all the cotton thread with this has been to create several problems. The customers who use the hand-spun garments made out of plain Khadi (some of them shirtings and nighties done) are deeply charmed by its soft. This shows how others who have a devotion for hand-spin can help the cloth movement. Again, this shows that even in big cities where sewing machines are extensively used a number of persons determined to use cotton can easily find employment. The value of weaving also increased. But there is a danger not in every strand of warp and weft of even ordinary cotton Khadi it is too closely and loosely wrought. The Khadi industry is giving new life to a new state of art among the people.

In State of Foreign Sewing Thread

The State will have to be begun to produce sewing cotton yarn to replace the foreign ones. Foreign cotton yarn and balls worth less of export are used in this country. In response to the statement made up this subject in the last bulletin our Government will have sent to this department samples of yarn and balls manufactured by it. The thread is considered and found to be in place of the foreign one, and is slightly cheaper too. It has been suggested that as the demand for sewing it will be well if it is a little smoother—stronger such was the result made by a better when using a few of these cotton yarns. We may hope that the will will give attention to this matter.

It will be well if people should be induced to make their own yarns that are more available. The making of Khadi clothes with foreign thread is a matter of great and lasting concern to the mind of the Government. Khadi yarn might use hand cotton yarn. All the hand-spun cotton goods everywhere in India. The hand cotton yarn and balls intended to have been the main work of the cloth in them. It is a bit smoother. We believe it is more that the will together in the making of the cloth, hoping that it is by the making of the cloth that the State's work can be done. We hope that the State will cotton yarn and balls which are manufactured in cotton that will achieve equality.

There can be had an application to the following address—

"Textile Sales Department, Cotton Mills,
Post Box No. 1, Amravati."

Those wishing to send for them should communicate directly.

Magdalen K. Dandekar

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Notes

The People has yielded nothing groundless in the way of news during the week. More men have been arrested, but not in large numbers. The most important among these was Shrikrishna Singh, who had not long been free after a three years' term in jail. Amongst the Sikhs, there were two groups of Mahatmas.—Futuhgah and Pathankot. For the first time, both are overwhelmed by a common repression, but when the distinction was valid, Shrikrishna Singh was a Pathankot. It should therefore be something of a satisfaction to him that the united and peaceful which he rendered to his people in 1920, long before the Government's Mahatma Movement was born, should now be justified by events. He has gone to his trial with history and with no "Bheda"—he is prepared to look straight and unflinching in the face of the law, and to let the law prove its law to the world. He knows his people and their weakness for too well to imagine that anyone would be so stupid as to attack him and his noble associates.

The exact psychology of the situation is, however, played to the last degree after its big stroke, the Government is making them. It is difficult to say what the official policy will be or whether the Government has any such thing as a policy at all. Its first intent was obvious—declare the Committee and the Del. as "unlawful" and proceed to enforce the law in the light of the Declaration. But the extreme brevity of the order and the Government's, for some reason or other, declining from the consequences. We find it impossible to believe that the officials and their supporters who had the reputation that the Del. cooperation would disappear and dissolve because of a single arrest. For this being demolished, a new set of men have concentrated themselves at the Committee and have gathered up a more aggressive line of defiance. Before the arrest of the Del. it was only Delhi that was the centre of attack. Now it is Delhi and Amritsar. In Delhi the Mahatmas are making the right of working in defiance of the Administrator's order, who was in the first of order a public campaign against established authority in Amritsar, the Government is not put to the necessity of showing tolerance about the location of the Del. After a hundred days, march up and down the streets of Amritsar in defiance, the new Working Committee at Delhi head, carrying with themselves and unambiguously,

the notification of the Government that the Committee and the Del. are "unlawful" associations. As far as the law is concerned, there is no doubt that the members are in part of being arrested and punished; and if there was no question of state policy to control the activities of the police, the members should be arrested and dealt with pretty severely. But owing of the kind is free. From this dropped in the Government press the Government are apparently making the the Del. to do something really "aggressive", and to get themselves completely in the wrong. We should have thought that the defiance of the Criminal Law Amendment Act was aggressive enough in all circumstances. In 1920, demonstration of a far wider character resulted in imprisonment as a last resort. We heard a suggestion from Anglo-Indian sources that the... authority is not only not... on the basis to "take possession of Government buildings will be surely disrupted. The proceedings in Amritsar are quite sufficient to create and crystallize public opinion. The fact is too considerable to be ignored by the Government. It is bound to act. It must arrest the demonstration or it must accept the consequences.

We suspect that the Government does not know its (Del.); but we are not inclined to meet at its temporary, possibly self-sufficient, perhaps. There is a species of practical sense in its design which we have never to respect, and it would, therefore, be dangerous for us to go into a world of self-complacency at its present unbalanced location. It is important that the Committee in the hands should not be allowed to slip from the hands of the Committee. And how what we can see, the Executive does not intend that the affairs of policy should depart from its possession. Now that the criminal proceedings, administrative and judicial, are required to be what they are, namely, the attempt to destroy the independence of the community which is both religious and political, it is the obvious duty of the community to make itself more determined and compact. Though the majority of Gandhians have acknowledged the autonomy of the Committee, there are still a few left, answered by the Hindu temperamentalism. The work was interrupted by the recurring conflicts with the Government, but it is now being done again. The Indian Del. party Committee that is beyond the gate is a source of weakness and a parallel centre of religious and administrative,

Necessity would cannot be supported because of impotence. The new manner of internal strengthening and consolidation against external attacks in internal domestic cohesion. The official declaration under the Colonial Law Amendment Act is no doubt there; is an open political fight, the "legality" may be left over for the lawyers to decide upon. After the lawyers have done their work by it, the issue will still remain to be determined in one of the terms of negotiation at the end. In this particular case, we shall some day be concerned with the terms of surrender by Government or Sikhs in one form or another. We therefore, welcome the reported intention that all the Congressmen are to be excluded within the negotiations for terms. We do not know whether the assumption is that the Government will not interfere with work. After two years of hard struggle, the Sikhs are no longer political creatures and are well likely to consult a committee of like elementary character. None the less, we should like to believe for the Government's own sake that it will not interfere with the intended negotiation. In any event, Mr. Edward Maitland and his advisers will be on the horns of a dilemma. If he permits the process of alteration without challenge, the whole policy of Federation will be nullified. If, on the other hand, he persists in it, it will at once be interpreted as an attempt to confirm the Congress in the possession of the current Mahatma, a system which the Sikhs are pledged to prevent at any cost. How exactly he is going to prevent himself from the charity of the situation, we decline to speculate. At all events, the Government of the Punjab is not a job in every way!

Witnessing the part of the Congress in the struggle of the Sikhs, we happened to suggest that the Parliamentary Committee might do well to rally the support of the country by associating non-Sikhs in the struggle in an official and responsible manner. The Mahatma has, we are afraid, slightly misunderstood us in the matter. We quite agree with our contemporary that the bond of religious brotherhood which unites the Sikhs is present and efficacious when they are, should not be broken with. In fact, the consideration was vividly present in our mind, and we would much rather cut off our right hand than take any step which would destroy discipline and cohesion. That was why we mentioned Assembly membership, as the basis of the relationship of those who are not Sikhs, with the Congress in the struggle in the middle of which it stood last to-day. But on the non-question whether there is not a national consciousness about the happenings in the Punjab we are afraid there is a difference of opinion. We see in the unreserved suppression of the Congress movement a revival of the challenge that was being set us by the Government in 1931—whether there should be the negotiated right of any institution pledged to non-violence. As far as our understanding goes, it is an inalienable right which it is not open to this or any other Government to restrict or just deny. It is undoubtedly true that the constitution against which the Government is now engaged desires

its passage and implication from violence. But this consideration will not shake the leaders of our political life from their solemn duty. It is the business of the Congress not to save itself, but to maintain unshaken the principle of its activity. It is done with indifference the destruction by the Government of a non-violent leadership on the plea that it is useless to be too cautious, we shall see the end of the possibility of clear and unambiguous public life. When we are prepared to take our stand on these issues then as such, non-political work is destroyed by an influence. Reduced to its elements, politics is the establishment of one Government or policy by a new Government or a new policy. Here sanitation is either effective or it is ineffective. As long as it is ineffective it is ignored; when it becomes effective to the point of shaking Government, which is the point of policy, it is destroyed. We say it should not be permitted, and we in fact to-day cannot conceive of any question of voter franchise. We admit there are complications enough in the way, but given the vital need, difficulties are there to be surmounted, not to avoid. It should be made clear to the Government that the right of association lies in the gift of creating life and that there is national strength in violence. In 1931 and now are proud of it. All that the Congress is called upon to do is to become the soul with a body through which to express itself.

There is an element of confusion in the reported wording of political leaders in Delhi by Maitland and Kishan Arad. The bewilderment is due to the following misapprehension. The Delhi meeting is to be on the 15th instant, the very day for which the Working Committee is called. The same date would not have caused trouble, but for the fact that the Working Committee is not to meet in Delhi but in Amritsar. We do not know what the Maitland "has heard", but from the stress mentioned in this connection, it would seem as if it is a long-standing or party leaders. We do not think it at all improper that men holding similar political views should come together, compare notes and frame a common policy of action. As it happens Maitland and Kishan Arad is a Congressist, and in view of the things that have happened in the Special Congress it is clearly incumbent on the Congress to take stock of the situation and go forward to their next step. We have told all along that the Congress will be compelled by the mass logic of current political development to enter the Constituent Congress and not be impudently. They will say—"In Delhi, you gave us permission to stand. We accordingly did so. There is a serious matter of us by the Congress and the Assembly—what we are to do with members? We are willing to submit ourselves to the discipline of the Congress and we want orders." The question is inevitable, but the content of it will be settled only after the members are all over. It is only then we shall have the balance appear in the chambers. We therefore suggest that the meeting on the 15th November in Delhi will be historic, because programme. Apart from that, we suggest that the Congress leaders will find it more and more to get away from

that responses previous to the click of electrode-
tion.

But, even though the Democrats can afford to be indifferently about the terms of the Demand to be made in the Congress, the Non-secessionists and the Compromisers are in different case. If anybody imagines that the struggle of principles was controlled by the Delhi "compromise", and that the nation can go the road unopposed by its afterwards, we beg to assure him that he is really mistaken. It is not the "consentment" of parliament that is determining and controlling us; it is something deeper and more troublesome. Let us try to find an answer to the inevitable question of the Democrats — "What do you want us to do?" The answer is, we should electrify the Army they are majority only a minority! Assassinate as in a majority, Ireland and Hungary, in the future of mankind that the weapon to destroy the Canada is in their hands. They will say, "What shall we do with this new-got power?" We are not worried about it, it is not our doing but the look of the successful years that the Congress intended; we are willing to run it as the part of the Congress for it to do what it pleases thereafter. We do not want a majority in the Congress; but we are willing to make ourselves her servants and children." What will the answer at the Congress be? Will the Congress have strength enough to say that it will have an alliance wherever with the victims of the Turks? Will it be powerful enough to make the overwhelming suggestion of the atmosphere? We think not.

On taking the next case, Secretary the President said in a minority. There again it depends on the nature of the minority. It may be an independent minority. From the words he says by Mr. Taft, it is quite conceivable that the minority might prefer to judge their case, technically or practically and leave as many 'branches of Negro co-operation' burning. Or if the minority is considerable enough to be considered less superior to co-operating with southern political groups, they might elect to continue in that place, waiting for a change of majority: improve the thinking here. We have mentioned the different 'possibilities' with a view to indicate the complex condition that now is the heart of the situation. But besides of the alternative issues in which the question may be put, the answer can be at bottom only one. If the Congress makes up its mind to assume responsibility for the conduct and policy of the Southern in Canada, it will assume a new responsibility, but it will be a grave one if on the other hand, the Congress thinks first it should absolve itself of all responsibility for the damage at Birmingham, it must not do.

But the task of saying "No" will be hard. All the more it has to be faced. In spite of all that has happened, the situation has to be understood and clearly realized. There are really two schools in the Congress—a constitutional and a constitutional. The

revolutionary school in the creation of Mr. Gandhi
 in the world, it is unshakable. It is "unmodified",
 and it is true in the case of action. It believes in
 the quick results of the revolutionary spirit. Against
 it is the group of politicians educated in the method
 and learning of the old Whigs who which is ready
 when to be synonymous with liberalism. If we doubt
 this, we may see that their intellectual roots
 are in English soil. The growth of English
 liberalism was marked by centralization. The con-
 siderable lawyers, teachers, editors, the very flower
 of Englishmen, have moved from reality. They are not
 strong enough to tear off the mask. Mr. Gandhi
 knew this, and that is why all his life through, he
 made use of revolutionary political tactics whether in South
 Africa, Champaran, or India. The earlier phases of the
 Non-cooperation give the White a chance of having
 themselves free political and intellectual enlightenment
 and be called the process of self-cultivation. Educated
 India has raised its claims. Not only has it raised its
 claims, but it is also taking advantage of the current
 belief to establish itself in political leadership, speaking
 in the name of the people in a language that they
 do not understand, pursuing methods which refer to
 the success of English liberalism. The tragedy is that
 the Non-cooperation is called "Liberalism" in the very
 moment when liberalism is repudiated in the Con-
 gress, which gave it birth. Liberalism is abandoned in
 England; Mussolini renounces it in Italy; Lenin in
 Russia, De Klerk in South Africa; and in India at the
 present moment, the Liberals and the Congress are
 attempting to reconstruct a dual empire; and they are
 bound to fail. The way of salvation for India can be
 only non-violent direct action. It may be Disruptive,
 it may be Non-cooperation, it may be individual civil
 disobedience; it may be the personal revolution known
 as Satyagraha, Ahimsa.

10

Of all these, civil disobedience is the most common to-day. The memory of Gandhi's leadership of Negroes, the battle in the Pacific to-day are too real and present either to leave us unmoved. But we refuse to believe that it lies in it the ultimate victory of No. We believe that the Non-co-operation programme fashioned as Negroes and worked out successfully in the battle of self-reliance and high courage is still there, and will be the final weapon of our liberty. The faith of the non-resistance in it has waned. The Nation which has happened down through long centuries passes from there again in its stride. They have gone back to the Gandhi discipline, and will do all they can to succeed in drag the Congress into it. They will be asked—"Are we to go through the process of 1919 once more? Are we to demand students come out? Are Freemen to be organized, Churches to be set against apathy. Disunion invited, Congress membership built up once more?" The most ignored to this question there can be only one answer—"Yes." If we do not do that, the whole task of freedom will be imperilled. We are convinced that if the Congress reforms and goes back to Non-co-operation in its entirety, there will be an echoing response from all over the country. We believe the heart of the people is ready; but they want the voice of authority and conviction.

Young India

8-11-53

The Fatal Ambiguity

Though Koper has made available to us the full text of the speeches at the Indian debate there is a persistent air of uncertainty and uncertainty which is disturbingly outstanding. In Koper's specific context was this —

"Let the Dominion Government who have an Indian population, let His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom their direct control such as Kenya, Uganda, Fiji and other places where there are Indian populations appoint committees to confer with the Committee which the Government of India will send from India in exploring the possibility of how best and how soon the principle of equality implied in the 1931 resolution may be implemented. And let the terms of enquiry be specified. I will speak with my proposal the request that any constitutional legislation which may be needed should be agreed and the reports of these joint-committees are available."

What was accepted by Mr. Jinnah in India in the period of the Conference was this —

"The Secretary of State for the Colonies on behalf of His Majesty's Government cordially accepted the proposal of the Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru that there should be a full consultation and discussion between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and a committee appointed by the Government of India upon all questions affecting British Indians domiciled in British Colonies and Protectorates and Mandated Territories. At the same time, the Duke of Devonshire was moved to explain that before decisions were taken as a result of the discussion with the Committee, consultations with the local Colonial Governments concerned and in some cases a local enquiry would be necessary. Further, while welcoming the proposal the Duke of Devonshire concluded the Conference that His Majesty's Government cordially had come to a specific decision as to Kenya which represented in their conditional view the very best that could be done in all the circumstances. While he saw no prospect of these decisions being modified, he would give careful attention to such representations as the committee appointed by the Government of India might desire to make to him. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru while taking note of the above statement of the Duke of Devonshire desired to make it plain that the recent Kenya decisions could not be accepted as final by the people of India."

It should also be noted that the Dominion Frontiers except Central America agreed to co-operate with the Indian Committee in their respective territories.

Now observe — The Indian population in the Dominion is as follows — Australia 1,000, New Zealand with Canada 1200, South Africa 107,000. It may be noted that the figure of 1000 mentioned by

New Zealand by Lord Peel is a statistic, perhaps 100 is misreported as 1000.

The net result then appears to be this — The Dominion that have an considerable Indian population and are therefore without an Indian problem have agreed to negotiate with India, South Africa, the Dominion which is the preservation of our position refuses to have anything to do with us at all.

The Colonial Office is prepared to co-operate in reference to the Colonies. But in the matter of the central inquiries of Kenya, the position is hard to grasp. The Colonial Secretary says that there is no prospect of modifying the recent decision; Dr. Sapru in his turn says that the decision could not be accepted as final by the people of India. The crisis of the matter seems to us to be in the hands of discussion between the Indian Committee and the Colonial Office. If the negotiations are conducted on the basis of the recent decision, Dr. Sapru's position will be aided in spite of all the above words, it, however, the Committee manages to get behind the backs of the Dominion, he will have won a splendid diplomatic victory.

Our own conclusion is that the matter has been left over by both parties to the discussion to decide at the present stage. The Kenya decision reserved a number of subsidiary questions to be decided by negotiation between the Colonial Office and the Government of India. The Duke of Devonshire probably thinks that the discussion of the essential questions will be in favour of the Dominion now recorded. Dr. Sapru probably thinks otherwise. There is trouble to state. If this dual ambiguity is removed, it would be like to speak of India's 'winning or losing'. The loss is already there, and all remaining is the way of a definite achievement. If removed, it will be like to secure judgment.

An Irish View

Mr. Andrews has described the speech of Mr. Fitzgerald, the Irish representative at the Imperial Conference, as 'pure gold'. Whether it was that or not, it was frank and straight-forward. There was no diplomacy in it. It was the honest statement of a statement in a very young government. We are sure that when the next Imperial Conference comes, Mr. Andrews will speak in Mr. Fitzgerald's manner. A Government that in three years old will have got enough and diplomatic enough to drive out of its consciousness the habit of embarrassing speech. A statement is appearing very early such things, but a statement in office, now.

The substance of the speech was not merely true; it was wise. Mr. Fitzgerald admitted Dr. Sapru and the Mahatma of Ahmed were not on a plane of equality with the other members of the Conference, because they were not those as representatives of their people. "They are not really sent by an independent Indian Government, and they cannot really be regarded as equal with the rest of us." Referring to the immediate subject of Dominion, he continued, "It seems to me that the only principle of this matter, which comes from racial considerations as for Indians to be in a position to make good regional arrangements, and some beyond its borders. The only way this Indian

Heardle is really going to be advised to let the progress towards self-government—whatever form of self-government they consider suitable for themselves—let that progress to be hastened with all speed—as so to avoid what Mr. T. B. Parris and the Mahatmas have labelled as "statutory methods." In no way any so with all respect, it was a necessary decision to have the work of their own position put in the Indian members with all delivery and business at the Conference table itself. The outcome from the Government has been too long at the business of the Government to require to be. The Mahatmas have done it. But as we have already stated, such a thing will never happen again.

The Volunteer Organisation

Dr. Heardle has shown how his energetic and competent hands the business of evolving a body of volunteers for the whole of India. The formal machinery of the thing arises upon further, and is conceived as a replica of the Congress organisation. The function will be different, the volunteers being the active arm of the deliberative bodies. We have been defective in the language of analogy. Subject, however, to the observations, the volunteers may be described as the soldiers and policemen of the Congress. But in our humble judgment the matter is perhaps all that could well be work and the personal strength that comes in work back of it all, there should be the responsive quality of giving things done. If Dr. Heardle can manage to select his colleagues with the most confidence by which he is moved, he will win. As far as we can judge, he has energy enough with which to change the situation. We wonder whether the volunteers' Conference in Calcutta will not give Dr. Heardle, the man that he wants for Nagpur. What is more, if there is a clear lead in the matter of the States in December, Dr. Heardle will immediately find the work set out for him.

We are inclined to think that the immediate future of peaceful work will be by the hands of the Volunteers. But to achieve the latest in the way of possibilities, they must be backed of potent work. There is the perpetual task of struggling against the Government and changing its progress and policies. It may be the King, the freedom of the States, the ending of those deep-seated incidents in political campaigning. But, beyond the political attack and destruction, there is the constructive nature of organisation, peace, freedom and unity. Any organisation of workers engaged to achieve these ends will have to carry out important work. It will be remembered that the Special Session of the Congress had a resolution regarding local committees to establish bodies of alert guards open to all Indians for the maintenance of peace and order, and to perform civic duties. We do not think that the Working Committee of the Congress have taken practical steps to carry it out. Now that Dr. Heardle has applied himself to the task, it will be essential if the Committee departs him to carry out the instructions of the Congress. Perhaps he himself will find it often necessary to hand over his

responsibilities as far as it has gone to the Congress and proceed to develop it further under the authorisation of the Congress Executive. We suggest that the co-operation of the Working Committee with Dr. Heardle will be essential in the long run. The Congress wants "Chito Gaurab." It has got the Volunteers; the next thing will be to bring the two together and make use of the resulting organisation for national purposes.

Church and State

It is slightly strange to find Mrs. Bennett discussing about the implications of the Abolition of the doctrine of Divided Loyalties was released in its present form as early as 1819. In the December of that year when the British Empire was at its height, the position was stated clearly and convincingly by the 18th President. The history of Non-co-operation politics which had its origin in the American declaration is a prolonged commentary on the doctrine. There is nothing therefore that we can add by way of persuasion or argument. All that it means is that the responsibility of the State is limited by the duty to fulfil the religious requirements of its subjects. The Hindus and the Muslims are only the concrete expressions of the religious obligations of Mohammedans and Sikhs in their relation to the present or any future Government in India. If the State fails to fulfil the conditions of its subjects, the subjects are entitled to withdraw their loyalty. The discrepancy may result in civil disobedience or violent resistance, but disobedience or lack of affection becomes a fair

II

This is the plain task of the writer, but it is work with accompanying the history of Mrs. Bennett's difficulty, which she shares with nearly all English people and also those Indians who have derived their political philosophy from England. The doctrine of the supremacy of the secular State, whether King or Caliph or Parliament, is as old as English political philosophy which may be taken to begin with Hobbes or with James I. James called it the Divine Right of Kings. Hobbes, later, identified the State with the Leviathan. But the possible thing to note is that it was a political theory that grew out of the Reformation. As long as the Catholic Church was supreme in Christendom, there was no such thing as the Divine Right of Kings, no State claiming absolute authority over spiritual and temporal matters. When the Reformation came to England and Henry VIII proceeded to separate the property of the Church and to distribute them amongst his nobles as the price of their conversion, there was no pretence of legality, it was mere spoliation. The solution having taken place, there was the need for a political doctrine to justify what had happened, just as in India law-caste movements regarding Kingship got Buddhism to replace a pre-Christian law, tracing their descent from the sun at the north. The English variety of the sun and the moon mythology was called the Divine Right. The Puritan Revolution and the 17th century of 1688 did not challenge the Divine Right, the new affirmation was that the Divine

religion, to stand shoulder to shoulder and proceed side by side with their undivided united will and solidarity of purpose in the path of their religious duty as urged on by the last Commandment of the last Prophet—may He ever be praised!

Maka Mib November the Jambudwip Day, and tomorrow is twenty-fourth November Jambudwip day, a grand and auspicious occasion. But every mosque remains after Friday prayers is devoted for the freedom of the Jambudwip and for every Khudwah, wholeheartedly contribute towards the Khilafat fund. Our work cannot prosper and the struggle cannot proceed without the financial backing of the Khilafat organisations. It is for us to prove to the world that national consciousness and communal frictions cannot survive in this our day in Islam. Our home affairs cannot make us neglect our religious, foreign and international responsibilities. Undivided by regional ties, undivided by language, undivided by religion and was unitedness by loyal sympathies and necessary time services, let us make the freedom of the Jambudwip the watershed of our hearts and home, the backbone of our children and foundation of our prayers in the Alamyah. It is the final hour of truth, let us demonstrate that we were never faced wanting when weighed.

An urgent Khilafat Working Committee meeting will be held at Makina on the 11th instant to consider the Akhli question and other important matters. Members are earnestly requested to attend.

Sith Affairs

The following is the summary of the delays in the Punjab —

Makina Situation

Makina has been troubled with the police force of them forced their way in the Gardens in their various. Three attacks in last proceeding back control of the Police in a Gardens in highly objectionable. Both guns have been brought to Kot Kapura.

The Akhli travelling to and from Makina and Jambudwip are restricted in the house by the Police under the suspicion that they carry out of the Khilafat Gardens. Prohibited Committee. Their persons are pulled off and they are degraded in every other way.

17th Oct.

Some responsible officers forced their way into the Gardens. The leader on duty allowed them to join the two woodpeppers. But he was threatened, arrested and brought to Ferozepore.

Police Sabotage

Tuesday when a Sub Inspector and a Head Constable tried to enter the Gardens with their uniforms on, they were told by the Akhli that it was a sabotage to enter the Gardens in uniform. In spite of the Akhli's protest, however, the Police officials persisted in their attempt for information. However they hesitatingly asked the Akhli to which class with Kapura, so that they might see guns in return. The S. C. P. U. supports the Akhli to remain absolutely non-violent in the face of the provocation.

A Drive was held here yesterday at about noon. A Police Day was observed with considerable amount of disturbance. Chief Data Singh and Bhai Singh also were arrested on the same day.

Joint Education

One Sub Inspector with 2 Constables and one Christian came to the house of B. B. Kaur Singh, treasurer Akhli Jambudwip. Inspect of the Akhli of a Kaur Singh the house was locked up and searched. They took away one receipt book, one subscription register and some other papers.

Police Situation

From Makina arrived the Jambudwip. Makina is surrounded by Police. After searching the several houses where the Jambudwip reside in the House of the Gardens, the Police returns.

A Sub-Inspector with some constables has been daily going into the Gardens at Makina, all the time keeping a sharp look round the whole Gardens frequently searching the Khilafat.

Kot Kapura News

1st Oct.

(1) Two mounted Police constables reinforcements of the Ferozepore State are patrolling in the House of Thana Kot Kapura in order to take note of the Akhli's activities. The members of the village Patwaris and headmen are subjected to the highest examination.

(2) The Patwaris and the headmen of Kot Kapura are searching the Akhli's post and Police pickets are placed at the houses of most of the Akhli who are being threatened to leave the region of their police.

(3) The merchant and Christian of Kot Kapura were told by the State officials that they were running complaints that Akhli were giving them trouble. The reply however was that they had nothing to complain against.

A Drive held at Makina a Sub Inspector Ferozepore had who was standing before him. One Ganga Singh, wearing a kurtas was arrested.

American Situation

1st Oct.

S. Mangal Singh the late Akhli of "Akali" leading that without of word had been named against the arrested American today. At about 2 P. M. a Policeman shot a warrant of S. Mangal Singh and S. Dattar Singh, Secretary Ganga Singh Ferozepore Committee District American. They were to the Akhli told to pay homage. They were then profusely professed and taken in possession led by the military band to the Akhli tower where a salute with rifles always was waiting for them. They took their seats under shade of the Akhli Akhli and the action started.

2nd Nov.

Singh Jagat Singh, Maratha, military Akhli of 18 years standing posted at Ferozepore. Commented on his return from his village where he had gone to have was disturbed for wearing Akhli turban and kurtas.

Mis-treatment of Akhli prisoners

The arrested Akhli of Ferozepore had are being subjected to very cruel and inhuman treatment. The lock-up-rooms have been given them in which they are underequipped. Some kind of the prisoners have taken ill. S. Haldar Singh, Manager, Ferozepore Makina has not had food for the last three days. The treatment demand for the Akhli is inhuman and separate cells. Forty out of the 60 Akhli are undergoing such confinement. One Akhli prisoner is in the hospital. He too, is not given a chaplin but has to lie on the floor.

Khandi Notes

About Khandi Machines

In the issue of the 15th September we made mention of a new spinning machine called Khandi Charkha No. 5. It was being advertised in newspapers and there were enquiries. With a view to meet the enquiries made, we asked the manufacturer for details. The reply that we had did not answer the main question. Requests for more details about the charkha are now increasing. We have often stated through these columns that we do not know of any spinning machine which is better than the old type of manual charkha. The same is to be said about the Khandi Charkha.

A professor Khandi writes to Prasad under date,—"Khandi Machine No. 24 just to hand. I had a sample run on Khandi Charkha. Khandi Charkha was being made at the first run of September for charkha and has unfortunately done a great deal of mischief. The usual type which was which said during the earlier days of Non-co-operation is made of a disc of wood for the revolving drum. The whole has a brass pulley." After referring to the trouble given by the pulley and the wood, the writer proceeds,—"The result was that most people who brought Khandi Charkha have come to believe that spinning is the garden of the rich. Most of the men have been led to spinning altogether."

"Now these people have come to the market with a machine Charkha, a replica of what was for some time in fashion in Bombay. The machine is gradually being sold as New Charkha (Model A) which I believe you know."

"You speak about the cost of raw that the machine produces at 7 mls per hour. A reply from the makers would not be enough. I would request you to arrange for getting a Charkha for test."

As suggested, we sent for the machine, but there was no reply. As it appeared exactly like a New Charkha Model A, from the photos given in the advertisement, we ordered of an manufacturer of New Charkha at Bombay. The reply we received was—"From the photos you sent it appears to be an exact copy of model A, but it is difficult to be sure."

We have made a thorough examination of the New charkha Model A, long ago in the presence of the manufacturers, and it was concluded that the machine does not yield more output than the old charkha. It has caused more than an improvement the machine and has been making a type of New Charkha with a double wheel.

We cannot anticipate any other result from the Khandi charkha. Our hope was that we have told that there is hardly any ground on which to recommend the Khandi charkha. However if the manufacturer will send it to us we shall examine it and send it back overhauled and publish the result.

We do not condemn the manufacturers of these machines. They deserve commendation for their ingenuity. We only want to show that the progress which they claim is a delusion. What is more, by adding to such a delusion and by not advising the Government of their invention when they are there, they are robbing their own country as well as the country's.

A Suggestion to Manufacturers

It is a suggestion made to the manufacturers of the machine. They should not be discouraged. There is hope of machines if some improvement is made, by which it can make more, than or less amount of yarn together at greater speed than that of the old charkha. If the only wheel of the machine is so arranged that it could be worked with a pulley, the speed is likely to increase. The wheel could easily be divided, and it is could not be divided if it is divided, it can certainly be so in working. If this improvement is effected, we could have all sorts of saving and labour costs reduced, particularly cost of horsepower yarn. The upper wheel used for making bobbins (used to control the way in the process of working) can also be had from hand-cranked stuff. This would create a wider market for the yarn. The action that we resolve every now and then show the need of producing such related action.

A Word about Old Charkhas

Many of the spinning machines makers in judging of the speed of their machines compare them to an old charkha of small dimensions. A charkha of standard dimensions, if worked by a diligent spinner, never can double the quantity of yarn from the smaller type. This is a matter of experience. Many women come to spin and find very fast, but their culture is smaller than it should be. It is not that of spinning is done properly and certainly the machine is greater, even though the spinner is working slowly.

The producers of machine charkhas are delighted by the notion of busy spinners on small charkhas. Some Khandi workers are led to become hopeless on seeing the pictures of such spinners. They want only the old charkha. They want women to whom the charkha is the friend of their life and given a hope of living by those who wear thread. To wear thread is their life in the spinners go down, but to teach them spinning is a proper style is a still greater loss. The reality that a being used to present in machine charkha would show better and greater results if attention is given to educate the spinners in this matter. This might look difficult, but therein lies the gain of constructive work. The outcome is that gain is the first step to enter into the lower heart of the people.

The Coming Khandi Exhibition

It has been announced that a Khandi exhibition will be held at Lahore under the title of the coming Centenary Congress. It has also been declared that along with the show of Khandi exhibits, demonstrations and experiments in the various branches of the art will be held. This will be the first exhibition of its kind. It will give us an idea of the progress of Khandi, and will introduce the producers, purchasers and the audience to each other. The conveniences of the producers two exhibitions had their losses, which must be borne in mind if the coming exhibition is to be turned to a greater advantage.

Mahesh K. Ghoshal

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Young India

15-11-19

Poppy Day

Monday was celebrated as Poppy Day in memory of the Allied dead that fell in the fields of Flanders among wild poppies—poppies which in the eyes of imagination display a deeper colour because of the red blood that has flown to water its roots. The Government has chosen to make use of the day's celebration for the collection of funds to help the ex-servicemen who are now in distress. Somewhere the whole procedure struck me as a blessing stroke of ingenuity. The Government and its supporters exploited the memory of the period dead for their own purposes. Those who made the supreme sacrifice are beyond praise or condemnation. They truly sacrificed to win the way in which the security of great deeds was put for political and temporary advantages. The mere fact that the governments of today have failed in their duty to such an extent as to let the British with red blood on it unemployed ex-servicemen was in condemnation enough of themselves and of the system. If they had any self-respect they should promptly withdraw from their places and make room for others who would look upon the work of such unemployed as their primary responsibility. For modern governments to hold office without putting an end to this spectacle is bad enough. But when they pretend to appeal to the common people to relieve them at such date, because the duties of government expired with the term of those that left, the thing is inexcusable. It is the exhibition of cowardice. It is almost like our own politicians who seek shelter under safe in the name of Mr. Gandhi and say "Shantam Chakraborty". No such exposure have to them the notions of noble responsibility. The memory of great sacrifices and unswerving loyalties are good for the cleansing of national conscience, the building up of strength but in that case, we should look to the British Empire, and to the service of those gathered under the flag was dedicated to the memory of those who fell amongst the red poppies. But it is not only Englishmen, Indians, Belgians and Frenchmen that found their resting places under the heavy flags of stars and flags. There were many coloured men who also had a share in the making of the plans that are making their tragic blood. If we must remember the heroes of the great of our race made use to death let us not engage ourselves in the selfish business of honoring "our" dead and leaving out of account "others". The young men whose bodies were given, did not belong to "them" or to "us"; they are a permanent possession of the human race. We should very much like to see the ideal of a Poppy day in which the efforts, who of Indians, men of colour, dedicated and married with ourselves only the strength and sacrifice that made them and

and lives saved, and changed the world under arms in the background. But we do not think that the world is now capable of such an action, we are sure no government is. And yet such a deed is possible, we should prefer that the work of those that died be left in peace.

Changes in the Constitution

The Committee appointed by the Delhi Congress to report into the necessity or expediency of amending the Constitution has a number of problems to solve. The Committee has decided that there is no need for the members formally to meet, and we think it is a wise decision. The work is such that a good deal can be done by way of correspondence. Before the final recommendations are made (we assume there will be nothing in the shape of a voluminous report) the members will have to meet and talk things over. We think that this temporary conference can be held at Connaught Place. But it would be probably necessary that the members of the Committee should get to the place a day or so earlier. Pandit Jaganath Mohan, the president of the Committee, has managed to get together a number of signatures from various Congressmen. As far as we can make out, the most important of the proposed amendments relate to the Council, the number of delegates, discipline and the creation of local bodies to control finance and electorates.

1

The controversy about the Council has now become almost a general Delhi issue. The Congress had no confidence, much less a formal need. The original Council was formed in 1906 by the All-India Congress—the object being the attainment of self-government in Council form. The method was constitutional. In Nagpur, the Council was changed; the political goal being an unbridled Congress and constitutionalism discarded in favour of power and high-handedness. Such opposition to there was in the new Council came from those who held that Congress was then too violent an instrument and was historically and practically not responsible for its own actions. In Nagpur, the Council brought its strength as a respectable public body. A year later in Ahmedabad the Nagpur Council was severely criticised, and it fell to Mr. Gandhi to save the Council as against those who wanted to go to the other way. Mr. Agnew in Nagpur thought that having without qualification was the formal declaration of independence and the breaking of the tradition in Ahmedabad that very character of discipline known a rock of stability with Mahatma Hansa Mohan. He realised that the ambiguity of the word Council had to be the mark of weakness and divided purpose. The Mahatma failed to carry the Congress with him. The achievement of 'Independence' returned to the street in 1912. The glory in the name of Ganga was the coming lawlessness of the Congress; but as one judgment the secret words told them tell him the time of Mahatma Hansa Mohan. He said that the constitutionalism according to the tradition of Gandhi Non-cooperation was the logical consequence of the

rejection of his husband's proposal at Ahmedabad at the instance of Mr. Gandhi. It was a profound crying and was not laughed by the audience (it was Mrs. Mrs. Jagan Mohan who led the line in the great movement. The ladies of that City had been led by Datta, but in the interval was the Kanga dashah. Kanga went over back to the whole field in Ahmedabad and Gaya. Then happened a curious and significant thing—Gandhi returned. All agreed the things, and he was able to carry the Congress with him. The story of all these incidents has this meaning—The leaders started by our Indian a political life, a whole personality of which was, in which was held by the revolutionary spirit of the day and generation. As for ourselves, we cannot imagine let a whole way of of practical conditions which can look back with the British Empire. History, geography, philosophy—everything, is against the preservation of this national heritage. We may be prepared to tolerate some of the elements of the situation as an inevitable evil. But there is a line on which we cannot stand at its persistence. If we are faced with choice between Empire and Independence, we must certainly repudiate Empire. But we are not in a hurry to make the declaration. The existing formula of the time is satisfactory enough. Our constitution works with us. We have not yet made good our right to think of a formula which would measure what was considered good in Gaya. Individual opinions may vary, but the Indian race has an equal right to decide to handle the high ideals of Independence and International equality. There must be a bridge between self-interest and duty. As for sharing the word about the matter, we should prefer to leave it alone.

III

The question of the right of delegation to the Congressmen as an organization from our Government to the constitution was not to be concerned on words about to distribute goods. We have to be guided by social or economic experience. We find no reason to suppose that anything that has happened in social politics (for good or for evil) was for us worse or better in the number of delegates returned to an attending the Congress. The general rule is to have one member to represent not less than fifty thousand of the population. It is true that the Special Session in Delhi was not numerically attended but it was not due to any unwelcome in the scheme of representation. Unpleasant and adverse weather had reduced the vigor of political life, the most perfect constitution in the world cannot even satisfy here a people that are disappointed. We can quite understand the plea that 5000 is too small a number for a deliberative assembly, so it is, but 1,000 and 1,500 will be equally unmanageable. As the present moment the Congress is not a deliberative assembly at all—it is a popular referendum for registering the popular will in the

land here of policy. It is true that delegates make it impossible for the Congress to be even an adequate referendum. If we wish to achieve that object, the right way is not to go about selecting the strength of delegates, but to decide what a constituency for the system. We must understand following the practice of the English Trade Union Congress. But we are not sufficiently acquainted with the procedure for weighty assemblies, we should like to evaluate the vote recorded in the open market. For that reason, there is no one our taking back on the population as recorded in the Census Reports and relying that they are all back of the Congress. We know they are not, except in a region and a few who, which they called property a way at all. The only action of the public in whose support we can go forward is the members of the Congress organization—the four main centers. We should like to be devised a scheme by which each individual delegate might know automatically what is his qualification, domestic, political work. But we cannot do this easily with any of the present moment. There is no time, however, in writing. The debate need will be in some time soon, we shall deal with it then. But the need is not there.

IV

The character of the Congress is all important. If it is to function as an organization and not democracy has a while, there must be means to bring individual members and corporate bodies under a common instruction. The constitution is perfectly helpless as against the defiance and violation of members, individually and in corporate Indian politics in 1931 was the story of a constitution which prevented because there was no provision in the constitution to deal with a Man that we are obstacles in the difficulties of having members in a purely voluntary association. One organization can survive and work together for good only by general consensus of opinion. In the light of this conflict of constitutions, making in the nature of a single nation against modernism is possible. But we must find that it will be necessary some day, and we shall have to face the prospect with equanimity. For the time being the position should be continued along the lines suggested by Mr. B. B. Chakravarty. The Congress should make a distinction between voluntary or advisory members. The distinction can be founded on one or both of two facts—Quality and quantity. If a resolution is specifically advisory, there is nothing more to be said. But if a resolution recommends action or prevents action in character, the government has come in. It may sound mechanical, but in the absence of anything better the rule may have to follow.—If there is a potential majority may be obtained there—however the vote is recorded, there should be mandatory effect. That is the ground on which we can go now. If the question is pressed—"What is to be done if even a mandatory resolution is declared?" we answer we have no expert answer. We can leave it to public opinion.

IV

A Liberal's Revelation!

Liberals have been doing terrible injury all through the past year—despite us in safety. If controversy related to self-interest, there should be little difficulty in describing the relationship. The questions have gone on group lines and in the several state of Indian politics it is nearly impossible to get an effect without having been the subject of party bias. The correct procedure for the action of such disputes is to follow—The right of appeal to the judicial chamber but in the All-India Committee. The All-India Committee, abstracts the jurisdiction. It is called, takes the questions to the Working Committee, which in its turn passes the matter on to one of its members by majority and report. (In the case of the Bengal Chamber, the reference was not to a member of the Working Committee.) The report is made, the Working Committee makes a recommendation to the All-India Committee. The All-India Committee in its turn appoints a sub-committee to make a report. On the report it gives its decision. Beyond that, there is a final right of appeal to the Congress, but it is seldom exercised. The very statement of the procedure demonstrates its complexity. For more than that, it is clouded by party bias. I often wonder how to be disposed of in an atmosphere of party bias. That is the best thing around now. For all practical purposes, it is the All-India Committee that decides the question. The Committee is an advisory body, as a matter of fact. It decides on party lines. The easiest way of solving one of the difficulty will be to make provision for the appointment of an All-India Tribunal for the Congress. It should be independent of the Executive, and be decisive in every respect by the Congress itself. The selection of members should be guided by the sole desire to get together a body of men whose decisions will remove the impression of party bias and bias. To ensure this result, we would prefer the constitution of the Tribunal on a three-yearly basis—there should be three members, one of whom will go out of office every year. It is suggested that the Tribunal as a whole should not be elected by the voting masses of political opinion, which must come and come to work themselves out on party lines. During the last two years, the one to go out of office may be determined by lot. At the end of 1924, we shall have the Tribunal as nearly impartial and independent as any specific arrangement can make it.

Then there is the need for the creation of an adequate machinery and the framing of rules to secure the impartiality of Congress decisions. The Congress is now handling large sums of money and it is true that we go beyond the habit of relying on personal honesty and economy for the proper administration of funds. The secret expenditure of the Khilafat is working enough to show who have eyes to see. We long for it would be possible, with the assistance of an experienced accountant to frame the necessary rules in the matter.

In course of a reply to a Bombay party subsequently being a member writing in the *Standard* of India under the pen-name "A Liberal" says all the against Non-cooperation and Non-violence, saying all sorts of horrible accusations that he has been to speak against in his forthrightly rage, against time. The article is an extremely interesting one. The writer seems to be a firm believer in the humanism power of law and order and certainly deserves to be considered as an excellent sort of keeping his faith in fact is a theory. Heated application seemed directed first to such blood-curdling events like the Combs-Cash that has shocked and horrified the conscience of all right thinking people in the world was slowly followed afterwards.

If the writer had really intended himself to offering his faith in his theory with all the natural implications making the interpretation of themselves of partial reform under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, for which he holds the law-breaking campaign of the Non-cooperation to be solely responsible, it would have been understandable enough. It would have only served to prove what is obvious enough that the humanism in morality is not merely confined to the white officials but is also the cause of several people who claim Liberalism as their creed and that given a chance they would not easily as the humanism has done. But one is rather taken aback when in the same breath the writer goes on to claim the world for calling legislative legislation demanded. There certainly seems to be some confusion of ideas here. One of the laws were passed before the right course would have been to think and reflect these and assume full responsibility for their enforcement, but if they were really opposing them carefully to improve or remove them against public conscience cannot readily be called by any other name except repression. and if the Ministers directly or indirectly participated in their opposition they should escape the charge of having aided repression. But that is precisely the thing that the writer of the article denies. "The Moderates have neither approved nor supported repression." One would infer from this statement that the Government ordered passed measures against the Non-cooperators in the teeth of the Liberal's opposition. Let us see what the Government of India itself has to say on the matter—

"It is with the co-operation of the people of India that British rule in India has been carried on, and it is essential for its continued success that there should be such co-operation. It has therefore been regarded by the Government of India as of the utmost importance that they should carry with them as far as practicable in any manner that they will against the Non-cooperation movement, the approval and endorsement of Indian opinion. Evidence is given by the worst deeds as in the Indian highways that rather they have been hardly a model of the Government's dispatch in the showing of high duty. The Government are now."

Let us point out here that the measures used against the Non-cooperators mostly consisted of these very measures which the Liberals themselves later insisted to get repealed on the plea of their being of a coercive character though not always with the same result. We feel we may safely leave to history to judge whether the Liberals can escape responsibility for Governmental measures and the resulting suffering by the citizens due to the ill-thought-out campaign started by the Non-cooperators against laws which not only they but the Liberals themselves considered as oppressive and unwarranted in character. But, this is not all. Just instead of changing the Non-cooperators into the counter-cooperators following from the operation of repressive legislation, to which the Moderates on the invitation of the Government of India themselves gave moral support, the latter proceeded to force all the ill that the country has suffered since, so that its legislation was unwarranted, to the activities caused by and supported by the Non-cooperators out of the T. S. Fund, and from now long list of all the plots and counterplots that took place in the country during the last years 1931 and its aftermaths in prison. We feel that no greater accomplishment could be paid to the exclusive games of the Non-cooperators, than that they should be expected to achieve in the years 1931 and '32 what the Government of India with all its machinery of law and order backed by the entire resources of the country failed to accomplish in the years 1931 and '32. A glance at the correspondence letters about the communal and political riots in these two periods respectively will amply bear out what we mean.

"What consequence for the starving poor, what equity for their wealth" exclaims the Hindu writer. They are paid out to our enthusiastic idealists at least 50% of the Tishit Service Fund was spent purely on Khadi work which went under to the satisfaction of the starving and half-starving poor of the country, and in praise of which once the Dr. P. C. Ray have paid such a glowing tribute? May we again point out that the major portion of the remaining 50% was again spent on the removal of untouchability and preaching of temperance in which matter according to the indisputable testimony of Mr. Tushnet Ashwin Mondal, Mr. Ghoshal achieved more in one year than may ever also in any other country of the world in the same period!

It is thus we may add the second that was spent on national education. It will be seen that the money left to the Non-cooperators for general propaganda in which the 'Liberals' themselves are unable to do anything is very negligible indeed. We do not think a complete revolution could be effected at the change of colour of the T. S. Fund.

The 'Liberals' conducted by entering in the Swadeshi on the head of a tragedy—the tragedy of Khadi killed by heat. We think the phrase furnishes the best description of the Khadi party here. It is still clinging to the corpse of the Khadi from which we have departed. It holds it hot against the hell away from the Khadi. What a pity

A Farewell Message

Mr. Andrews writes —

"I have been almost incessantly during the last few days either in India or in writing — the stroke has been so great that I write very much indeed, as I go to England, to take with me the papers and belongings of those I love. It became quite clear that I should not go to Alder, Manchester, though had given me instructions not to go to India, or my visit was likely to require the UK to arrive, and the general feeling was that it would. The President of the Free African Indian Congress, Mr. Mandel Dowl, felt that I should not go to Africa but to England. He asked me especially to take up the question of Kappa Immigration restriction, which still remains unsettled. The two Governors of Uganda and Kenya are sending such own communications, with me likely to be adverse to India. This is a question which I have very thoroughly studied, and on which I can give expert information. I have no acknowledgment, also, that there is a real need to spend a series of weeks on the ground of health; and this may mean a great deal for my future usefulness and work. This one fact he does in England and the doctors here has asked me to go on this ground alone. Further more, I am specially anxious to make the best about Mahatma Gandhi before making my own countrymen and to contradict the false impressions about him. Lastly, I have a very sacred duty to perform in visiting the brotherhood of Mr. W. W. Johnson, and having to them personally the papers and the sympathy of all who have been in India."

38th April

Madras

It is significant to note that the Police at Madras are using every means to prevent the Khadi, etc. becoming violent. They raise the Government forces, with uniforms on and do many acts of high-handedness. The Khadi or wealth of the poor are abused and threatened.

The police from Amritsar on their way to India stop at Kaimur-madras, Dist. Patna. Some 2500 Britishers the Indian, etc. and police and police have been forbidden the people to give food to the Khadi themselves, people are serving the Khadi in every possible way.

8 Kaimur Singh has been sentenced to three years imprisonment for refusing to carry out the order of burning 8 British Singh by putting him in a madhouse.

The British order was proclaimed in the meeting that was held at the instance of the authorities in the Madras District — "As the political movement in the days of progress, some steps should be taken. As the Government can be very successful in carrying out their policy, they should not a united report of their respective steps. Special managers should be employed and they should be strictly directed not to show the letters in any way. In the way, We hope that all of you will work with intensity. The reports should quickly mention the following items—

(1) Date of a meeting held, (2) Location and names of those persons, (3) Amount of provision supplied by Khadi and by whom? (4) The names of

If a borrower is unable to make a payment at the end of a period, the lender will usually require the borrower to make a larger payment at the end of the next period.

^aOn 10 March 1999, 1000 h of rainfall were observed in the study area, amounting to 10.5 mm.

¹¹ I will respond to you as you respond to me. You are strong, and I will be strong to you. We will be like the mountains and stand,

They began to collect some poor-looking, old-looking, half-starved, and ragged-looking people whom I had never seen before. They took me to the back of my Indian arch¹⁰.

Plag. and *Staph.* were found in 1 specimen. No *Staph.* was found.

Yes, I'll be glad to, just that not want I get paid and paid. I never think I want to get a crown of thorns on your head! It will be very good to feel like a man.

de Soderstrom I, Ekman R, Lundberg U.

Her Pterodactyl pined and turned back. In a long, measured pace, he walked on.

“It is a very ordinary thing, it is better to me, but he stayed there only two people and held them at back of his eyes. His thing's care for material things, and he did not think that the thing and wealth of life. You can't go into a country with these things that can serve to see his eyes upon the people. He was very good. He had some things have to get him to see that, then God's new some are also because. He just was more. His purpose was that you can't go on knowing people for ever you know more when there are 210,000,000 of them. And if they that were his new eyes and would be pay for it. God I know where we should have been if God's was the most rational experience in world's history, and I know within an inch of my hand. He is outside a control man's position. That is very rational, and he said of his progress. You know the rest. We asked him, I saw his thing, say, now—in place, like seemed a little bit. I told, he would like to get out. He concluded that I would: he had been very nervous. “Why, I don't even know who is John Decker,” he said. “The last map to that is well in office is to Lamp and of.” I told him. “You I be glad to know that Pauline is in New Mexico. You and I have seen the best of friends, but at least we were called with each other.”

While I attempted to get the question I had asked to subcommittee to shift quickly in a new

"Absolutely impossible!" His fiancée said one day. "The only way to gain Oswald is to buy him alive. If we showed people to come here and make a fuss over him he would become a martyr, and the girl would be a threat to the world. We didn't get Oswald on any account, old woman or his kind."

When I asked if there was any likelihood of Oswald being released before his six year's term expired, he replied, matter-of-factly:—

"By the way I've been. Of course, my two-weeks' in December. They can do whatever they like with him after I am back in England."

John destroyed the Doublet like a good old
Tennessee hunter.

Two different systems of \mathcal{L} are presented in the literature. Both have two types, but the first system is the better to discuss with an example because in which the word *cat* is a noun and *cat* is a verb. For example:

According to the new film, Gandhi does not wish to be a martyr, but is drawn by the pressure of a popular demand to do so by the Government itself. When it has secured a change of heart towards the Indian people the staff also has retired, by no means to abandon their duties, but perhaps to devote the rest of his life to the welfare of the country.

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

I have given the reasons for Quail's imprisonment and how the boys at the mine who were responsible for it, and I have described briefly the life of the Minutemen in jail. There remains only to give the relation of the mass of leading people on the encouragement of their "leader" and leader.

India is religious. Whether Hindu, Moslem, Parsi, or Sikh, it respects religion and knows the history of other religions. Consequently, India knows Christianity. And everywhere in India I have heard Christian teachers' testimonies answered to the standards of Jesus Christ.

Finally, they point out "slunk down to the depths of human misery and woe, where men fall desperately and for naught—down to the dark pits of a cruel and mean." And like Christ, he saved "not the misery of the world, made men like who is willing not to make others suffer, but to suffer like us." He was a holy state that no man or all the had should be understood by a society greater than he was. Great crowds of 25,000 to 30,000 followed the Master of Education on May 22 to the Cathedral of Novosibirsk. Four days he was imprisoned, "he's beaten by two monks, and now left in the gutter to die."

"When Gail told her mother in a South African hospital that an attack which had broken his arm, he was asked what legal grounds he should be taken against his mother, and he replied, 'Why should I seek to injure or punish him? The man did what he thought was right, should I do to him as I believe in that man? I shall love him and was I'm to me.' And he did."

The Good News

An Indian Minister who is Christian, a national leader, and a friend and adviser of the English, made the graphic comparison between the trial of Jesus Christ and of Mahatma Gandhi. —

"When the Roman Pro-consul arrived and inquired the Captains of Harathi, Roman profits was maintained, property and voted interests were protected, and the emperor called down and kept at about their necessary leader. The Pro-consul showed uncalculated himself Roman profits was at under-Roman profits, which for preparation was the maintenance of world peace.

"But that the Emperor T'ai-sung" was without a permission of the government of the island. He had probably heard something of his neighbors and character. The affairs of Korea, that Han kingdom, is accented, with a political impression on the mainland and he ruled fairly as were the previous, but

the 'law'—but that 'law' must and has. It could only mean his beautiful things, and bend over the sword to his sublime quality of the law.

"On the judge, addressing Gandhi, the Minister of Education said: 'The law is no respecter of persons. Nevertheless, I will be incapable to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried, or am likely ever to try. Also, it would be impossible to ignore that in the eyes of millions of poor countrymen you are a great patriot and a great leader, or that those who differ from you in politics look up to you with awe of which there's not lacking a single word even a selfish life—I have to deal with you in our chambers only. It is my duty to judge you as a man guided by the law, while, by his own education, looks the law and counselled what to an ordinary man would appear to be a great offence against the State.'

"The judge, however," concluded this Indian Minister "believes that when the great British jurisprudence, with its chain of precedents, is governing when men, but so different beyond anything and everything to Gandhi, it is the openly declared by ignorance, or has strayed on the road which some entered."

Young India

22-11-31

The Blind of a Governor

The arrival of Mr. Owen Pearson's talk which we police officers, with its knowledge the Governor of Bombay a few months ago is a curious coincidence. Indian politicians have had opportunities of knowing through the reports of press and the kind of men that Mr. George Lloyd is; but this is the first time the world has come into knowledge of the death of his mind through a public statement. He has been frank, straightforward, plain, about Mr. Gandhi. There will, therefore, be no surprise in our being told, with him, that most striking impression left by the report is that our George Lloyd is a very hard and miserably narrow man. It is not surprising that he has not responded in the spirit of Gandhi; the failure is really due to a natural blindness which he shares with nearly all Englishmen. But we have the right to expect understanding from a Governor; confidence of language, power of mind, flexibility and capacity of contact. But we have it all. On the other hand, the hardness and cruelty is of a different quality, the essential is that of Mr. Gandhi's last complaint to Jinnah, the Superintendent who kept him struggling all through a long interview. Let it be clearly understood that we do not condemn because Mr. George Lloyd impressed him (that pathetic gentleman is against the whole of India—but let it be said at that). We can only believe that he regarded the Government as essential. We aim at this thing of the Gandhi was essential for the maintenance of the House of Commons in India, but India was not without leaders when he was it and "miserable people". There was in him the magic gift of wonder-

the vision of a man. But Mr. George Lloyd is a stranger to wonder and vision. Take his instance. Mr. Gandhi's plea about the aboriginal ignorance in which not only he but all political prisoners were held.

"Yes, I don't even know what is Prison Number 1." There were a hundred right ways in which the highest requests could have been met, but the only "the way to keep a man up in politics is to keep out of jail!" is clearly one which would never have been made by India. To put a man in prison, to hold the keys in your hand, to have him out of touch with the things of the world, and then, to send him because he chooses to make it all to the service of a truth for beyond your probability of release—all this strikes us as a complete lack of humanity, unreason and essential cowardice.

At Amherst

The London Conference invited by the President of the All-India Congress Committee for the 1931 session was being well attended. While the deliberations were actually interrupted by the absence of a few people men leaving to participate in the election campaign of some, and others and pending resolution such in the case of others the presence of both the All-India and All-India members of the session of the Conference. Others present included Keshu Venkayya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, George Joseph, Pandurang, Mrs. Naidu, Krishna Mohan Bhanu, Dr. Krishna, Anant The Hindu Mahasabha and others of the Punjab were well represented. The questions raised by the All-India members are of an urgent and truly national nature that Mr. Venkayya took rightly the need of making his personal history of authority out on the Working Committee.

The session already indicated a wide number of other members were present. Consequently there was no formal meeting of the Working Committee, and the conference invited at Amherst were ordered to participate in the Committee. It is therefore, in a position to take the utmost decision with a clear view of the mind of the most important men in the public eye.

Before I commence the notes of the discussion in the Conference it is necessary to observe that the first part was being held by a different method of persons. The most impressive sight in Amherst and its surroundings was that of those who had come from far and near, London and morning, April 1931 of the first accompanied by Englishmen well to women and children were watching so and down the street carrying the message of defiance to Government in front of the Indian people in the Indian people of 1931. The Indian people led by a military band marching at a steady pace. Over their head was a declaration in English, Gujarati and Urdu of their 'independent' state. The members of the Conference were the presence and spirit of these unaccompanied them. The atmosphere created by these demonstrations and the nature of messages in the following day remained the character of the Conference held.

The debate itself was profound, significant and in the end Amherst. It took two days. The first



Young India

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Notes

For the first time after the D-D Congress, the Working Committee met in Paternoster during the week. A great deal of business had accumulated in the fortnight, but for and among the most important of it all was that which related to the Punjab. It will be remembered that the informal conference in Amritsar had recommended a set of resolutions to the Committee for acceptance. Though some difficulty was felt about the inclusion of an appeal to carry on business privately while the consciousness of the Congress constitution, the recommendations were adopted and of date since to the move from which they came. The point of the objection was this, and in a somewhat local aspect, serious. The Committee has provided for an Executive of the Congress. If its work is it located in various committees, as is becoming the fashion week-to-week, the politics become extremely difficult. The Working Committee is loaded with responsibility, but the stress is taken away from it. Either the present Committee incapable of doing its work or not, if it is, its authority must not be withheld from it. It is not, the Committee must resign and make room for one that is able to bring on functions. Individual pieces of work may come and go, but authority and efficiency must be maintained. We grant the force of the objection, but it was an extra-ordinary assertion that made it fatal. It was an abandonment of every bit that pertained the proceedings. For the Punjab Working Committee should have resigned and the All-India Committee should have elected another which recommended the terms of the transaction. But another was everywhere and the other of consequence was continued as a shadow of the Committee. The members in office themselves stopped to continue. They saved the wind and are now helping the abolition.

Whether the constitutional difficulty, the Working Committee decided to leave it. It went forward and made the following declaration—Dr. Khilnani and French Jawaharlal Nehru was requested to remain in Amritsar as Advisers and Arghya Ghoshal was put in charge of Peshawar. We cannot profess future developments, but as far as we can see, the various arrangements are satisfactory enough to keep things going all Cocanada. If the Congress proceeds to meet in greater responsibility in December, it will be confident. In the meanwhile there is a number of changes will be process of clarification. The Congress was asked to wait.

The second problem had importance that the Committee discussed came out of a resolution of the D-D Congress. It concerned what may be called the Orissa question. The Working Committee was divided. Its regular education programme is the centre touching the subject of Indians in the Colonies and to help the Karna Indians is one political measure. The extensive propaganda work of French Negroes and Congress was brought to the notice of the Committee. The division marked a meeting on with public measures, for which the Committee had no strong declaration, and to a measure of success, the Committee should compromise with the work. Nothing was clear that the whole business of keeping people in touch with Congress was there to be recommended and placed on a permanent basis at an early date, but for the time being, the arrangement with Dr. Ghoshal was continued to be. Arghya Ghoshal, the Congress had the advantage of having Dr. Ghoshal now leaving his country by a representative company. Before leaving the D-D followed by a set of questions which was presented to the Congress on behalf of Indians in East Africa, and afterwards referred to the Executive. It was finally decided that the most satisfactory centre would be to discuss to East Africa as Indian representatives, decided to study the question finally and to offer such counsel as might be justified with reference to local conditions and to the state of public opinion in this country. The Working Committee welcomed Mr. George Joseph as the representative.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Ghoshal in Karna working brought to a head an old standing issue. When Dr. Ghoshal brought forward the Committee proposed a public contribution to a settlement. We were divided about the nature of the settlement to Karna. The D-D of December declared the impossibility of restoring the revenue division of the Orissa but consented to consider the recommendations of the Committee. But now it is clear that the declaration was everything and that the promise was nothing. One of the notices passed by the Indian non-cooperative was, that unless the interests of the Committee, the Colonial Office and the Indian Government should hold up anti-Indian legislation. He said the following words—

"Let the Executive Government who have Indian population, let the Ministry's Government be aware under they don't intend such as Zang, Tugue, Patel and other places where there are

Indian problem, regarding themselves in rivalry with the Committee which the Government of India will send from India, in exploring the reasons of how here and how amongst the principle of equality laid in the 1811 resolution may be implemented, and last the control of society be projected I shall comply with my request the request that any anti-Indian legislation which may be pending should be stayed until the reports of these joint commission are available."

The request for the suspension of anti-Indian legislation was the crux of the whole matter. The Committee asked in some words about India. When Mr. Baines arrived in Paris, the East African Government has issued the Draft of an Ordinance which is the end of every stage now of his house. The ordinance is primarily intended to regulate immigration into East Africa in the interests of Africans. That is what is stated in the preamble. But the operative part of the Ordinance is clearly directed to shut out Indian immigrants. There is the most significant evidence from the summary of the Draft made by the Associated Press —

One object is particularly kept down that any person desiring to bring to employment into the Colony must first and by the authorities that he is capable to obtain in the Colony itself an employee who would be suitable, and also the immigrants must satisfy the authorities that he has sufficient means and, if necessary, make a cash deposit before being allowed to enter. If the immigrants desire to carry on trade, business or other occupation, the authorities must first be satisfied that no standing order is for work is safe and that it is in the interests of natives that such trade be undertaken.

The East African has no practical objection to European immigration to tropical countries in western Africa; while it does object to large numbers of Indians. In other words, the usual type of emigration saving Indians, going from new countries to comparatively advanced countries and finally making good, is altogether alien to Committee. Thus, the condition about Indians. We know what the policy of the Colonial Office for the distribution will be against the Indians and in favour of the Europeans, if it is honestly possible. As it well known, the British Empire probably are more extensive. There are two lines of defence now in the Colonial Office of Dr. Baines should change it with French of India. One is that his request is opposed to pending legislation was not accepted, the other is founded in fact in the Indian, because in the proposition as finally accepted by Mr. Baines, there was not a word said about the immigration. But it is a violation of it is said; but Mr. Baines has no right to think that it be directed to rely on vague statements as the foundation of formulating political decisions. The second defence will be that the conference is not 'anti-Indian'. We hope that the conference will not be advanced. The first would be a satisfactory statement. The obvious conclusion is that the process of "Indianisation" in Africa has been about work more quickly than in the north of the Government's plan declaration.

But it is not only in Kenya I add that the high of the Colonial Office is being worked out. The Indian has reached Mauritius also. There is no commercial franchise in that island and the two islands of Indian migration there being equal rights with the white and red of the rest of the Indian, European and African put together, Mauritius was under French occupation since hundred years ago. It was in 1810-14 that the island came into the possession of the Government partly by conquest, and partly by Treaty. As a result of the French domination, the doctrine of equality which is the feature of Gallic institutions, is there, and the commercial franchise is a thing unknown. But there is even a strong volume of evidence being relied in the acquisition of the Kenya doctrine in Mauritius. The metropolis has a serious sitting. There are two political parties in the island. There are several French Colonists who have a definite policy. They are concerned to exclude the island if possible to France. They have therefore organised the party of Europeanisation. By the successful test of French legislation, the party stands for the maintenance of political and civil equality. Opposed to them is the party of Britishisation, or, definitely English, as the "Retrocessionists" are French. Britishisation is opposed to the re-establishment of French authority. As is the way of all political parties, Britishisation names a number of other things besides. One of them is the commercial franchise on the Kenya model. We have already said that the Indians are nearly double of the rest of the population. The Britishisation are pledged to grant the Indians no more than three seats in the Council, reserving the remaining fourteen for the Europeans, Arabs and Africans. It is the Mauritius valley of the Colonial Office's anxiety for the good of the natives of East Africa. The old thing, the disintegration thing is, that it is not only the Englishmen that are Britishisation but the Africans, the Arabs, the Indians, is about, especially that is not Indian or French or Frenchified. We do not know how the house will be dealing with the forthcoming Elections. The triumph of the Retrocessionists may be described as nearly impossible. The house is not merely of domestic politics; it is of Imperial complexity. In the present state of Anglo-French relations, Legation will not part with a square of mill for French's benefit, and the top of Government has no practical meaning. But Britishisation is a contest. It has in it meaning of danger for the Indian population. The mark of failure that has fallen to the fate of Kenya Indians will hand Mauritius also.

The third struggle is in the middle of an apparent peace. The most apparent is differently understood, because there is no peace in fact. It is appearance, not reality. The Indians are marching to India, the East is making is maintained to full activity, and from London is poured forth the religious enthusiasm that keeps the whole campaign vital and alive. It is not the suggestion of a peace that comes to us in

the civilisation of the coming age, but the world's morning at the sunrise that dawned in the dark-grip and the shadows of Plagues and Famine. The nations got tired of the world, but the contest of will went on by an inner necessity. No one is American. The struggle is on, but it is no question. There are no-fenceable rough—delicate delusions of the law and elaborate defence in court; cost challenges and secret counsel; religion, creed by politics-politics where the-break is religion. Beyond these is all a circle back of delusion and clarity which are leading to the radiant. But we do not say all this by way of introduction in the mere signs of life, the care and pains of eternal effort and confusion. Judged from a political point of view, the significance can be described in a few sentences—The point of working is clear, both parties watching with patient eyes. Almost any time the necessary will break, and the issues will be down into some democracy. The victory will reside in the hands of the future, and we expect that the Government will win. We are slightly irritated about the great pursuit of the nation of service in the office of the President's Committee. These reports indicated the quality of the Police in some provinces of "working machines"; but we were told that the will was successful. We shall wait for developments which are clearly not very far off.

* *

The story of the death of another Indian who hunger-struck came to us with a sting. We do not know whether it is a chain of several Mahatmas killed away in the depths of misery; but we may confess that our sympathies had long with the Free State in its struggle against the Royalists. As far as we could judge, the large mass of Irish opinion was in favour of the Treaty and De Valera had backed himself in political responsibility. We admired the hard efficiency of Congress and terrible surroundings. Even the story of the imprisonment of nearly 12,000 Republicans without trial did not move us deeply. But the national hunger-strike by the prisoners, the death of one of them, and the subsequent suspension of the indent—all in pursuance of national discipline, are staggering facts which go to the foundations of belief. Faith in Irish Republicanism which has by it energy for such a performance cannot be a dead line; for a moment one is obliged to grant that it has thought of immortality. The question comes back in the judgment whether De Valera is an impossibility indeed, whether he has not in charge by that single means the soul of his race. A belief in immortality then is aware that the Irish nation will by the intensity of its suffering, and the actions which with its sacrifice help in the attainment of the world's pressing problem of freedom without violence. We doubt whether Ireland has any conception of the purpose which she is fulfilling. Ignorance will handicap her. But she is on the right path. It may be against her differences will; but her place in history is unquestionable.

The Triple Standard

The evidence that is before us before the Public Services Commission is significant. It is before us in another panel room, but back of 1932, perhaps because of it, is the impending date of the European Assembly. They are back about it, and want the question of their service (especially the salaries and pensions) to be determined and agreed by the British Parliament. The claim is founded merely for today, but against the time when there will be "responsible" government in India. European countries with public opinion knows that India would not tolerate the claim for a salary. It will be the very negation of service! The thing of largest to glory—The very last that it is possible for Europeans to expect that it will be adopted, the Indian public opinion of the "responsible" government they are engaged in, pointing for India. The men who compose the Civil Service are educated and have something of history and politics. There is one one of them will deny that the government service will be subordinate heavy duty particular to subjects in responsible governments. Why do they expect India to part with this right? The expectation can be explained only on one ground—"Responsible Government" means one thing in the mouth of the Europeans, and another thing in history in the light of the proposition and had visible demand, every thing else has been insignificant judged absolutely, they are not enough.

In reference to salaries, the Commission is asked to provide for an unregulated scale of extravagance. Money is asked for the meeting of three separate establishments—for the children in England, for the wives in the hills and the husbands in the plains. The government in one world can afford to provide for its servants in this manner; if the rule is made, the government will not be bankrupt or prohibit it revolution. One fact about salaries that Englishmen are not prepared to tolerate, otherwise this demand may be decided or questioned, that is to be perfectly useless, we require in any policy that India must afford to have in her service men of this type. The Indian official will have to make up his mind to live on a reasonable scale. In any case, he will have to go some day, but the day will be postponed with definite speed if the Triple Standard is insisted on. The nation is too poor for such extravagance; what is more, she is too anxious to permit extravagance and back of reward to her servants. Some for Englishmen will be found as long as there is the need, provided they are an example of truth and hard living. Otherwise, whenever the consequences may be, we shall have to discuss with them if we may allow freely export to European civil servants we would say this—The proposition of Indian Service does not really help their cause; if India is convinced that the European Civil Service are useless in the matter, she will cut off the most harmful of self-corruption, be forced to double them at the earliest possible date. There is political bias against the presence of Europeans, which is unfortunate; but the economic argument might well seem conclusive in the light of the conditions of the Service in the United Provinces.

Young India

29-11-38

Our Duty at Coonada

The *Swamiji* showed they put no condition on their striking action. This was only to be expected. The strikers could not let their backs to the employers who coerced them. In striking down with overwhelming response, the strikers has given its unmistakable condemnation of the policy of non-cooperation. How could there be the least hesitation on the part of the workers to join Congress workers and leaders who stand by Mahatma in his campaign to those who sided with Government wholeheartedly or otherwise? How could the strikers show their value to one who opposed the National Programme of Non-Co-operation and sided with the interests of the Government against Non-Co-operation? The resolute action of the strikers in the district with its clearly voiced popular condemnation of the policy of co-operation does not, however, mean either that the *Swamiji* programme is right or that the people have endorsed that programme as against Mahatma's programme.

The Mahatma supported co-operation. The *Swamiji* opposed it. The cleavage in the ranks of the Congress and Non-Co-operation. The answer was inevitable. The strikers were asked the question whether they preferred the Congress programme to that of the people who stood by the Gandhian programme. Indeed the *Swamiji* single also was to avoid this question and that is why they stopped his and finally obstruct the progress of the Congress to go to the polls, thereby establishing the line between co-operation on the one hand and the strikers and Congress on the other. Though between the Congress' action cannot by any means be interpreted as an endorsement of their programme as against Non-Co-operation, the actual result of the *Swamiji*'s activities will be to divert the topics and the attention of the people from self-reliant constructive activity of the Non-Co-operation programme to the fight in the Congress. It is only too easy to have been a victim suffering under the effects of 'diversion' in the path of reaction and degeneration and to the wrong and unethical methods from the difficult path of courage and confidence. The propaganda of the Congress Party has done harm enough, but the people have still not been totally drawn away. There still seems to be hope for anything from the Congress if any programme there. While yet it is not too late we should quickly identify the Gandhian programme including non-violence, discipline from the Congress, and as far as the constructive work with individual rights. The present Congress position is neither self-reliant nor is it for the people's interest, while it has ignored all that is a

gradual destruction of the Non-Co-operation programme.

The policy should be clearly laid down. Without the background and the atmosphere of Non-Co-operation as Gandhi conceived it there is no chance for building up this nation. At Coonada the policy of those who stand by the programme should be made clear and the Congress should be asked to endorse it. The first programme outlined by Mahatma as adopted by the people of India is the only way to freedom and national consciousness. We must persist in it to the degree that the further break of total independence.

The death of Mahatma's work and the nation's sacrifice can of course never be lost. But as a living programme of action giving freedom and complete shape to the national will, it is enough to put an end to it and to return to politics of the pre-fundamental type, of course modified to suit changed times. The Gandhian programme is ought to be broken up by the forces which were led upon that very programme and will down with us with him. The difficulty in following the programme against such enemies is therefore doubtful.

The first clear call of this reaction was sounded along at Coonada in November 1938, one of the Congress leaders addressing the Royal Indian Conference said that the national work cannot be based on force but must be built upon blood and sacrifice. Hatred and violence were the double key-notes of the new mission. Our new feelings—the feelings of the party that stands by the programme of Mahatma Gandhi after his assassination have given strength to the forces that seek to undermine it. It is not that there was an opposition when he was himself conducting the campaign. But he carried a spiritual atmosphere with him wherever he went and it inspired all others to devotion. If any one questioned the validity of his doctrine of good-will to all and self-sacrifice, before the ascending power of his words all such doubts evaporated. On the other hand our new feelings give us added strength to such attacks. Against the Khaki Band and the Charkha are set the *Swamiji* Hat and the *Swamiji* the emphasis on expediency and convenience is deliberately sought to be removed. The nation's moral power to attract honest other politicians by writings against Non-Co-operation, demonstrations, lectures, workshops and strikes as against self-reliant construction and self-help. The national consciousness of the situation of self and change of emphasis are bound to be quick and loud. It is our clear duty to move forward before it is too late from having been into pre-Gandhian political life and to bring the line of Non-Co-operation and the spirit of resistance suspended until the goal is reached. So long as we are convinced that the Gandhian programme is the only way out of the moral, economic, and political slavery that is killing us, our clear course is to stick to it and persevere in it. Whether we find immediate success or not, whether our progress be quick or slow, as long as we are resolute that other people cannot take us as conspirators or strength but

only to further weakness and dependence, we are bound to pursue the Gandhian programme. Whether Congress should be and continue the programme of Non-Co-operation or not, our duty is plain and that is to stand by it. But it is not that duty to put the issue clearly before the Congress and get its members even as Mr. Bannerji put it before the Congress at Calcutta in spite of the unpopularity of the position.

We give prominence to those who clamoured to go back to the Congress and emphasised that the Congress and its influence stand by the way of their plan. They are now free to make their experiments at obstruction as the Moderates experimented at co-operation. But the people would be considered a fool if they were to stop their own work because the British are trying obstruction. We should refuse to be parties to the Congress programme of the Swarthists as in the Moderates' plan of co-operation. We should go on with our own programme without waiting the last plans of Swarthists' obstruction as we did before without waiting the plans of the co-operation. The constructive programme is the only way to salvation. Unless we build up popular organisation and shape and discipline ourselves into a strong, united and self-reliant people we cannot succeed in the practical realisation that we are conducting.

If we fail it we will automatically involve the Government which we are seeking to destroy. All other aggressive steps such as the final steps of Non-Co-operation or general civil disobedience depend on this preparation, even as a student's examination depends on his previous studies. Even so civil disobedience depends on one's studies and not upon the examination. The real work is the constructive programme and not civil disobedience at any other of the final stages of the campaign which will follow as a natural consequence of resistance to the will of a nation that has gained strength. The carrying on this work of construction the political and spiritual development of Gandhian Non-Co-operation is absolutely essential. Construction for construction will push the day of emancipation further and further away. Construction by obstruction is a false line. To test the nation on issues of freedom from work, sleep and in the Councils to free it from constructive effort and the development of the will to action which are essential for the Gandhian revolution.

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Agents for *Young India* in all the principal States of India. Full particulars about terms can be had on application from—

Manager, Young India.

Advertisement.

America's Message For India

(By Bala Subrah O'Sullivan)

To readers of American news and pictures of American movies in this far East it must seem that the United States is the centre for life, provided as a vibrant and melodramatic spectacle. And this impression seems justified by the colossal statistics of our nation. Our powers are as famous as our people.

The fact is that Americans, speaking in general, have never realised that three-centred universes for political systems which characterise all and include none. The history of the American people has been a succession of incredible adventures of events, wanderings and conquests. They are still a young people and as if the pulse air were not coming enough, for a century or more, the adventures continue and the eternal demands of all the world have come to their shores. It is no wonder that the wilderness followed.

However there is a simple explanation of all this violence. It is the inheritance of youth, the mark of a creative race rising and entering the hidden losses of nature, the fear of a people intoxicated with its own achievements, which in truth are unachievable. Also it is certain that underneath the violence of the surface, there is in the fibres a deep, steady current of interest in the life of the spirit. India remembers how wonderful was the reception accorded to Vivekananda when he came, bringing the highest wisdom of Vedantic philosophy to America. Swami was the high-priest of the Vedanta Society and before that, of the Theosophical Society. The writer has seen a great audience gather in the stable Town Hall there at a Sunday evening to hear to H. P. Wadh of Bombay delivering a critical message. He has seen in a smaller hall a well-dressed crowd, seated in rows, stand for two hours to listen to Mr. Wadh developing his profound interpretation of the Gita. And three minutes walk from the same place he has seen the pious and chartered place, the Balliet Lodge made by whispering that is a battle between hands and pistol.

Let us admit at once that Americans are playing with occult forces, brought down into the material plane presently. The wars of Europe and of the Orient in general can be explained by understanding that under the white-curtain of a race it is a party with its discoveries in the laboratory, the power of science falling into the hands of uneducated souls will bring trouble upon the people, leading chaos, epidemics, modern chemical warfare, the chemistry of food-distribution, the poisonous power of the cheap press and words, invention and suggestion as embodied in our propaganda and advertisement—all these are the modern use of formerly secret knowledge. Was it not perhaps a suspicion of this fact which was embodied in the ancient idea of caste—the restriction of knowledge as the sacred privilege of those who were developed spiritually as well as intellectually? Certainly it is that America is now flooded with knowledge, formerly denied such nations as openly taught the collection of suggestion and all classes have learnt about the dangerous and terrible power of the press.

"I cannot give you figures of exports on my clothing, asked by you, as I hardly have any account of them. You will be satisfied, I think, if I move that I have benefited by adopting *Khaddi*."

"Gentle I had to visit a prominent gentleman carrying considerable influence with the government. A *Khaddi* was presented to me as a person dressed in foreign clothes why he is not using *Khaddi*. This gentleman, on the contrary, asked me why I was using *Khaddi*. The following was the conversation which took place in a perfectly good reply—

"Q.—Well you look like a wholesaler in respect of *Khaddi*. Do you hope to achieve *Swami* by adopting this dress?"

"A.—Oh, I am not a man of politics and might be unable on that account to describe to you the political aspect of *Khaddi*, but being a merchant and a man with a family I hope to be able to explain to you its commercial aspect.

"Q.—Yes, let me know with what object in view you have become a devotee of *Khaddi*."

"A.—I shall describe my view-point by giving an instance. I have till the last winter, sir, I had to buy woollen cloth for my family, and it cost me heavily, but my people insisted on going to work. Fortunately, this year, all of them, young and old, asked for *Khaddi* only and under whole family became affected at a stroke. It required no special effort on my part to overcome them at the advantage of their own effort. The advent of *Khaddi* is the basis put a stop to a number of undesirable waste and out of the savings effected I have been able to buy them some ornaments. Well, sir, I think that is a sufficient proof to show that neither I nor anybody else can make mistake in using *Khaddi*.

"Hence my order the gentleman was greatly pleased and began to approve of my *Khaddi*.

"I think this will supply the information you have asked for."

The winner is on. To those who might like to try *Khaddi* in place of flannel or other woollen cloth, we would recommend Cutch and Kathiawar cloth. Cheap *Khaddi* of various widths, and fine texture is now being manufactured in many parts of India, but that of 24"-32" width which is manufactured in Cutch and Kathiawar and which can take the place of woollen cloth, are hardly to be had anywhere else. The Kathiawar *Khaddi* Karypaga or Anand has asked this department to help it in disposing off its stock of such *Khaddi*. A sample piece has also been sent to us. It is bleached and is 27"-32" wide. It is sold at nine annas a yard at Anand office. Another photo *Khaddi* they have got a big stock of towels of double size and width, and a good stock of small square napkins. We have received samples of these too. The price of towel 1½ paise & 10" is 1½ annas and towel of napkin is 4½ annas. Another offer for sale has been made

by the manager of the Anandoda Native Products works of *Khaddi*, a village in Cutch. Samples have been received from these also. The width is 27" and a half spread and the price of this bleached stuff at the office is 5 annas per yard.

Manufacturers or exporters wishing to buy any of the above goods should communicate directly with the office. We advise them to use the samples for themselves and settle the price beforehand. The Kathiawar *Khaddi* Karypaga of Anand can also supply coloured *Khaddi* for clothing etc., dyed in indigenous colours according to the process prescribed by Dr. P. C. Roy. They manufacture also coloured capes of cloth suitable for use as bander in the railway carriage.

Supply Depot

The advances of *Khaddi* cloth offer complete list of all orders, arrangement for the supply of *Khaddi* cloth to us. Arrangements have therefore been made to have orders by cable at Pindar P. Singh's Address in Jalandhar's work at Gunderah, Amritsar. The shipping and receiving branch Mr. Datta will be in charge then aimed to the loading of *khaddi*. If approached personally or through post, orders made by Jalandhar will be available there between 2 to 4 P. M. of prices varying from 12 to 20 annas per lb. according to the quality of cotton and fineness of carding. If anybody wishes to supply *khaddi* as a cheaper rate arrangement can be made to place them for sale at that Address.

The object in publishing such brief news in this bulletin, is to suggest that whether for even better arrangements might be made in our place. Just as a speaker is needed to use each and every one of his or her spare moments in speaking, the *Khaddi* worker should be needed to use that each and every speaking wheel is kept working. Complacence are often provoked from National Working that concerns *Khaddi* are being life for want of some trifling accessory. It can be easily conceived what the cost does in other small and big towns might be. It is young men helped in all the different processes of *Khaddi* is kept in every one of such places the payment made to him for his work would not be too much for the town. A number of workers are engaged in village workshops with the object of making the villages self-sufficient at least in the matter of clothing, and, no doubt, they are laying the foundation of nation building; but there is no reason to think that there is no work to be done in towns. There are hundreds of people in towns keeping the village life but unable to go back to villages owing to some circumstances or other. People with such a heart of gold always welcome the *khaddi*. It is desirable to take up earnestly the work of setting up *khaddi* in every one of such towns by rendering all necessary help.

Magendal K. Gaudin



Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by George Joseph

WV

Abundant. Thursday 6th December 1923

Now

The speaker of the ceremony spoke in the Madras Council house from a rostrum well-lit by electric light. The Ministry was seated by the official bloc. There were 40 votes in all, 19 by the President of the Council. The total meeting was attended the meeting was 110 of them, 100 persons voted, the remaining 10 not 40 members voted for the motion and 65 against. All the 40 members who voted for the motion, of the 65 who voted against, 44 were elected members. As regards the 21 non-elected members, 3 were independent officials, and 3 ex-officio members. Technically, the Ministry was voted by a majority of 12 votes. Even according to the strictest interpretation of constitutional doctrine, the Ministry had a majority about 2. It is the undisputed right of Ministers to vote or not in such matters, to hold otherwise will be ruling contrary to facts. But it is obvious that no Ministry in the world can hope to carry on relying upon the bulk of a majority of one. The Ministry was really saved by the official and ex-officio votes. In our judgment, there is no right to be nothing wanting in the minority. We have always contended that that the Council under the Reform Act are so constituted that the Government's policy is "overruled" there by obstruction is a pure illusion. The thing was absolutely obvious. Once the Government has the Council, the President, the social non-minister Government vote are counted out of the Government, what is there left? Nothing. The Government can't vote in its weight and the weight of its coalition members and ministers are practically countable. Ministry in reference. In Madras, it is the re-entrance of the Government as "Ministry" party that the Government has made out of. In the other provinces, it will be some other matter again. From the very nature of things, a provincial government is bound to have a certain number of members. The total strength of the Madras Council is a little above 100. Mr. Baidi who tabled the motion against the Ministry calculated the constituted members at 57 which is a little less than a third. It is a problem in elementary arithmetic to see that a power that is in control of a third of the whole voting strength is in a position to happen to view as a fraction of the remaining 43. Imagine for a moment that Lord Willingdon's election as there in his weight with the Commission of Enquiry, the Ministry would have fallen. Just give it to the Viceroy of August 1930 the Executive Privilege.

Hayden likewise is wary of Mr. Rafil. But he says even the confidence in "power" on the left does not just get depend on the elected members on the electorate. "Prison" or on "Prison" "Victory" of "Crisis" Government, it's only strength in Italian administration in the Government, who himself derives his power from the "Victory" and the Secretary of State, who in their turn are the members of the Government.



The primary condition of Swazijian destruction and everything having gone wrong, we can quite easily understand politicians claiming the credit of an heroic response. We have already said that there is no response — the thing was there for the whole world to see. But great that the Swazijian revolution has lit up a dark corner; even then the credit of it does not go to the Swazijians. It belongs to the disappointed non-Swazijians and the disappointed Moslems — people of whom are helped in Swazijia. We do not know how much of politics there was in the Swazijian position, and how much of the bitterness of disappointed place-hunters; as for the Moslems, they were mainly in the position because the Ministry had got them for a Mahomedan. The Swazijian created a bare sign in the Royal reckoning, and all about the last worst, wealthy corner was not wanting to suggest that they should reach protest. The particular way with which the Swazijian went into the country has did on their lips. What has happened in Swazijia will happen elsewhere. Obstructing business both into the doors of capitalists and Civil Disobedience has found its place in the habits of foreign political systems. We would not throw a stone at the benefit, for justified, peoples. Indian politics is changed at every turn with defiance. But there is no way whatever that before is wrong.

There is the next item in the dissemination and the demand from the magnificent expenditure of the falling of the walls of Lawrence's Palace. The legacy of the House of Percy is the House of Percy has given notice of a resolution asking the Government to withdraw from the British Empire Exhibition. The legacy of the House of Percy Exhibition is an answer to the question, "What is the future of the British Empire?" There are three ways of looking at the House of Percy Exhibition. First, the House of Percy Exhibition is a legacy of the House of Percy.

co-operation, such as the selling of a revolutionary "social - democratic" manifesto to the Government to the point of revulsion and the launching of such "blacklistings" that the Monarchomach's way of appearing in the newspapers and in the press, to the end of their being strong, self-sufficient, and self-sustaining enough to harass the Englishmen; besides this, the Violence mode is used. By the Monarchomach's propaganda, Monarchomach is a thing of reality, nobody will take to me I can make appeal to revolution, self-sufficiency and the spirit of sacrifice. But what happens in the provision of "working"? It is discussed without a thought. We accept that the Monarchomach's selling back into respective co-operation. Monarchomach co-operation is a perfectly intelligible and reasonable policy, and we shall not quarrel with anybody for adopting that formula of non-Monarchomach. But we suggest with all respect that the Monarchomach, co-operation Monarchomach, have by the logic and history of their policy, no right to go about making resolutions that the Government should do this thing or that, in its Monarchomach, which have been taken either the Monarchomach or the fact of Monarchomach. It was only a short while ago that French Minister M. Poincaré said that Monarchomach would, for the implication of their position policy to support even a motion asking for the release of Mr. Gandhi. We do not hold the Monarchomach as an old member—because he claims the right to change his policy without, by which, it will be that when a revolutionary change comes about, the contract being nullified by actual to vote for the release of Mr. Gandhi at the one end and the request of the Monarchomach party in a position for the withdrawal of the Government from the Monarchomach, for country has the right to be notified of the change and the reasons for the change.

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A brief resume of Mr. Vallabhbhai's presidential address at the Round Table Conference which was followed by a paper in published elsewhere under the name "The Causes of Round." This address is significant for some reasons first one. The same situation in Round Table of India District is occasioned by the failure of Round; the Government in making the same and people of the Table is no longer free calling; the positive policy imposed on the Table are the negative actions in Round to day—day are believing more than the original actions; and the latest actions are the Monarchomach's who under the leadership of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel have launched the Table to protest it down all the other actions. Mr. Vallabhbhai pointed at the Table Conference at Round on Sunday last, which need to consider the grave situation that has arisen out of the report of the MONARCHOMACH on account of the positive policy imposed on the spirit of the Round Table. The whole of England's a full co-operation with a few exceptions (such as Government officials) has been extended, so as to say, no more, to pay a fine of Rs. 2-3-0 per head. The Conference resolved that the fine was unimposed and approved, and advised the people not to pay it, and positively refused to allow any compromise thereon.

The White Empire

(By G. P. Andrews)

Only by and at India, on this hour, stands with very few passages on hand. I have been thinking out the problems that confront us in India and I shall try to tell my friends in London. Gandhi holds that in the past by working regularly to long India—the paper which he loved so much, and over which he had work may build all his restless journey. At each point comes that to me, I shall try to write it down. Just now, I have had in my mind the Monarchomach, which is being edited in India, to tell her own soul, and to take part in a "White Empire". There are three theories which are being applied to India by the market and the market of this Empire, with the domination, in their heart of hearts, to keep it "White"—whatever words about "equality" and "self-determination" and "equal partnership" (both like very much). I shall call these three theories, (1) the "holding" theory, (2) the "paid for" theory, and (3) the "baked" theory. In what follows I shall explain my terms—

(1) There and more my the theory is based on the political situation in England, members of the same (Monarchomach) was on that behalf, but altogether impossible introduction by the Lloyd George as Premier, when he referred to the present need of a British steel plant for India and stated Indians that the privileges of Government, which had been given, might be taken away, unless a cover of millions were obtained. This is what I would call the "holding" theory of London. It clearly contemplates a "White Empire" to the end of the chapter. India must always be in subordination.

At the Imperial Conference, everything was done to keep this line of inferiority out of sight, though every one knew it was there. It was only the speech of Mr. Fitzgerald of the Irish Free State which laid bare the truth, that the White Empire principle was still in operation. He said, in so many words, "We have been kept in a inferior position ourselves so long, that we understand what it all means."

I have been reading, while on board, some English newspapers and reviews. It is clear to me, that this "holding" attitude towards India is very strong to-day. Mr. David Lloyd George in the house of the House, it is more possible action is not taken soon—it is well repeated—India will again get out of hand, as she did when Mr. Gandhi and the Monarchomach imposed the Prince of Wales The Royal Family and even under such hard again, and the boycott of British goods and the British Empire Exhibition were immediately suggested.

It is very interesting and instructive to me to find that a very large section of the educated public in England, who have the conservative temperament, including many leading politicians, have not yet discovered, that this "holding" attitude is now completely out of date. They do not realize how the things have been changing in India and what is

language difference there but these years have made in India affairs, owing to the Non-co-operation Movement.

(ii) Then, secondly, there is what I might venture to call the 'good boy' theory of the 'White Empire'. It is the attitude of paternal benevolent patronage. It centres with it, whatever it goes, the tale of the Lady Bountiful, who exports carefree gratitude for benefits recklessly bestowed. I have ventured to call it the 'good boy' attitude, because it always reminds me of the wistful stymie, which every English child learns from the picture book in infancy —

Little Jack Harrier

Sat in the corner,

Feeling his Christmas pie,

His pet on his shoulder,

And pulled out a plum

And said "What a good boy am I!"

The pleasure, which was to be pulled out of this 'Christmas Pie' was this, that benevolence, condescension, patronage, etc. If only the leaders in India will always be satisfied with these 'plums of office, which are enough to go all round, then how seriously everything might go on! There would be eternal gratitude on the one hand, and eternal benevolence on the other. What more could you wish? Here again, it is strange to find how little even the Liberals in England realise, that the 'good boy' theory of Empire is really as dead as Queen Anne, as far as India is concerned. It has indeed not to find such an uncomplimentary Liberal as the new Editor of the 'Manchester Guardian' writing seriously about India as follows:—

"The Manchester of almost universal sympathy at the opening stages of the Imperial Conference. "We assemble," the Manchester said, "round the table of the Empire, as members of the family of nations, all united in one cause,—the uplifting of the British Empire, all interested by one theme,—the Indian crown."

It is strange indeed, that an able writer and publisher like Mr. Wickham Stead, has not yet found out how completely antiquarian is India with language in, how it belongs to a past generation, and is very long up, for Stead's sake, for those Indian States, that are still themselves under tributary rule.

(iii) A. An blunder and therefore more interesting succession of the Imperial relationship between India and Great Britain as members of a "White Empire" has recently been put forward by a European paper published in Africa. Unfortunately, I have lost the exact text, and cannot give the sense of the paper and the author. But the substance of the article, once read, could not easily be forgotten. The writer, who is an old and old 'White Imperialist', appealed to the sympathy of India. He makes a bid for the selfish interest which India was assumed to have in her own self-preservation. India should be thankful, for it was said that she was in a position of dependence on

Great Britain. Owing to that, said because she is unable to defend herself in the greatest power in the world and get all the benefits of British Imperial protection! Therefore, it was said, India with China, India was clinging on to the British Empire, therefore India was owed some protection. But China was clinging on to British. Therefore China was in a state of slavery.

The writer then went on, from this, to put forward what I might call the 'paternal' theory of Empire. He assumed, that the British Colonies and the British Colonists rule, had themselves, by their own courage and bravery, won the whole Empire and done that brave work which was all important. The British Colonists, therefore, must obviously possess the land. The British law must have the rights. It was absurd to think of anything else. The Empire Highlands were one of the souls of Empire. They had to go to the British, for if India were sufficiently docile and would accept all white' opinions and without compromise, and would follow in the steps of the British law, then, as a reward, India might get the rights. India might get the houses which the British had built and thought it worth while to devote. This would mean, of course, (as the writer said) that the Indian must give up his own way of social organisation or political equality with the white man. Such a thing as equality could never be any realisation to be gained. Indians must continue themselves to getty India and business, which are hardly fit for the dignity of the master White man in Africa. Then said then only, to put it quite bluntly, could anything come to Indian Colonies as the heads of the White Colonies. To repeat the words used, the Indian always follows the time. It never walks by the head's side. It walks off the line has walked the road, before it takes its own share. Here in India, white men were Crown grants of land in the Highlands of Kenya, after the Highlands had been marked off for the White man. It is clear again, that according to this theory, the British Empire remains a White Empire through and through.

I have found everywhere—even in South Africa itself—a little group of idealists, who dream all these different theories of 'White Empire' as a remedy for Indians in dependence. It is to these that Mahatma Gandhi has appealed openly in his public papers again and again. They are to be found in every nation and in every climate. They are the world's conscience—the beating heart of all humanity, which beats with the suffering of the world. The movement for Indian independence has, found its home among them. In the end the truth of the ideal will prevail for it is founded in God's will.

A. P. Mehta

Nov. 29

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Questions Answered

"What is the meaning of *Shuk in Nagpur*?" the editor of the *Free India* asked me. I answered the question as follows, which has already appeared in the *Tribune*—

"By '*Shuk in Nagpur*' I mean that we should keep the Non-co-operation programme as worked at Nagpur modelled.

The triple boycott should be the policy of the Congress, though parts of the programme may be in change as far as active propaganda is concerned. Nothing should be done contrary to the implications of the triple boycott, though we might not be doing active propaganda.

My view is that constructive work should be concentrated upon and it is that it should be done as part of, and in view of the fulfilment of the Non-co-operation programme. This is what we did when the Nagpur Congress and we should try to do it again."

Mr. Rajagopalachari is one of the most sincere of Congressmen and an earnest worker. He has his heart in Gandhi which is the life-blood of the movement. His doubts deserve the greatest consideration. After my speech at the Rajapur Conference, he sent me a number of queries which I have tried to answer in this article.

It seemed an easy thing for the Congress to grant "pariahism" to those who sought to go to the Councils. Indeed, in many previous instances, my attitude of challenge opposition was understandable. The truth is and it soon became evident even to all, that the latter cannot stop at this conclusion. The Swamy Party goes to the Councils not to achieve anything there, individually. Their whole plan depends on the support of the Congress behind them. They can exert no weight or influence there except by representation and commanding the active support of the Congress. Just as their success at the polls depended on their invocation of the name of Congress and their connection with Mahatma Gandhi and Non-co-operation, their prestige and influence inside the Councils depends on the combined support which the Congress gives them. The Swamy Party cannot not contend with the same pariahism given by the Congress. The next logical step is for them to seek a living connection with the Congress. To get this explicitly or by implication they must arise. Without that stream of life, they must sink from outside and within away. They cannot rest on mere pariahism. They must get the Congress to adopt them as their representatives in the Councils, or they must stand, over the head of the Congress to the people. For this last alternative they must attack the

prestige and influence of the Congress. There is no third course really open. The Congress on the other hand will stand between dissociation from the Government Councils and going back to a Parliamentary programme.

It was because all this was clear as day-light that I opposed the lifting of the ban on the Councils. The tentative resolution might have appeared harmless. But it was bound to lead to further and further identification of the Congress with work inside the Councils.

If the Congress came to keep Non-co-operation as a thing that holds the nation, the triple boycott must continue to be the Congress creed. Whether we are to active propaganda or not is immaterial. If that, the Congress cannot adopt measures regarding any of those fundamental lines of the programme of Non-co-operation. The Congress may not carry on a fresh campaign now by calling upon lawyers and students to withdraw from Government Courts and Colleges, but it will be inevitable for the Congress to encourage or support lawyers or students in positions. It would be ridiculous and wrong to make grants to deserving cases for education in Government Colleges simply because we have suspended active propaganda for the boycott of Government education. The law laid in the plan and campaign of raising support to the Congress students in the Councils and striking students from them. Let us remember that non-cooperation cannot live in protest as in a life and death struggle based on non-violence and truth. We must decide to have Non-co-operation or to get it, settle, and not use one or the other. We cannot have it both ways.

So far as I was concerned of two things I was sure. We can never hope to get the full measure of freedom that we want, as a result of propaganda or parliamentary action of any kind. I know that what we want is Swamy and nothing less. I know that anything less than full freedom to manage our own affairs means only more poverty, greater poverty, misery and helplessness, though with every show of self-Government. We must seek a way to win freedom in the fullest sense from this Government. This can only be by the powerful support of co-operation, modifying every temporary advantage therefore, thereby rendering the present system of Government impossible. All other methods, even if not absolutely false, can lead only to something very short of freedom the Congress wants and hence must be rejected as useless.

The second thing I was convinced of is that we can have true Swamy only if we successfully outstep the privations and the discipline of this pariah resolution we have undertaken. If we should be successful in getting the privilege of voting members without fulfilling this programme of complete self-sufficiency, we

should feel ourselves unable to discharge our responsibilities. At best we can only have the present who rule in another form. If people are convinced of that one truth they can have no difficulty in seeing why I hold as hard to the programme initiated by Mahatma. I cannot agree with those who believe that the people cannot rise to the heights of that programme which they themselves hold should now be abandoned. For one thing I have faith in the people, and for another, I am as good as adopting any other plan which may be more agreeable to a people incapable of suffering mortally or squandering itself, but which can never lead to the real freedom that is our goal.

I hold that the Council programme of the Swarajya is wholly inconsistent with the programme of Non-co-operation. They cannot be blended together. The resolution of thought that we seek to achieve is impossible if at the same time we keep the people engaged in Parliamentary activities in the Council. If we allow the Council programme to take possession of the Congress, the speedy dissolution of the Non-co-operation programme is a certainty. The two cannot thrive together in the same organisation. If we desire to keep to the path of Non-co-operation as the only way leading to our goal, we should avoid this fatal trap. It does not matter if those who believe in the Council programme sit in the Council, so long as the Congress does not allow itself to be dragged into it consciously or unconsciously. Every one must be free to make contributions, but if the experiment entirely depends on the support and identification of the Congress with it, the latter must make its choice and the experiment should be abandoned. We cannot permit the adoption of the course endangering the Congress policy and programme. It would be only belittling ourselves for not to abandon my post in the fight for freedom, on the ground that it is prolonged beyond my endurance. But as that ground is taken the whole matter into a false path would be positively wrong.

If we are convinced that a certain course is right and also that it is the only course open, there is no way for a reasonable person but to stick to it, whether we should obtain our goal in a year or have to wait for ten years. The only issue is whether we want real freedom or supplying the Mr. Belloc's rule and our other questions. Why should we not make Congress a collection of groups and separate Non-co-operation into a separate league? Yes, if the Congress throws out Non-co-operation. We cannot have parties outside the National Assembly unless engaged to do so. After the Liberal vote, would you not invite the Liberals to the Congress and give them a place on the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee in proportion to membership? Coalition ourselves are ever indifferent. Coalition cannot work except on the highest common factor principle. The highest common factor between Liberals and the Congress cannot certainly be Non-co-operation, nor even, as far as I can see, exclusive Khilafat with Jawahar and demonstrations would be the high common factor of both sides. C. M.

The Outlook of Bernard

(The Viceroy's Address)

Congress as Congress

We have to remember that which is to be our aim, the Congress for the Congress, which shall be in our attention as with hopeful interest, the Congress or the Congress? I may tell you that you need not depend on the handful of educated men who claim to represent you, and to deliver you from the bondage of an ill-fated hand that governs three hundred million people as so many sheep. A hand of such educated people need to play chess with the Government as a board arranged by the latter according to its own will. The have captured that hand and played another method. But they have gone as not pretending to give anything from, but to destroy, the Congress. The Congress does not believe that they can do so, but has allowed itself to be so go as an obstacle. We are not concerned with whether they break them or not. Let us be sure that the Congress should help us. You cannot rule too large at a time. Let us decide before going to the field of battle what we shall do. We can hope to get the support removed through the Congress. The Council will at two months hence. If you will the Government that you do not wish to pay the tax, you will get your own hands with them. That does not touch in the least you will make and not the loss of the Council.

Mahatma's Way

Mahatma showed us the right way—the Non-co-operation. You know that we ourselves are responsible for that report of the 1920, the Parliament are our men, the men who have opposed to Government that you have harboured disloyalty and defiance are our men, even the present Collector is our men, and the men who will come to replace the one will also be our men. These men cannot act as agents for their subjects. Let us then non-co-operate. Let us really do so, you are really pay your own price and where you are able, produce your own food, and refuse to provide Government the education to pay its Collectors and Commissioners immediately you have done so, these people will have turned to Government over us, our business will cease, and the demand also will cease.

Industry Committee's Report

Immediately after the Delhi Congress the Provincial Committee came to know of the Government action in this matter, and deputed Mahatma Prasad and Ramchandra to investigate, and to report on to who were the authors, why they have issued notices, what sort of action they wanted, who are their victims, how the police handle the situation, whether the people have the proper police, whether they are prepared to pay the import. They went about from village to village and have submitted their report. It comes from their report that no other named Baber made his appearance in Delhi in 1929. He is called in participation in the beginning. When the Government took to direct action or import or a wrong-door prohibition act of prohibition in the name the men came into a break. Baber has been at large all these years, and have committed numerous crimes.

instead of strengthening, the police men publicly report against the people and have tried to make out that they are guilty of complicity in the murders. On these reports Government imposed punitive measures on villages, Khabarovsk Japan two years ago, and ordered the men to be released from a jail box on Pankratovsk and Khabarovsk, the communists alleged to be guilty of complicity. But you know how entirely useless was the police in Japan. Still Belov mentioned a man named Shubin in broad daylight. The police could have caught him then and there, but they would content with alleging that people do not give information against the police. In fact the police attacked the punitive police. The people saw the Communist Magistrate and said they would not pay the fine. The Magistrate also reported that it was impossible to catch the men people who, not being communists, were too poor to pay it. This is said in his letter P. O. L. 34 dated Nov. 1933. Police in which he protests against the importance of my teacher's letter "En village," he said, "some village for the communists of the additional police in the village." The District Superintendent of Police disagreed with this classification—the men on the spot—stated that the report should be corrected. His reasons were that Belov and his gang were still at large, that though Belov killed Shubin in broad daylight no evidence was forthcoming. What are the policemen on the village doing? How are the people to furnish evidence, if the police are impossible to do so? The third reason is that Khabarovsk Pankratovsk were given information about evidence, that they on the contrary shelter them and give them food and drink, and so on. One of the reasons is that some of the Khabarovsk Pankratovsk would join Belov's gang, were it not for the attack imposed by the special police. The foremost part of the story is that the Collector disagreed, at first, with the Superintendent of Police, and he reported entirely differently to the Commissioner. The latter was in my presence. He was against the collector, not if the additional police in either of the village houses "the additional police are useless to prevent." Belov's being sheltered in the village, but he felt that there was a general consensus of opinion in the whole of the Taldin, and "these village is directly or indirectly more or less responsible for the general breakdown of order," and as he suggested that more additional force may be imposed on the whole Taldin as may be prepared by him after consultation with the U. S. F. It seems that consultation is at the back of the inquiry. I may also add that the Collector admitted that the people do not give information, or shelter the murderers "from fear or from selfish desire to save themselves immediate trouble." The Commissioner disagreed with the Collector and the Magistrate, he felt that the superintendent had given solid reasons for the requirement of the police at the two villages for another year and several orders accordingly. That was in June. How all of a sudden in October Government resolved to impose the police on the whole Taldin police comprehensive. I have not those communications of my presence. Said an area

where my teacher, later on I have not been told me what has happened. There is a Khabarovsk police threat against him. When Belov could not be got hold of, the police made friends with the new protest, sought to get rid of an action with the help of an outlaw, and provided him with arms and ammunition. Oh stupidity and the shame of it! The Government seemed to risk, making room for the police. Was it proper to punish the Government for having bargained with the police? And when Government surely knew what a number of murders and deaths she also has committed, having been accused by the Government itself. No doubt the intention was to catch Belov through him, but how are the people to know? I hold the Government responsible for all the murders of the movement also.

Another thing to be noted is that also himself was not an outlaw originally. He had murdered a Russian Vold in broad daylight, just a month there from the police station. But the police would not lay hands on him. Shortly say we can see this case through the importance of Government, and when later he is made friends of, he would have an outlaw.

The Government Goes

The only reason assigned by Government for punishing a whole people is that they do not furnish information or evidence. Let us see how far this is true. Belov has in his pocket 13 murders. Not one of them was a rich man. He has not murdered his victims for the money but of it, he murdered them as they were the informants. If after 12 such informants were murdered, the Government seriously agrees that the people do not give information, shall we ask how many policemen were murdered? An informant was awarded to a tree by Belov. How many would Government have to suffer the loss of this informant? An informant's job is not any job that a first class magistrate was weighed by an outlaw on his way from Wlad to Khabarovsk. The outlaw gave a reward on his head, and wanted his wife from his hands. The poor fellow had to represent that he was an ordinary clerk and not a magistrate, to escape with his life. A government with such a magisterial has no title to exist, has surely no title to punish a people.

Bankruptcy

After these things go to show that the Government knows that the people are innocent, but the Government has no money. It will waste to hold its head erect before the entire nation in the valley. These stories have imposed on these villages additional police, to protect them from these very outlaws, but they have not issued their reports, Government must stop these stories and discipline the police, but money it must find out of the people's pockets. That, if it wastes money, back log of us. But why should they cost a day or two more, why should they require our information, trust us as informants and extend the work of the police as far?

The Exceptions

What then should you do? I see that there are some exceptions. Those who can be charged with little enough complicity in the crimes are excused—we the Government forgive. My observation is that every petty village officer knows the whereabouts of these officers, but is afraid of them. We may note that even the new M. L. S. is not exempt from the law. What a complete cowardism on the Government which thought our European Committee Chairman good enough to be elected to the Council, but not good enough to be exempt from law!

Fight Them

Let us then make up our minds to act in a manner which that you are fighting for the better interest of the S. S. S. If you do so, the answer you pay the law the better. You are thus, because of complicity in crime, because you shelter the officers, because you are their friends. I ask you to fight only if you are convinced that to proceed in such a manner will be to engage your character. Let us plainly tell the Government that we are irreconcilable men of character, we shall not sign certificates of our bad behaviour with our own hands. We refuse to pay the law. You might wonder as to of you too, like the officers, and make the law. That is Mahatma's way, fight the fight then let his own—the men do not need a stick or a stone, they need brave hearts to render them. Do not be tempted into anger, do not be tempted into violence, for the tempter will be there. For this I ask you if you are prepared to fight raise your hands. (To read all the hands.)

One thing more. Complaints have reached me that the police police is oppressing you, that they are plundering your fields, that they have not even hesitated to molest our women. A Government servant told Mr. Tyagi. Yesterday that stage was immediately taken when—on such complaints arise, the people should only put in complaints. I ask you not to put in such complaints. The police is ordered to protect order, and you have to complain against them even when! We shall not recognize this police. Let us have our own Volunteer Corps. I ask you to raise a corps from amongst you. I ask young men to give their names to District Sahab Gopaldas.

I appeal to all such present here, to have even helped the district in any way to realize that it is a hateful thing. I ask them to give up that substance because I ask Mahatma changed you to give up drugs. I may warn you that Government thinks of removing you down the District, and putting you up in a criminal settlement. That will be a very slight indeed. I ask you each and all to reform yourself, and let not a single people suffer for the mistakes of a few officers.

Khadi Notes

Result of a Conference

People have already begun to take advantage of the opportunity to wearing more saris in a profuse manner. Some public as well as private wearing khadi—some without the saris.

If the spinners learn to know the defects of their own yarn and take care to avoid them in future it will be no easy to wear it as well as the weaving changes will become cheaper; and the consumers should produce full results.

A suggestion was made in the lecture referring to consumers' union, viz. leaders should be prepared having five small boxes 100 threads each. It is being complained in the conference that many a female spinners does not know how to count. In such cases it will be sufficient if the number of threads in a lot is only kept approximately correct. The best way would be for the yarn to be taken out as a reel after finishing every ten threads.

Besides this the following points should be brought to the notice of every spinner by the nearest instructors that handles the yarn—

(1) The yarn should be sprayed with water without salt just after reeling; (2) The hands when free of moisture should be rubbed and compressed by twisting them up to a sort of knot; (3) The thread should be joined properly and well, when it happens to break with spinning; (4) The yarn should be spun in the right way; that is to say, it should not be spun by drawing first and twisting afterwards, but by drawing and twisting simultaneously.

Other help

People while sending their yarn for being woven complain about the difficulties encountered in getting dyes and colors, the high rates that have to be paid, and the amount of time to come as well as other difficulties which make a beginner almost too disgusted with the art and stops him to give it up. There are other people who ask for an arrangement to be made for receiving spinning wheels, gins, etc.—free of charge; while others asking for the same are ready to pay for the expenses. It would be well if something could be done to meet these requirements.

A Fourth Offer

An Ahmedabad gentleman has sent a sum of money to be devoted to this purpose, which we have decided to use for the benefit of Ahmedabad spinners.

Our work yet passed on the sale of khadi and two more you passed on cotton will be intended to each consumer as buy these things for themselves from the supply depot referred to in a previous issue. The idea in referring sales on cotton was an allusion to encourage spinners to card their own cotton. By doing so, the spinners can get cheaper as well as better khadi.

From a Corner of the Punjab

A Punjab student, trained in Khadi Vidyalaya, Sahibzad, writes from Koda Sahib (Jalandhar District).

"I am working here with two or three other workers. The women and daughters of the farmers of this place are fond of weaving, so they have started too, with houses. About 40 ladies of this village, which has about 15 houses in it, have joined carding, with a loom, and other things."

We would like to address a few words to those who experience difficulty in smoking opium. It is not too much to hope that opium is different parts of the country who have to depend on others for opium will also try to learn smoking after knowing that the Punjab Government's doctors and wives can smoke their smoking smoking and smoking their own opium while engaged in smoking and smoking their own opium.

A Word about Carding

The Manager of the Delhi-Srinagar Railway Station, writes—

"We card our own cotton. Not even of the students report that carding generates some sort of disease. We have to see Indian cotton of the last year. Will you please let us know if there is any particular defect in this variety of cotton? It would be better if my query is answered through the Bulletin so that when feeling the same doubt might also take advantage of it."

So far there has been no case which we know of any person having contracted any disease through carding although our students and machines have been working for full night hours every day during the one month or so that is required to complete the carding season. No doubt it is a laborious task, and one is likely to feel tired after work. But if one takes smoking food while undergoing this course he would be one speaks positively gain in health and strength and the work will not be left to be difficult at all.

The breathing in of particles of bad and dirty cotton would perhaps be harmful, but if carding is done properly and in a place protected from a draft but well-ventilated, the particles will not be inhaled. Even when carding is done for long periods at a stretch, if one breathes only through the nose and covers his mouth and nostrils with a piece of cloth or a protected carder does there will be no possibility of any harm. Cotton full of dirt and dry leaves should be well dried in the sun and finished with a sick before carding. It is just possible that carding of the cotton takes out of cottonseed and the particles entering from infection diseases might be harmful. But there is no reason to fear any such thing if carding is done with cotton coming direct from the field. None of our students have contracted carding considerably for one hour or five months but no disease reached them.

Allegation/judgment

A gentleman from Feroze (Hawal) who does not desire to publish his name has sent us for the All India Khadi Department, a sum of five hundred rupees, collected by him for Charlie on the Charlie Dandaki day. We acknowledge the receipt of the sum with thanks. He had determined to collect money sufficient for supplying a hundred charlins on that day, calculating the cost of a charlin at five paise. Some people gave him money for one charlin, some for two, some for four, while one gentleman gave him money enough for 40 charlins. The list of contributions has also been supplied to us, but we withheld it from publication for want of space.

The meaning of "Charlie Dandaki"

The birthday of Mahatma is generally known by the above name. The gentlemen who collected on that day this sum referred to above has sent us his programme for that day. It would not be improper to include the important portion of his letter here. It runs as follows—

"For the last few days I had been thinking of how best to observe the birthday of Bapu. I made up my mind to collect money for Charlie propaganda and to devote the whole day to spinning or carding at the same time commemorating the whole to the Mahatma. I felt that I should devote all my time to Charlie, as I saw in it the observance of truth, non-violence, ahimsa, Hindu-Muslim unity and non-cooperation to a certain extent. But as there was some urgent business to be attended to at my master's shop, I did not wish to have a holiday that day. I advised my family thinking that during some day would certainly please Bapu. I did not wish to have a holiday for the whole day."

"I got up before four in the morning, chanted a few hymns and prayed for some time. Then I went to the bank of the Jamuna (Ganga). It was raining at the time. A German lady was going on the road to catch a steamer. She was walking bare-headed, a child of two three years by the hand. She had a basket of about a pound on her head. I helped them with my umbrella. After I had walked some distance, the steamer was seen standing below, about 150 to 200 ft. down the bank at the quay. The wooden steps leading below, had become slippery on account of mud; the same was the case with the steps made of planks. This lady who was carrying a basket on her head, and at the same time had to lead a child along was in constant fear of slipping and falling down into the river which was to run in the sea. I chattered with me the child in my arms and led them both to the steamer. My shirt was covered by the muddy feet of the child. But it gives me joy to look at it. I thought that that was just the thing that would be pleasing to Bapu. My mind was filled with a feeling of satisfaction and devotion. I returned home and after finishing my morning duties, went to attend my duties at the shop at about eight; and came back at about nine at night. During the day I was able to spare some time and went round to collect money for Charlie. I had visited a well-known Chandi's workshop with the hope of getting twenty Charlins but I got only ten. At eight I carried cotton to my house, chanted Gita and went to bed. I was constantly thinking as to when I should have the feature of giving Bapu released by a free India. In this way I passed the Charlie Dandaki day. I went to bed at about the end of the Charlie the next day and finished my duties."

The Charlie Dandaki day has then been spent by many in the service of Charlie in one way or the other. Some ladies and gentlemen have sent us in their home-made yarn spun in celebration of the day. It has been credited to the All-India Khadi Department.

Magdalen E. Gaudet

education. People must be brought up to look upon speed to force in such matters as a sign against religion and national feeling. If this is secured, our unity and therefore our freedom is insured. It is particularly foolish to accept only with reserve Mahatma's doctrine of non-violence in international affairs, but to interest others in foreignness must be the last word. Let us establish governments, and we need not be anxious about Hindu-Muslim unity which is its necessary consequence. Let there be any dispute about caste, or provinces, or about Fajal or Baluch or about Muslims or conversions: let us not touch the people that Satyagraha and not the speed to force force will bring us justice, permanent and solid, and we shall have solved the great problem. There ought to be no distinction between civil and policy or between the Hindu or Congress parties, and that of religious belief as regards non-violence be its as the highest ethical of the universe concerned, it should be the inevitable creed of national life.

Lord Reading's Tour

The Viceroy is touring in the South. His track is marked by headquarters under the security section, policemen guarding the route, and military mounted up and down to over-see the people. It is a clear canon across the activities of the people, but actually when he visits it is an sight indeed to see thousands of policemen draped into the quiet cities of Trichinopoly and Madras and slowly follow the stream through which the Viceroy is passing to conclude his knowledge of India through thoroughness, harkened street, packed railway line, policemen and military everywhere,—then he feels prevented to the rulers who can find no worse but lower to know India while the Empire. The artificial everywhere and official activities of welcome get up to a variety kept and these except freedom elude the people or the Viceroy. He knows what the people think of him and they know that he is but the hollow embodiment of the Spirit of Force that rules India. The waste of military and police protection is a needless waste. But how can every step or word about with a sense of security, despite our assurance of non-violence? They judge others by what they would do under similar circumstances.

How they get up the House

The act of non-violence may be quite forgotten but official procedure keep it alive. The following notice was served by the District Magistrate of Trichinopoly on every householder in the circle through which the Viceroy was to pass on the 7th inst.—

Sir,

You are hereby informed that you are responsible for no danger or cause for whom character and behavior you cannot vouch is allowed in your premises in... issued from 1 p. m. to 7 p. m. on 7th December 1929, when His Excellency the Viceroy of India visits this town.

You will also please give the necessary help and facilities to the police officers on duty at your

place in maintaining and having a strict watch on the roads etc., from a convenient spot during that time.

F. Macquart;
District Magistrate
Trichinopoly

This notice published notice gives an indication of the strict military but less partial protection. Police officers are particularly willing presence of all the bedrooms, rooms, and windows opening into the Theological section. Streets meeting who is one walked up with military officers. Their orders are repeated in lock up their apartments and hand the keys over to the authorities so that there may be no other indication. Notices are being issued to get the street lodges within-washed under penalty of being prosecuted under unbridled military procedure. I know this as I saw many houses painted with black Government and asked if people kept their houses like to houses of the Viceroy's visit. People looking about on streets generally showed signs in which officials in India can get presence and get things done against the people's will. While others can be got up to prevent all the appearance of everything healthy and healthy—workmen, women, students, students, monks, doctors, clerics and every other bodies down while along there is nothing but police steps in both and no one at liberty or without. Every activity of movement is kept in official control, including even the old and temples and mosques, and to speak of the specified self-governing local bodies, schools, and colleges. Restricted addresses about children's clothes. Government houses turned and all other things, which in other countries are generally unclean with the law will of the people, are here controlled and otherwise by the wishes of a single European officer.

The Proposals of the Government

It may prove very curious for the strict feeling of relying on votes of freedom from the British Parliament under the pressure of non-cooperation, whether it be of the co-operation or of the non-cooperation band, we have only to study the proceedings of the Last Commonwealth White Paper in looking one way. Such Government is looking for all it is worth another way before the Royal Commonwealth. Indian poverty, lack national and state poverty, may be anything you please, but the "English Civil Service" must never pay a "voluntary improvement all round", with retrospective effect, freedom and non-cooperation with more. Demand, and protested against any possible democratic results, more T. A. who have not allowed, more everything. You may be willing about constitutional changes but the Civil Service wants absolute freedom from Indian official control, and more and more protection for it. The services in India refuse to be subordinated to the people and want no power on earth to control them. The Secretary of State should show to their government with a permanent delegation even to the Government of India. You may give any release you like, say the Colonel the Commonwealth, and all the other English please but we cannot be subordinated to your non-English democracy. We must continue to hold power, to be

which makes not honorable. There are souls among them, certainly, such as the children under the gallows, who are and are attempting to do something towards a better travelling alternative to the present, but how little history has been made of them.

Freedom cannot be secured by any number of resolutions unless all the currents of the State are unified and effectively subordinated to the will of the people. The most complete subordination is the most effective efficiency.

That this cannot be got by India except after a long struggle, after a long unrelenting nerve and cruel discipline, we have the power of resistance and certain evidence. Q. E.

The House of Commons have had as many as four-and-a-half motions returned to the house. Legislative Council. They do not form a majority, but they call for the consideration with the Independents they would make more than all the rest. We do not feel anything that we are slightly surprised about the importance or reliability of such political alliances. It is the Independents should hold their own of the country, and of the obligations of the Dominion should not give itself to their distinct political method, for there is a lot of trouble. The most confidence cannot be by the Party will upon him being as hard as the Government Ministry would not be found, the House would be broken out; (Speaker will be at an end, and by Constitution will experience. At the moment of writing there are all movements, but it makes no difference in the matter of the appeal to the people. When all is said and done, it is they who want to be long resisted, although, their organisations, give energy to order and receive the utmost evidence of force. The adventure and destruction inside the House of Commons will each night without the slow, patient collection of strength and efficiency. Judged by the standard of the Canadian Government the programme of reconstruction is absolutely correct. We are the most "reconstruction" definitely. What is known as the Democratic Programme as the British Programme is a vast and comprehensive thing, almost at every stage, yielding various results. Some of these are political, some social, some bodily improvements. What we call Re-construction is that part of the British Programme which had in view the re-organisation of the Congress—the amendment of a group of members, the taking of the Third Party Stand exactly as the British voluntary association and the maintenance of the Congress as a fighting organisation. We venture to think that the efficiency of the Congress is in measure to the first place as it is to the Non-cooperation as a matter of fact the word will be greater. For the time being, they are engaged in the task of fighting the Government according to their lights. It is absolutely a game of bluff—bluffing against the Government and in regard to themselves the meeting of strength by self-organisation. But the greater danger and realisation of the process is that there should be an actual proposition against will be the Congress. If it is best and it can be nothing else.

Swamy

(By C. P. Andrews)

There has very remarkably nothing attributed to Christ in the New Testament, which has been fully contained in the complete version of the Bible. Christ speaks of a thousand, when words shall be spoken within and people against people, when there shall be war and confusion. Men's hearts, he says, shall left them for fear, because of their society about things that are coming upon the earth. Christ then tells his own followers not to be dominated as such a time but to fix up their heads with joy, for deliverance would be near at hand.

After that Christ gives them a parable, "Behold", he says, "the fig tree and all the trees. When they begin to bud, you know your summer, then you may be certain that the winter is over and summer is nigh at hand. Even so, out of the very midst of difficulties and dangers, the Son of God's Kingdom will surely appear upon the earth."

It is at this point, that Christ states the saying about which I have spoken—the saying

"In your tribulation, ye shall see your sons."

It has always seemed to me, that this was one of the greatest promises of all the positive promises. It comes in the very essence of Jesus' It is Son-ship the Kingdom of the Lord!

We have so often been told by Mahatma Gandhi himself, that Jesus is to come here within our lifetimes that we are not to say "Lazarus" or "Eli, Eli," expecting him to drop down from heaven, but to hold up the spiritual banner of the new Kingdom, the new Raj, the Raj of God of the East, the Lord, by changing the whole fashion of our lives dramatically, all we become free men indeed.

"In your tribulation ye shall see your sons."

What a wonder of beauty it was that I saw at Gurukul-Khag, Middle Assam, where with my own eyes I beheld the tribulation of those brave Sikhs, working through and through, who were looked at all to fear, but never turning their backs or heads for back, standing upon each blow with infinite spiritual bravery, rising again and again from the ground, to be taken down again. In their tribulation they had won their souls.

I could not help contrasting this scene with that which I had witnessed before, in the same Punjab, where the Sikhs had been taken prisoner, in those days of Martial Law, in 1919. At first these tribulation and happen, the children crying in the night, in pain and misery, they had no their words Oh! the pity of it! Oh the pity of it! At Mankowala and elsewhere, without leaders, without organisation, they had no good food, but had given way. As I went among them and loved them passionately, these men with hearts like children—as they told me their own terrible story—the leaders to their women were then death—the leaders to themselves were then death—they had gone through it all,—no good tribulation then, in 1919, but with them, that death (that, Mahatma) had come among them, and in a

without they had suffered. For I had felt, since my arrival, and in visits and with friends, and now had confirmed it. How dear had been their care. How events that were unknown to Ghazi, though by 1922 laid, in my mind at least, the events that happened in 1929.

I was not present at Khatim in the months of June and July this year. The day which I had undertaken concerning Khatim was one that could not be held while, and I only came back into England in the middle of the struggle. But I knew well the leader, that beautiful being, as an intimate friend. I knew well his heart of love and tenderness and my own heart was filled with joy at the harvest and why be allowed. I knew also men, those that there, at Ghazalistan and elsewhere, those who were heartened in that struggle—highly, indeed, in this man of heart, full of the spirit of love. As I have talked with them and watched their faces as they were filled with joy, I have known the truth about them also, that in attitude they have won their ends.

And what shall I say of Christians, who have given to others without a word without a return, sending it all joy to make that name of Agnes and again I have met them, in North and West and South and East of India, wherever I have travelled and wandered. Never yet have I found a single word in those of bitterness or love. They have often a "and mutual knowledge, of which they speak but know their own men often tell the tale without the need of words—they have suffered suffering silently under the present Indian rule—suffering—suffering—has been condemned long ago by more one who knows what peace might be to the cover have I heard from them a word of uncharitable word on the contrary. I have seen their faces filled with the light of love and peace, and I have known often the meaning of those great words of the suffering Oh—

"In your hearts, O, ye shall see your end."

I go to England, surely to recover health, surely also to take up with all experience the cause of Indians abroad since at the moment, London, where alone work for them can be done by me at the present. But I go also with the clear beautiful looking and intention of looking knowing those very things about which I have been writing—the things which I have witnessed with my own eyes in India and heard with my own ears. I ask then if any believe in what by those private persons who have suffered, that my own English fellow countrymen do not yet know the truth, that the truth comes clearer from through obligation and necessity which give only a very slight part of view I ask, and I have a right to ask—the right of free—the English people to whom I am my own countrymen—may be as dear to you as they are dear to me. I ask you to believe from me, that their language comes with love, as mine is, and not cold and hard. My own people in that they may know the truth, and understand the truth about what is happening in India to-day.

Among my own Goodies

"Hear?" asked the soldiers in response to their Captain's cry. His Excellency liked his lot with a beautiful wife. It was a pleasant break in the monotony of passing through silent streets and dark passages.

"Hear?" The soldiers stood more and more and more, taking their time from their European officer.

The car slowed down a little to allow full play to the carefully planned welcome.

"There are hidden folk," His Excellency will be pleased to be used welcomed again to the capital without the need to stand also in the car. "Why are all these doors and windows shut?" he asked.

"There is no need, Your Excellency" answered the Captain. This was an awkward reply. It was so thought the Captain Magistrate of the District, who happened to add, "I asked it as to be done again, Your Excellency, to avoid the risk of infection being sent abroad."

"Oh! you are afraid of the bomb" said H. E. again.

"Oh, no!" said the Magistrate, but thought, "you I won't take any risk with these Christians."

"Is Ghazi in the car?" asked H. E.

"The Magistrate replied, wondering whether he should make his thanks clear."

"Oh, no!" he presently answered looking at the Captain, with a smile that could mean nothing.

"People about the place here, too, right enough, but he is not very popular. A handful of soldiers, here on the shore, but the others are wanted after they are loyal in authority" said Sir C.

"Surely the men in all places," replied H. E. with a smile.

The soldiers knew some English and smiled, but no one could see the car's escape the morning ahead over which he lived.

"There are all the soldiers and Police?" whispered the shouting crowd.

"That up" replied the chauffeur slowly, as he gave a sharp jerk to the impatient wheel and turned the car into the road that branched off the Railway Station.

"Forward" cried March. The Captain started lightly, and his men marched off to the station to give a nod off to the great ruler.

Among my own Goodies I search everywhere and pump. They have the good roads and they keep me from the road.

They walk, as the welcome, and that the great show, there is no pump, much more, but I have my doubts. The people have been there on love for me, but necessarily with I clearly say. As if I look their people and make their God.

The special men around of The soldiers watched back to their barracks and the European officers moved off to their quarters.

The Indian officials have on to the station suddenly to speak the Indian Master to the arrangements but unwilling to return to the work-day world, and back the people.

"I am now, simultaneously," he, the flagrant liar was, told of his lies in regard to the officers paid-off in Darjeeling, in an "all meeting of the stock exchange on either parties in Calcutta." But the Superintendent of P. for was of opinion that the public police should be confined to the two villages. The Minister—the man on the spot—was at the same time of opinion that "they were better to stay in their own at the headmost stages to demand and induce them to leave the villages, in accordance last year." (This text) was experienced a lot of trouble on because they are sometimes but because they are too poor to pay the Head men." The Minister however left that the whole Taluk must be held responsible for the failure to supply information and are probably guilty of actively withholding information with doubt, since no information. What the Superintendent, in fact, was saying the others do know but, from which seems to give themselves unnecessary trouble." The report was that as time had the Government wanted to examine the additional police in respect of the two villages referred to above. Later however the district Magistrate seems to have succeeded in persuading Government to his view, and in October a police force was posted on the whole Taluk. The government of these things confirm the people in that they refuse to furnish information. It is a heinous charge, as the special correspondent of the Times of India—very truly the District Magistrate or the Superintendent of Police—is too long before the paper within a day before the promulgation of the order, gives almost a copy of himself. There has to be words about it, because most of its action being the information. The Times' correspondent himself says: "It is noted that his [District] learned superior police information is so late that he does not even give his answer returned." How then can the Government actually allege that the people have given no information? There has not issued his action relation, who have passed were giving information upon him. How much have the Government doing and doing? And which is the greater of the two, the duty of the people in furnish information, with the more proper of death before them, or the duty of the Government to protect the people? They not only failed in their duty, as Mr. Vallabhbhai has shown, they added and started a demand who was known to have killed a British Taluk in cold blood or least brought. That is the people's charge against the Government. But the tale is too far advanced in his progress to prevent the seriousness of any charge. The latest report from a village in Nepal gives some symptoms from the Himalayas advice to the people: "If you cannot pay this tax, abstain, beg or borrow. Do whatever you like, but pay not tax. Your fields and houses will be destroyed and you will be killed. Pay up the tax." The people are equally determined and are allowing their material possessions to be moved, in order that their souls may be saved. Kashmir, suggested last in Nepal—that is the Sunday Government's gratitude to the new Government.

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

The Restaurant's Record

[The committee began the discussion by reviewing the activities of the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo during the last four years, submitted by the Bureau. It then turned to the second committee's findings on December 10, 1950.]

By a resolution dated 19th July 1930 of the 4th Japan Political Conference held at Akasaka, wherein after seeking that it was desirable to organize National Educational Institutions, and to found a National University for carrying out such purposes in Japan, a National Education Committee was appointed.

The Preliminary work of the Committee consisted of making reports to the authorities and teachers at schools, and the principals of schools to one-another, and in the end-to-the class to provide leads to the Y-Method of making arrangements for the opening of the College Mathematics, and D.D. of books for the Committee of the District Y-Method.

[illegible]

First important function was the meeting of the Japanese Educationists by Mahatma Gandhi on 12th November 1920, with 28 students on the roll. The number of students in the next session is 100. Shortly after the meeting of the Japanese Educationists, College was separated at Serai and Sushar, both of them taking affiliation in the Japan University. The first College having been only a Primary College. It does not work as general. There are 22 students at the Sushar College.

The entrance of the *Matsevidskaya* is given
 provide for the following schools of study: 1) *Arts*
 2) *Mathematics* 3) *Science* 4) *Language* 5) *History*
 6) *Physical Education* 7) *Art* 8) *Music*

The Provincial Q is Colored as Khazdakh, and
Gagauz and Mandari in Romania, and the National
Language II is Khazdakh with other Devanagari
Only words are pronounced in all the Hindi.

All students, except those in Applied Chemistry and Art, have to resolve questions at one of the Colleges, for 2 weeks after the First Year Examination.

None other than the coauthor of the *Colaptes*, Vincenzo Bellini, who was serving in the student world of new India, told that it was necessary for the Vidyapeeth to arrange for teaching M. G. O. students from the other provinces of India, so the main courses of studies as they were ready for. Accordingly, under the auspices of the Vidyapeeth, students were arranged in different centers of India in April-May of 1931. 734 students in Madras, 570 in Lahore, and 100 in C. A. were included at that time.

Thanks are due to the Tamil Mahavidyalaya, Vellore, and the Board of National Examinations, Poona, who conferred, on behalf of the Vidyapeeth, all the above examinations necessary for Bachelors and Degrees and granted diplomas to the successful candidates. The Madras students received their certificates from the Gujarat Vidyapeeth. When institutions, whose degrees remain to be conferred, are included in to-day's list. The last examination was held on 12th June 1933, under the Presidency of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel when degrees were conferred upon 66 candidates.

In obedience to the call of the Congress several students had non-co-operated on the eve of their final examinations, and had, without waiting for National College or diplomas, dropped to National service. It was not thought fit to oblige them to appear at an examination, in that would have necessitated in some cases the resumption of National work. Consequently it was resolved by the senate to grant to students, who had non-co-operated from the winter B. A. class, and had engaged in National work, the same degrees to which they would have been entitled on the passing an examination. 18 such candidates received their degrees at the last convocation, and 18 more will be readopted in due.

Three 35 students having completed their courses, and 12, in consideration of their splendid national service—in all 47, are the recipients of diplomas, in this connection. The Vidyapeeth also conferred various other examinations during the last 3 months upon 1917 students in all got through them.

Shortly after the opening of the Mahavidyalaya Gujarat Government Madras was founded (12-12-1930) India's foremost research studies in Ancient Indian history. It has hitherto published 3 books on ancient Indian culture and 4 are in the press. A quarterly magazine is now edited by the same body.

On 1st May 1931, a College for training teachers for Primary schools was opened. The plan was to train a batch of 40 teachers within every six months. Accordingly 114 teachers were trained from the school in 4 batches. As the plan, however, did not appear satisfactory the College was closed on 12-1-32.

In addition to the above institutions the Vidyapeeth manages directly a full Primary school (near Gujarat State), at Ahmedabad, another Primary school at Navsari and a night school at Kachchh. [The last two are Ahmedabad schools]. The Vidyapeeth also manages a Primary school at Bhavnagar as co-ordinated unit.

Another activity of the Vidyapeeth is the publication of textbooks. The Vidyapeeth has not much to say in its subjects that all knowledge must be imparted through English. The subject has extended to some of the Mantras of the Mahavidyalaya, by using schools, it has not considered partly by want of suitable text-books, partly by want of teachers who possessed sufficient power of expression in Gujarati—most of them being non-Gujaratis. The Vidyapeeth has published 15 books of text books.

In response to the resolution passed at the 4th Gujarat National Conference, and the Congress meeting at Calcutta and Nagpur, 19 high schools withdrew their recognition by the Government, and joined the Vidyapeeth. The number of students therein at the close of B. C. O. was over 2,000.

At the same time several new primary and high schools came into existence. Some of these have since been closed either for want of funds or internal dissensions, those of the schools have rejoined Government. The present situation is held in as follows—

Attached to the Vidyapeeth are 1 College, 12 High Schools, 15 more High Schools, and 42 Primary Schools, with 277, 4000, 1200 and 2000 pupils in them respectively. Most of the institutions are run with liberal of Vidyapeeth and Provincial Government grants and other subscriptions specially collected for the purpose.

Owing to resolutions regarding Government grants passed by the Municipal Committee of Solat, Vast and Ahmedabad, the latter two were incorporated, and all the others were obliged to run their primary schools separately. Accordingly 44 schools in Ahmedabad, with 2410 pupils, 21 in Solat with 1760 pupils, and a certain number (not available) at Vast with 1000 pupils, are controlled by the municipal education committees of these three places.

There are other Gujarat schools in and outside Gujarat not formally affiliated to the Vidyapeeth. It is not possible to ascertain exact details about these. But the number of students therein cannot be less than 700 or 800. The most important of these are the national schools at Wadhwan, with about 300 students on the roll.

When the total number of National students in Gujarat (for in Gujarat General) amounts 10000. On the calculations made on available figures, their annual expenditure is estimated roughly at Rs. 1, 42,171 and their annual income (from all sources) at Rs. 2,19,462. Most of the schools depend for their income either on special subscriptions or the Congress Committee. With the exception of the Presidency High School, [Ahmedabad], no school in which is mainly built on love donation, and naturally therefore, a good deal of anxiety is experienced by the teachers and managing bodies of schools.

The number of National teachers is estimated at over 800. The remuneration of only a few of these may be called satisfactory. A few only find work well with good salary. With regard to more it is difficult to imagine, how they live. Though from an educational point, the number of able teachers is always felt, still it must be observed that at several places the satisfaction of the schools is entirely due to the work-life of teachers. Besides the economic distress, teachers have to face other difficulties, such as, the ignorance of the village, or their inability to want of feeling in the matter, want of necessary materials or, in the absence of all these the quality of teachers, or high expectations extended about educational equipment and conditions, far beyond the means of the school.

Young India

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Notes

THE HINDU'S NEW BEVERAGE. Two years ago, Lord Curzon's speech at Deshbandhu Hall, in a conference with the Congress having failed, the Government in which Mr. Lardie was the least successful in view of the Deshbandhu's not wanting to listen to his words. A great deal has happened in the interval, the new Congress of which was the growth of nations. Truly, the successor of Lord Curzon has called for Deshbandhu's new conference. We do not know what happened at the interval, but of one thing we may be certain Mr. Deshbandhu will be absent. He is the head of a respectable party—respectable in numbers and ability, pledged to certain national action for which Lord Curzon's speech would not give him the help felt. This is the disadvantage to be in any conference the aim of the whole nation and the appliances of the conference cannot be sufficient or too on the world. The question is not whether constitutionalism is good or evil, whether it can ever be anything more than a device for doing what we are concerned with in the current history 1911 and 1921, the meaning of justice and the full-hearted consent to the people's life. That there is a difference in our desire and we venture to believe in all healthy, that the Deshbandhu is responsible for the change, as no other single individual is. He has continued to attract popular attention from the national assembly, built up by the army and blood of two generations and in consequence it is the Congress, which the Government has agreed for the fulfilment of its purpose. The vote of working and national service desires itself, has no right. The mass mind is no longer concerned with the destruction of the Congress. It has been taught to look on them as the instruments of political progress. The main reason is that the suggestion of a frontal attack yielding quiet confidence can't so long after the color. The nation is slowly becoming conscious of its position. It is being taught to work, to work, to work. The party which was called the Congress is destroyed, but the movement which was the work of the Congress has passed from a party to the nation, then which there is no greater dignity of the nation. It is not merely the light of the thing on which we rely, the representation of evidence points to the same fact. It is only in India that the new Congress has got into working order. The Congress that was active and engaged

with the Government, working together, working, voting. The Congress which which they were the Congress has vanished and we challenge the entire constitutional point to draw a distinction between democracy as preached in India and democratic co-operation.

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But it is not merely in the technique of democracy inside the Congress that the trouble is there. In other respects also the change is less easy. It is not for nothing that in a list of about a hundred names that Lord Curzon had delivered himself of the most pitiable apathy, indifference and non-vigilance, there was that scientific accuracy. Co-operation and working have no value with each other. Parliamentary democracy was created as a method to avoid revolutions, and the essential condition of revolutions, whether violent or peaceful, is working. It was a great symbol of Lord Curzon's that the case on the voting paper was reversed, because each vote was the symbol of a vote. Parliamentary democracy is really based on force, and it is no matter of surprise that the Parliamentary democracy should rebel against the doctrine of working and the Congress should of non-violence. Lord Curzon's suggestion about working for working's sake. Will and good but what is his controlling reason? He must believe in working. Does he believe in the likelihood of working for the achievement of political ends? If he does, he must say so openly. There is nothing dishonorable in open-society in such political history. But, if our suggestion is sound, the need for an open declaration is overwhelming. The country has been educated in the fundamental accuracy of non-violence and it would not be to bring a programme of violence on the people. If on the other hand, the non-violent policy of Mr. Gandhi is still to be adhered to, we must not have with Lord Curzon. The laws of change are not well understood in the spirit and it is an equally probable truth that the laws of non-violence are equally complicated. The technique of non-violence is nothing other than the fact of suffering. Suffering can never become a positive carrying force in politics unless it is carried with the passion of a fanatic, who believes in suffering for his own sake. This is a hard saying but true. This is the law of the nation, —the individual should feel on men who accept as confidence without murmuring and rebellion,—a law that is just as non-violence is a positive carrying force, may non-violence still lead to disaster of reality if the leaders of action are content with applying the

than the Congress desired. The demand was more definite, but judged by the same logic, non-violence itself will result in slavery. For then, fighting it as impossibility we are clear that non-violence holds the key of the future, and we do not consider it a degradation from its greatness that not only India, but the whole world will step into the breach of it.

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We were just to saying that little was known of the interview. On the other hand a small detail is known and if the reports in the *Chakala* Press are to be believed, what is known is sinister. What is sought to be secured is nothing less than the giving of a new orientation to our politics. Not to us regarding the report itself. —

Lord Lorton asked Mr. C. R. Das to present three issues for the Ministry. Mr. Das proposed three conditions, and if he got the promise of their fulfilment he would try the whole matter before the public. First consideration? The three conditions were: (1) All Political prisoners should be sympathetically released; (2) All expenditure laws now in force should be repealed; (3) Provincial Assembly should be granted.

The meaning of this is clear. The Swamy Party is prepared to co-operate with the Government and to consider a victory. The three conditions put forward by Mr. Das may be seen as purely illusory, but the only thing of moment is that they are different from the demands put forward by the Congress in 1931. It was on the basis of the triple demand of the Punjab, the United and Swamy, that the Congress refused to co-operate. Now, that is gone. In 1937 it was a big thing that the entire outlook to do. The failure or the success of the Congress is a matter on which the final judgment of history has still to be passed, but the objective was of the first magnitude. Contrast the fulfurlness of the present demand, there is not a single item in it which the Executive hath Swamy might not have presented. Why exactly the Swamy should claim affiliation with the policy of Non-cooperation we cannot understand.

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But there is a good deal hidden. What Mr. Das and his colleagues have done is to empty the promise of the Congress for emancipating provinces and then to seek a settlement behind the back of that body. Mr. Das still professes fidelity to the principles of the Indian Congress and makes overtures off the ground. But there are more ways of killing a cat than by dropping her in a stream. There are more ways of emancipating the country in the face of the Swamy experiment than by giving the Congress to have intimations in the Party. The same result can be achieved by reducing the Congress to a cipher and leaving the doors of the nation to be worked out by the Swamy experiment in Parliamentary democracy. This is a result which we should view with grave alarm and which the Congress is bound to fight. —

The fight is waged on account of our refusal of fidelity to profess the non-cooperation will be the death of the Congress.

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As the Congress Section approaches, a wide-spread interest is being awakened in the discussion of amendments to the Congress Constitution. Undoubtedly the most important of these is the suggested alteration in the Congress Creed. What is demanded by the advocates of that change is a clarification of the ambiguity in the present creed. They want the strengthening of complete independence as the term used. They primary complaint against the present Creed seems to be that it lacks definiteness in its stands. They hold that any kind of half or complete independence would be dangerous to the dignity of our country. The serious reasons urged by them is the desire to change the nature of the people by accompanying them to aid their forces steadily against the present action that the demand of India should for ever be linked with those of Britain. Further the recent decision on Kanga has also given weight to the claim for greater definiteness of our goal. It is probably in view of some of these reasons indicated above that action in the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee division had overwhelmingly in favour of the words Complete Independence in the Congress Creed.

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There is no person who doubts that independence can be the only process and not goal for India. It has constantly to be borne in mind by every one of us that we cannot afford to lower the standard of national aspirations. It is well to the high and nothing less than independence should be our objective. To draw the least down to British terms would be to inflict incalculable injury on the national cause. Yet witness what happens every time resolution on independence is moved and lost in some members of the Congress. The ideal is so surely and inevitably fixed by our conditions on independence at Dominion Status, the wrong side of the present-day's ambiguity in the Creed of the Congress. If for no other reason but this, which indicates the dangerous moral aspect of resolution on independence moved and lost, the idea of proposing alterations in the Creed at Congress should be abandoned. Besides there is the only contention which Mahatma Mahomed Ali urged as well as held that the time are not yet full as conditions for such a rewording and changing change in the Congress Constitution as they were at Ahmedabad in the year 1917. Mahatma Gandhi opposed the motion for "complete independence", at Ahmedabad because he thought that the strengthening of the national aspirations would itself bring about the desired clarification of the goal which India and independence. When Ahmedabad, the action has not only not advanced but unfortunately has since since then one step to the rear. The will to independence is no doubt there, but the strength sufficient to move freedom to which we are at right entitled from the other approach has not yet been achieved. It is well that every one of Indian in his country understands the wise lesson that what may truly be applied to

direction in the strong is liable in most cases to be misunderstood in weakness in the weak. That we do not possess the present strength to reach our objective that need not stand in any manner for despondency. In fact it ought only to stimulate us to more and more genuine effort, which would indicate the lack of final emancipation.

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How but it seems what has been lost in strength during the year which has passed by, in the serious problems that face all Congressmen of the present moment. The suggestion is thrown out by some responsible leaders that in order to pave the way for further progress "the spirit of Dada" should not be one who be disturbed at the meeting Congress in their view, no discussion or expressive note is to be struck at Congress by either No-changers, or Swarajis if anyone is to be the national purpose. Their aim is to secure that the spirit which impels the Non-co-operation to take the clear endorsement of his class in form of an unshakable loyalty and independence, strictly according to the law of Dada. They are unable to appreciate the logical nature, the infinite and almost insurmountable relationship between the progress of constructive effort and the consideration of Non-co-operation from constitutional law and circumstances. The natural relationship of the No-changer is unconsciously confronted with genuine shyness and cowardly indecision. It is impossible that what was described in the Swarajis expression, which more than what will extend to the future occupants of the Council. In fact, when the new set of the Council goes ahead of us was not more liberating but a frequency suppression of elevated feelings on our part. Dada witnessed some such suppression, willingly accepted—a turning back on the part of the No-changers that proceeded on the principle that "unwisdomly avoid no content of his mother to produce". As a result, confusion and confusion obtained for a brief period a striking necessity in Congress efforts. At Dada we in the Congress were not standing back and talking at the congress, but today we are actually not on the wrong track. Since Dada we have travelled very far indeed from Non-co-operation as it was originally understood, indication in the Congress brought much better. It brought on a devastating change in the best proposed character. There was some standing back in the moral conduct of the people. High class were on the point of being leaders for small immediate expectations. Progress with a measure of selfless aimed inevitable structure. The concerned cases all in.

It has now come to be our primary purpose to say that in this career. We have at present to draw ourselves out of the vicious net of indecision, for nothing short of such an attempt will enable us to meet close all the false charges of moral cowardice and moral pusillity, while continued violation does threaten to bring our collapse.

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A great indication like the Congress congress itself is made for my confidence that in the present position of spreading between individuals. An attitude of continued suppression or inhibition is hardly consistent with the position. It must declare for a bold and straight policy and should ensure us the courage necessary to carry it out whatever the degree of the correction staged against it. Those who cannot see the confidence of the spirit of the Dada Congress resolution are not able to think of the difference between the Swarajis and the No-changers as being indicated in any sense. The two programs or action proposed to be followed by different parties are essentially divergent. The difference over the Council is sought in some quarters to be treated as what may be feeling shown to reflect an effort of little interest and big business, whereas the truth is that we have being divided and held it goes to the very root of a respective attitude. The basic philosophy underlying Non-co-operation expresses one thing in as and quite another in the Swarajis. We are not now in a position to define any stage of action over the triumph of the new movement to replace the old. In fact we are greatly concerned over the increased privilege which the Council have acquired through the entry into them of those who had no long taken part in Non-co-operation. True, there is room enough in this wide land at most for even two such widely divergent programmes as those of the Swarajis and the No-changers to be worked simultaneously, but this statement implies an attitude of apathy or belief as the part of either. The interests of the country being denied that the direct spirit of independence has to be excluded from our public life, we are comparatively complete that suppression of any programme in full or in part ought not to be made. The consideration for an earnest peace and unity.

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The passing away of Mr. Keshabchandra Senapati makes a great void. That he was the greatest journalist of our time and that he made India the best informed and most powerful paper to India may all be admitted. But, behind the journalist and his paper was a man of fine intellectual grasp, sturdy independence and elegant habitations. In the truth as he saw it. But it should not be imagined that he was a passionate propagandist or hot supporter of strange new devices—he had too much of sanity for that kind of disaster. It was not therefore by an accident that he left the construction of the law for the ethical state. Twenty years ago when the Shikhs passed into the hands of Mr. Senapati, India found him was under the influence of the great English tradition and American socialization was a thing unknown. It was a sign of the ability of his mind that all through his career as a newspaper-man, including to be overwhelmed by more often were of professional duty, he remained true to his original ideal. In national affairs, his integrity and calm are made him a great servant and wise guide of his people. Now he has gone to his rest and may the spirit of the Shikhs revolution live!

(Continued on Page 5)

Young India

30-12-35

The Creed

According to General Smuts, the British Empire is the greatest political institution ever devised by man. The Prime of Wales in an after-dinner speech referred to this remark of the Lord General, and dealt with it as the achievement of the British Empire in combining two opposite issues—Co-operation and Independence—and producing political unity the like of which, he said, had never been seen before in the history of the world. We can understand the Lord General's admiration for a system which gives to his people the complete freedom and more than equality, to us Englishmen which he had the other day waged war. To this then, the Empire brings no moral or political condemnation, but a rising that gives status abroad and freedom in his own country and even all ordinary and moral changes that the Prime of Wales has happened to forget India or to treat her as a negligible factor in laying down an Imperial generalisation which to India is a mockery and no more.

So far as India is concerned, the Lord General whose appreciation of the Empire formed the text of the Prime's speech, has been himself the chief cause of dealing to pieces all hopes of Indian freedom and honour inside the Empire. Indeed it would not be wrong to say that General Smuts's deepest criticism about the political achievements of the Empire and his bitterest plea for moral justice to European states are contemporary claims deeply aimed to cover the anti-Imperial moral rejection of his determination against India. He has robbed India not only to his own Treasury, but he has left her bleeding in all Africa, South West and East Asia, he has laid down with unflinching accuracy a policy for the whole Empire, and he has had skilled and paid success in securing a following all over the White Dominions. It is an Empire-wide attack against India General Smuts has constituted the greatest struggle to freedom by smothering it under the very name of wrong-doing or shame.

General Smuts's appreciation of the British Empire as the greatest political institution devised by man seems to give him the time to accommodate it. So far as some proceeds to lay down a new doctrine of British nationality, which excludes every the threatened claim to equality to which India really clings to the love of racial antagonism and bitter truth. This was intended to this this new definition of Imperial citizenship is a demand lowered only to cover its justice to India. There would be no need for a re-defined, if India were not in the Empire, no need to feel as how a demonstration of citizenship if it has to be extended after South American, Australian Englishmen, Indians and New Zealanders, have a right, less than of Imperial citizenship but below the actual standard enjoyed, only however, more must be granted to Indians by far the most honest and noble solution,

from a total definition of Imperial citizenship, to free India from the Empire and define according to her.

The goal of political freedom for which the Indian National Congress was working under the leadership of Mahatma was Imperial self-Government. The ideal of complete independence for which Lokamanya Thakur was fighting long and without was suppressed, and by well understanding given up when Indian Nationalism found its place only in the Congress Dominion Status because the goal of Modernism as well as nationalism and no man talked of independence. At Nagpur, however Mahatma Gandhi distinguished the ideal of freedom and with Swarajya, the Congress goal? Why? It should be either with or without the Empire depended on the constitution and identity of the Empire? It is said that India, within it, it is correct, without it India would be free, and if Imperialism personally largely and in fact consistent with it—as North Africa and Canada had it—then, India can remain in it, if consistently with the White Dominions means a subversion of empire, then Swarajya for India means only Swarajya outside the Empire.

This creed is not some institution, in another year's time, in that it contains itself in the present and assumed, was altered within the remaining chains of the vast gathering at the Nagpur Session of the Indian National Congress. The historic scene can never be forgotten. The words at that time to achieve, for the present also in correspondence, is the disavowal of man's own ideal.

After Nagpur and General Smuts, the situation was a contradiction again. There has been any doubt about the political inconsistency of Imperial citizenship and Swarajya for India. India cannot any longer keep the question undisturbed. So long only as this question was open, Swarajya could be full with the double possibility as at Nagpur. But we cannot then any longer keep the question undisturbed and the rejection of equality for India. The Empire has thrown us out as impossible to its scheme. Either the whole Empire should remain unchanged, or we should be that and so that the end may become white and white. But the goal of both sides India should not for anything apart. It is true that a formal step in defining our goal by abandonment of the creed of the Congress is not justified by the reasons we have advanced in our work so far with the present creed. But a goal is to be fixed not with reference to our failures, but according to what the end or goal is determined to do. If Dominion Status is no longer consistent with Swarajya, the Indian cannot pretend not to see it.

It is not necessary to change the creed. As it stands it really is correct, for a new definition for other answers to the question, there seems, now answered. "Swarajya" is freedom and can mean nothing less. To put English words in parenthesis to explain what is meant by it is to set the word of its beauty and its institution. The spirit of the Indian National Congress is the achievement of Swarajya by the people of India by all peaceful and lawful means. It is impossible to increase the creed and change philosophy of this creed. What is required is the revivification of a separate resolution of the Congress the

It is such as it has been now proved that there is no place for equal partnership in the Empire if the nation has decided to prepare itself for the complete help of freedom within the Empire. If this be the opinion of the vast majority of the delegates of the Congress, such a resolution should be adopted and enable people to see what we are striving to attain and what our preparations should accordingly be. It is not why for the Congress to proceed any further with its resolution today.

C. R.

About Lalaj's Speech

The Associated Press gives a summary of Lalaj's address at the Punjab Provincial Conference held at Geyrawala. Comments based on such a summarized report are apt to go wrong. But the speech is so important and the A. P. report is so widely circulated that immediate notice of it is necessary.

About Suffering

Lalaj is reported to have emphasised, that he has little left to suffering for suffering's sake and that for the practical purpose and the immediate problems of this it is a force which need not be counted upon. Such a remark coming from Lalaj, though such with reservations, is likely to elicit lesser and a lack in the immediate they are apt to overlook the part which comes in which the statement is made and to take in only the broad negative contained in it.

I do not believe that Mahatma ever asked people to suffer for suffering's sake. He wants us to suffer in order that and knowing that greater wrongs may be righted—and for more suffering's sake, which phrase has indeed no meaning. Having decided not to oppose the wrong-doer with physical force, we must find a way past wrongs with which to fight him. If Mahatma's teaching is right, suffering is such a weapon. If we have discarded physical force, and now demand suffering as well, what is there left for us to go round and round again with persons, demonstrations and fasts, which we have found failed? Teaching of non-violence, the peaceful and right way, we are dealing with, without recourse either to physical force or the force of suffering, but by some other direct process is a vain hope. When a whole of Saragardha were that he has not told it in suffering for suffering's sake, he means in this not a mere means, but that suffering such as we understand Mahatma to recommend will produce no real effect. This is a negation of the whole of the plan and the fundamental principles which under Mahatma's had this action has accepted as the only way to its consummation.

It is not possible for this action to non-co-operate in fully the constructive programme unless we talk in the efficacy of suffering is strong and understood. The course is practically a direct physical force on his side, direct and indirect, and will not be satisfactory to both our sides. If we demand the need of suffering, Non-co-operation must break down at once. We shall be compelled to co-operate at the point of the need or what is worse, by the brute force of economic antagonism, unless we have faith in the efficacy of

suffering, and to owe its end-point to the brute force of the course. The great fault is in their effort which we have completely satisfied and which should be our most important in the present with its suffering and the solution of our most important point is still to be solved along and being.

Did we leader tell us it is? Doubtless Dr. Lalaj appears to think that Mahatma's philosophy was being. Doubtless he declared that the force should have been accepted Lalaj were that the aggressive campaign which have been pushed on in spite of the violence that remained "but at the epistemological moment," says Lalaj, "our leader told us, however he placed his kind of non-violence too high for practical purposes." With all my love and respect, I must say that Lalaj is wrong—India has proved for solving the question of violence, it was vain and wished to go on with Mahatma's movement without crossing non-violence. The enemy would have crushed us with easily. He would be prepared before a non-violent action developed to be too, but all too powerful if we are unable to achieve peace.

Hindu-Muslim Problem

Lalaj's analysis of the Hindu-Muslim trouble in his Province is a perfectly true one. The quarrel is economic at its basis. The rule of economic competition between communities as among India's Muslims must be taught by social and economic values when the fundamental Hindu domination is removed. Our immediate purpose should be that recognition of our conflicts and differences, rising partition shall not lead to violence. It is too speed I believe that in the problem Hindu-Muslim solidarity which is presented we must really realize conflicts arise as wounds are nothing repaired unless exposed. The work therefore lies in the spirit of the goal of non-violence. Government, peace and honour of confessions are good, but behind it all, the one great principle for unity and progress is the new social conscience of the creed of non-violence. Immortal effort is needed if should therefore be the work of leading of both communities.

Anything that works against the spirit of this principle of non-violence is bound to increase the difficulties of the problem. The way of meeting race with race or a show of it may be just, but it is a violent mode that leads nowhere, and misleads into the present disaster. If we have rejected the use and the show of force or dealing with the foreign and his domination there is much less reason for resorting to it for intercommunal peace. Indeed, in regard to matters between us and ourselves non-violence may be accepted by some as a creed, but by others only as a policy for the time being. But a regard to national matters between our community and other non-violence should be the inevitable creed of all in India, now and for ever, before as well as after this age. In this there can be no dilution or between the followers of one religion and those of another. We have for unity, peace and progress to solve it, diversity of race and religion. That certainly we do not expect wholesale change of religion as a condition of any of the consummation of

Nationalism

(By C. F. Andrews)

Now, in Europe, my dear independence has been that nationalism has gone over to such extreme lengths, that it is leaving European humanity in chaos. I am writing this article from France, where five years after the war, parties were in the most violent struggle than they were two or three years ago. The cry, on every hand, is that Germany must not be allowed to lay its hands back again. In France there was a certain famous General called Cote, whose one cry was, 'Verdun must be destroyed.' It is this cry which is being uttered in France to-day: 'Germany must be destroyed.' That is why Mr. J. M. Keynes has called the Peace Treaty a 'Carthaginian Peace', a *Carthago must be destroyed*. There is no unemployment. The difficulty, I was told, was the age of labour in Germany, from every side, as another two years of heavy sword fighting with one another for a glimpse of bread or potatoes, children starving and no milk to be had for babies, mothers weeping and shivering under the weight of care. Yet the cry continues to go on from France that Germany must be destroyed. I asked one Frenchman, a Liberal, how he accounted for it. He said to me, "It is nationalism run mad." The French people individually are generous and brave; but collectively pride and passion drive people mad.

I have had lately a great fear, that the wonderful awakening in India, which has been brought about through Mahatma Gandhi and the Non-violence movement, might excite similar passions of violence and hate, and in this way come down to the lower class of national creed instead of leading to the higher stages of the steps of the spirit. An incident, which gave me a great shock of alarm, brought this thought suddenly before my eyes the other day. I had been deeply rejoicing that I had taken one notice of the attack made upon me by an Indian newspaper in East Africa. The article which I had needed to cure my consciousness, had come to me from Mahatma Gandhi himself, who had been told about it in place. He told me, quite rightly, that I should have taken no notice about it, and I had felt really ashamed. I hoped that the whole incident was forgotten, and that I should hear no more about it. Then, suddenly, I was given to read the explanation which the Editor himself gave of his attack upon me. It was, he said, because I was a humanitarian. He then went on to give substance to the most daring nationalism I had ever read in my life. He said, that if I believed India I must favour India right or wrong, India must come by in the wrong, as far as I was concerned, otherwise, I should be at odds in India in the national struggle. Furthermore, there was no room for one who could not hate England. Every free Indian Nationalist must hate England; and if I were on India's side, I must hate England also. There was no room for humanitarians in Indian politics. It was class warfare, and always class warfare. He ended by saying that the nationalism, called *humanitarianism*,

was good enough for natives, but it was of no use in politics at all.

I have tried as far as I possibly could to give the substance of what this Indian writer said, word after word, for having given me such vivid pain, and many expostulations of regret, I know where he got all this talk from! He got it from Gandhi. The worst heart I have in India! I am quite certain that those thousands of nationalists have not got any hold, as yet in India, especially among Mahatma Gandhi's followers. They are the very best things that Mahatma himself would countenance, but they are entirely opposed to his own ideal, which is the Ideal of humanity. Mahatma Gandhi would be the very first to reject his country if he believed that his country was in the wrong. In South Africa he did everything he could to win to his own side, in the righteous cause, and surely his own countrymen, but those of other colour. In India, it has been the same thing. His very greatest happiness has been, when some very Englishman from Germany, or America, or England, has come to him, in order to take on the cause which he has had so much at heart. That part, in the Non-cooperation movement itself, he has suggested to "Keep Englishmen in India" to stand and help him in certain line of force of the other righteousness of his cause. Now that I have known him, this has been the great distinguishing feature of all his work and influence. There is no "nationalism run mad" here.

Surely the work of his is this—The human race is really and truly a bad person, a victim of hostile camps, at war with the world against one another. Surely great religion of the world has tried to bring home to men this vital truth. It stands at the back of all that the great teachers in religion, India taught to men when they declared that to reach the Truth, it was necessary to "see the Universal Self in all things and all things in the Universal Self". The success came to God, the *Atman*, India the same thing. There is only one law, that of mankind. There is only one race,—the human race.

Therefore, let me hereby warn you of our great Indian national movement of hatred against any other race or nation. We must go forward in the spirit of love, not of hate. We simply ask for our place in the one family of mankind from which we have been unjustly excluded. We do not wish to exclude others unjustly to turn. We are on the side of all oppressed nations, whether in Africa or elsewhere. We do not wish for our interest to join the oppressors. This has been true first to Mahatma Gandhi's own ideal; and it is in this spirit, and in this spirit alone, that the victory must be won, if it is worth winning at all.

I came back once more again to France,—beautiful France. Here, the kindly people whom I have met in the train and in the streets have shown me every courtesy as a foreigner. While I was travelling by night from Marseilles to Paris in a second class compartment and had to sit up the whole night in the small and crowded carriage a young French lady asked how that I was and that I was a Englishman asked me her secret love which was a

Only two considerations will really disturb the late English aristocrat's conscience and I was not said but loud, almost furious, I was a stranger. Why should it not be the same with others? Why should there not be the same contact between two different races? In contact of the two have sympathy and an understanding and respect, and here in China the whole atmosphere between the different nations is poisoned. My own answer is— I have played in many y clubs since I came to Hongkong—first India was not then suggested by its British visitors at all.

What next in Kenya?

The East African Congress is shortly to meet at Mombasa. It deals on the future course of action with the Indian and, as at Kenya before to-day, it will have to meet the widest field of views that has ever met in the East of Africa. The representatives of Kenya Indians in the past both to the Government in Nairobi and to the Colonial Office in London were travelling and had not yet formed a final decision whether to leave as a whole under pressure and coercion of the U.K. in Kenya the British Government has had to sit on the fence and plan to give the Indians from that Colony and various British Colonies only White and Black members. There were at least three other issues in the light of the recognition of equality in Kenya, a common language, free unrestricted land-tenure and the right to settle in the Highlands, and on every one of these the Indian class has been definitely rejected. Those who know anything of the history of past negotiations are aware of the fact that the first decision on all three three issues, the vote of the White settlers in Kenya has prevailed over the British Government. The Secretary of State for the Colonies spoke out his intention when he refused at the Imperial Conference to enter into any understanding or give any guarantee that could be construed as indicating that the decision in Kenya was not India's reconstruction and was not final or irreversible. The Government of India was only explained in the decision has been left to various learned bodies feeling through a lengthy correspondence which was nothing short of a blind participation of what had been done by the Indian Cabinet. "The administrative interest of the King's Government" had no option but to indicate acquiescence though no doubt "under protest". Under such circumstances we in the country had only one duty to do by our members in Kenya, gloriously to repudiate the abominable proceeds which passed for a settlement. Opinion in India was unanimous that the hand in Kenya had to be smashed and wiped out. The Middleway was pronounced and emphatic as the Non-co-operation, in denouncing the action of the British Government it rejected as the Indian Government's patron of unbridled and lawless domination. It would hardly be added that there is now no doubt that Indians of all classes will do their level best to get the wrong in Kenya righted.

But, the Indian side in Kenya will have to realize that the shaping of its immediate future largely

lies in his own hands. He would be entirely mistaken if he tried vainly to rest on a consensus of his dissenting opinion in India, which cannot be the last word in the struggle, but which can at best only serve as a sort of scaffolding for any argument of dissonant plans of action contemplated by him. The answer that is before him as far as the first act is concerned is pretty clear. His initial step has necessarily to be the rejection of the five terms offered to him on the Legislative Council, i.e., acceptance of place in the Council would involve unconditionally the acceptance of the incompatible limitations to the present arrangement. It would indicate that the Indian party to his mission has consented, though reluctantly, to be tied down to the very chief wheels of a machine White control. The small and respect group of well-educated Indians in Kenya should not find it impossible or even difficult to keep the Council more vacant and thus give discipline and to control among them. That is the least that they ought to be able to do in the place to represent its ideas and stirring answers to the given wrongs perpetrated on them. Otherwise they will have to be content with miserable injury as their lot. The reaction of action in the Council should be a first and complete act in itself, any of accomplishment and should not be allowed to be mixed up with or be made to depend on other acts which may have to follow. An irrevocable and uncompromising attitude with regard to Council seats will have achieved for an acquiescence in Kenya are certain and definite work which neither the Government in Kenya nor that in London can afford to neglect. So, an attitude of Non-co-operation has to be the first and unavoidable consequence of organized revolt against the present outrageous decision in Kenya. It would definitely eradicate our lost and nearly claim to equality with the Whites. It may probably even long become necessary to give even other steps involving greater violence and destruction than has yet been witnessed. In the event success and complete Indian success in forcing the Kenya Government and the Government of India to change the location of these in authority to push the present decision through to its logical consequences. Unquestioned, it is to be hoped that, our acquiescence in East Africa will have proved void and empty, especially, compelling acquiescence in every act of White aggression in it when. The East African Congress has no second session before it and the only advice India can give to the constituents of that Congress at the present juncture is, "Take the first and decisive step and the future will largely and easily be yours".

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The Call of the Charkha

(We commence below the magnificent address of Dr. Bhabha Chandra Ray, which was delivered on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the All India Khadi Exhibition on the 25th instant at Calcutta.)

At the very start, I want to state my sympathy as you doing, and I am this time going to speak not, it is in the life-longness that it has now become the fashion to see in Khadi; in the eagerness and ardour that is again growing up among about Khadi in particular, and about, within, and constructive work in general; in the drawing of the social form of the spinning wheel, in the more systematic use of the market-place and village-haunt. A change is not the present mind,—deep sympathy comes on my soul when I find that our houses, our long roads, and highways are breathing an again, and that the splendid machinery and that that was given to the nation by our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, is adding his own and giving but in the manner of specific methods and new questions. It then is not the old-fashioned of real, constructive work done by and for the work and life of the people that all these excellent attempts, to the Indian character of the people and the sentiment of the nation. These friends are taking wrong out of me by the sight that the country now presents—the paralysis of well-nigh all our constructive work—the confusion swirling about the past and come of Constructivism that has been our favorite occupation for the last year and a half, as if that were the only thing that our school-ward Charka and Khadi and National Schools and communities and education and village-organization, all relegated to the workshop, or at least, verbally mentioned in high reverence and then brushed off by a side.

Of the various forms of constructive work that the Indian nation, and on which so much emphasis was laid by Mahatma Gandhi, the most important, the most urgent for the economic prosperity of the people is the universal adoption of the Charka. What method is there which is available to everybody, even the poorest and the weakest, and which may enable every man, woman and child alike, to add substantially to his contribution? There is nothing that is really needed for enabling the independent work which supports the life of the nation, and which is accomplished by every while every body's work. And what other method is there which enables all these millions, scattered the length and breadth of the country, which even the Indian nation can do and even the poorest man, woman or child, to produce and repair his machinery, and which would double the average daily income of the Indian people? Is it not your perfect answer to this, would be away with the present cloth-mill altogether and also leave some margin behind? There is absolutely none other, in the nature of things there can be none other, excepting agriculture, and agriculture does not exhaust all the energies and the time of the peasant. At the most generous calculation, it occupies but for not more than eight months, in some parts of the country considerably less, and the remainder of the year is practically spent in leisure and waste! So much for the men-folk; as for the women-folk, practically throughout the year they can devote some time to spinning, which would earn them



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Of course, the remedy is quite justified if our seriously sick were all young men to do so. But that is not what actually happened. When a new movement is initiated, the intelligentsia must take it as being it can draw down to the masses. The educated classes need not be the leading, and the masses will not look upon the rich as derailing and model, and that is why in the beginning of the movement, everybody, students and technical men alike, were asked to devote some part of their time to spinning. When we come to the question of a practical programme, however, it is easily understood that this message of Charka is essentially a message for our peasants and workers, the leading millions of India, who have got their hands busy to devote to this work. And as I have stated long already, this labour, which brings a profit that covers a mere pittance to the foreign firm, adds to it—the difference between semi-slavery and a full wage, it is the salvation of the Indian peasant.

When the fact that I have mentioned comes to pass, when the spinning wheel is becoming a every home, when it is working for the cloth in every family, the complaint of high prices will no longer be heard—in fact the question of prices will not crop up at all. There will not then be the fear of competition with cheaply turned out foreign piece-goods.

Those of us who think that the definitely can be made up by the starting of a number of high-power mills are quite welcome to do so—I have not the least quarrel with them. Only as I have pointed out before, they give only one part of the problem—the part of production; they leave the question of distribution exactly where it was left, let those who believe in welfare start there. But such big establishments require a flow of money and cannot be called into existence for the mere making—they require time to organize. While therefore capitalists are thinking about the setting up of big mills, the country cannot wait—we must not about putting our houses in order, we must see that the distribution is solved at the earliest possible moment and no other method can do that except the introduction of home-spinning. Apart from all the other considerations that have been mentioned above is the factor of the adoption of the Charka, from this very consideration and practical point of view also, the progress of the step is clear.

I think, my friends, you will now agree with me that, after all, the good old Charka is not such a weak economic factor as we might be tempted to think, at the first glance it cannot be discarded with a contemptuous wave as a crude medieval handicraft. The cult of efficiency and labour-saving, which came to be regarded as paramount in the first phase of the industrial revolution has now come to be regarded with a bit of suspicion. Machinery which greatly threatened to swallow man, the twentieth century has succeeded in taking down from its false pedestal, at least in theory, and returning to its proper place as the servant and not the master of man. The reform, the labour, the cash culture, the machine-making, the thoroughgoing systematization that machinery took in,

which—"Back to the land! Back to the village!" The repeated advice, the healthy variety, the free individuality of the village worker, working in the bosom of his family whilst his quiet surroundings have been destroyed by the onset of profit even from the most hygienic and successful form of industrial England so early as 1774 years ago, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain representing early Birmingham along with his foreman James Collins stood up for "3 acres and a cow"; and while I am writing these lines, my attention has been drawn to Frederick Robbins's plan for the preservation of small cottage industries. Listen to what he says.

Government proposals are only to keep men in their districts but to do according to general directions of capital and market. Industries throughout the country, like the workers of the Black Hills, the Wash-Angles, the Hudson and others.

If that is the outlook even in England advocated by the greatest thinkers and statesmen there, how infinitely more necessary is it to India where the conditions are entirely for the cottage industries? In our blind reaction for progress about economic progress, not economic applicable to our social economy, we cannot afford to risk our all.

The ruin of the machine has not been such of an industrial disaster even in the West where it has grown immensely, and likely to be a success in India where it is only being transplanted as so much I look at America, the paradise of Modern Civilization. Only the other day, I was reading an account of the congested streets of New York—the city of skyscrapers—where the children of the working classes are on an average 10 ft. underground for being brought up in such deplorable conditions. With palatial and vast residences, a bourgeois, propertyless, efficient, cultured and disciplined proletariat steps the footstep of an uneducated Indian.

This aspect of modern civilization has also been very vividly described by Dr. R. Amal Dasgupta. Contrasting the generalization of modern civilization with the healthy class of hand labour, he mentions the very fact of our present classless—lower-class class—and he proceeds

"If we close our eyes to the machine which would not hold a candle to the hand of a cheap machine-made garment which must not at all of these days, one of the many ways to reduce them is much to be said for making cultured class, before a practical question. We ought to consider seriously to think of the conditions on which something can be kept in production. We should then take steps even to the hand-made class with some individuality in it. But in a deplorable period of a great change, which goes of making to the machine, which is not. We are now suffering from a machine-made class, as well as from a machine-made class, and they are not such a class.

The learned Doctor has hit the right nail on the head—our classes is that of a machine-made class, and until we can shake this all,—shake off this habit of thinking in terms—and begin to look about for ourselves and get into touch with the real heart of things, we cannot hope to make education, economic, political or otherwise, liberal, capable and good—we have been a great deal about these matters—this is clear reality, and this must be changed.

(Continued on Page 423)

Young India

27-12-33

The Choice

The Indian National Assembly with its members in actual session at Calcutta, to-morrow will be called upon to make its final choice between constitutional action and Non-co-operation. The Congress cannot have two such inconsistent policies. It has at present to choose only one of them and ought not to be any longer to have both, which is exactly to say, none at all. It can adopt one of two alternative courses that lie before it either accept the original policy of Non-co-operation with all its necessary implications or reject it for the plan based on action within the Councils. The Congress can no doubt work any limited programme or policy, whether it be one of political non-participation or of non-violent co-operation, but it can work only one programme at a time. It is obvious that ideas of non-violence cannot co-exist with those of Non-co-operation, they both being as fundamentally apart. If both were put together, the result would be the paralysing of the present stirring and inspiring reconstruction of policy.

Either Non-co-operation goes to the wall or it survives the attack of counter-attacks. There is no middle course. The whole boycott will have to be enforced or thrown out. The Congress which in 1931 embraced the first solitary step of non-violent resistance in the unqualified movement of Non-co-operation has now to face the risk of reaction to the stage of a militant *Pratirudh* movement. The present position is so rapidly changing that even a great hurdle like the Congress has to content itself with an embarrassing lack of policy. If the "single front" is dead" for all practical purposes, even to our great leader Mohan Das, the Congress must carefully so say as to be the leaders of actual political progress in the country. If on the other hand, the Congress still finds the necessity to hold its high ground as its sole policy, it will have to reiterate its clear intention of abstention from legislation like the legislature through which the Government seeks to consolidate its own influence.

As we may not enter into details in this column as long as the boycott of courts remains part of the Congress plan, so too we may not have any association about or indirect with the legislature so long as Non-co-operation continues with the Councils. The permission to enter the Councils given to Mr. Banerjee at Delhi may or may not be followed up at the coming Congress with an agreed on continuing support from that body. It will still be necessary for us to ask for the withdrawal of the boycott as a policy. Our action cannot be made to depend upon what others may or may not do. To believe or direct the Government is far from our thoughts. Those who are now in the Councils are as free to co-operate in constructive work as their predecessors did in co-operation. The advantage of the Delhi constitution is fully secured to them in their recent victories

at the polls and any clear declaration of policy by the Congress at this stage cannot possibly take away from it. The reason why the demand for such an unconditional declaration by the Congress is insistently made by the Non-co-operation is very simple; it is this: as it is impossible that the original intent of Non-co-operation should in whole or in part ever yield to further dependence and helplessness in the nation and not to strength and independence. The Congress should be free to work by co-operation; its present non-participation should be only temporary, but by that it would have helped to steadily build effectively.

Non-violence as further Non-co-operation tends to be misinterpreted against attack. The concern is now faced with such a risk that it has reluctantly to go back to the alternative view of first and last principles. As it is fundamental truth we are in danger of perishing under the stress of a constitutionalist reaction, now in the country and based in the future to struggle for complete victory over the Congress. Having of British goods is placed against non-violence, obstruction against Non-co-operation and retaliation against Non-violence. The Congress will have to indicate its preference as between these, the implications of two opposing courses of action. It can adopt only one of them, while extending the fullest tolerance to all pursuing the other course.

The Constructive Programme

Though it is true that there is not one person among us who does not recognise the general necessity for directing all national effort towards the building up of the constructive programme, yet hardly a few seem to have any knowledge of the many obstacles that lie in the way of its successful working. It is probably this fact that explains why, in spite of the leadership of Mahatma, which all our public bodies and our press have followed in, the work of construction has not progressed to any considerable extent. About the first finding that strikes one in regard to the constructive programme seems to be, that that programme has too often been discussed with talk only. Ever since the Congress there has not been much practical execution of leadership. Various views prevailed regarding its scope, extent and nature, these views of it almost in terms of delay, except as to its temporary non-political plan which would not, even if tried, do more, effect in any way, the substance of the present constitution. Others agreed that it had very restricted application to the whole that lay in line of the said work in adoption which as a means to progress for civil disobedience. There were still others who took as it is the work of the State as a vast national programme which contained within itself everything that could bring about the final freedom the nation so increasingly a prize to.

It is not sufficiently realised that the constructive programme is an integral part of the original plan of Non-co-operation. The deliberate machinery created as an assembly wholly unconnected with the Councils ideas that underlay the movement inaugurated at Calcutta in September 1930, has been not a little responsible for the weakening of ideas and dependence there has been

of Civil Disobedience. The discovery I have made during these few days is that very few understand the nature of non-violence. The meaning of the adjective "civil" before "disobedience" is of course "unviolent". Why should the people not be trained to refuse to use participating in activities which are likely to harm them or their friends? I agree that it will be difficult to get 55 acres of people to be non-violent, but I refuse to believe that it is difficult; it we can not live here and live without it make people who are not actively participating in the important events of India.

"Certainly a peaceful Tibet at the feet of the Bhaktas will be affected by a violent India at the feet of the Bhaktas. If there is a vital connection between the two, as there must be if they are both integral parts of India and your Swami says it is, violence here will affect the other. I am sure that violence in India I would certainly have thought nothing of anywhere but peace in the rest of the world. Tibet which had not come under the influence of the Communists and which had not resorted to violence in connection with any Communist activity. You cannot predicate any such word of connection about Tibet, Bombay or Madras. Violence broke out in connection with a national festival. You have the terrible illustration of Malabar. There it was attacked and crushed violence called by the British, and yet I did not allow Malabar to affect any of our plans, nor have I allowed my views during all these months. I can still distinguish between Malabar and Gandhi, yet the Malabar themselves had not been touched by the Hindu-Swami spirit. They are not like the other Indians nor even like the other Swamis. I was prepared to admit that the movement had an indirect effect upon them. The Malabar revolt was so different to him that it did not affect the other parts of India, whereas Gandhian was typical, and therefore it was not taken except the Indian might easily have acted in the other parts of India.

"You may then realize that civil disobedience being withdrawn there will be no opportunity to test the temper of the people. We do not want to test the temper. On the contrary we want the people to become immersed in industries and constructive work so that their temper is not exposed to the constant danger of being cooled. A man willing to gain self-control by means of working himself in industries would then though at the same time he is ready to show if they come to him enough and in spite of his working to avoid them.

"We certainly have not suspended any form of Non-cooperation. This you will see clearly brought out in my letter, I am sure that our success depends upon our having exemplary discipline and not allowing even minor acts of prohibition or non-cooperation. We must learn to control our temper in the face of prohibition and without civil disobedience. In the people's mind

and mind we must refuse to allow it to them even though we have to risk everything and find ourselves in a hopeless minority. Even when the British were not allowed throughout the length and breadth of the country to follow the programme of the Congress for more than a few months in a hundred years movement undertaken in order to trouble the British. I would like you therefore to become more active and to find out the power of the truth. If you still consider that there is a line in the meaning I have put before you I would like you to consider the position I have taken. I want to tell you explicitly and to move at independent conclusion. A drastic overhauling of members and of the movement is absolutely necessary. I do not want having finally to find out that non-violence is an impracticable dream. If such is our belief it will be at least an empty belief. For me there is but one thing, I would like to challenge the demand of non-violence in connection to the practical reality of violence. I have burnt my boats, but that has nothing to do with any of my members. The majority of them have come into the movement as a purely political movement. They do not share my original beliefs, and I do not wish to force them upon them."

The letter quoted above has more than a mere historic value. It is of vital and abiding interest as an indication of the fundamental principles underlying the movement started by its own author when faced with the storm of doubt and scepticism which had been raised in the public mind by the perversion of his own teaching. There is nothing in it that will serve to show us "the message light shining on his face," as Mahatma said, but the letter has himself advised "as he looks at Gandhi a double-contrasting of the two programmes" which is very different from "a double-contrasting of members and the movement". If Mahatma then himself was at all needed to strengthen the non-cooperation position, this very letter would do that most effectively, making at least four hundred millions that beyond the shadow of a doubt.

Now, that at least we know of Non-cooperation we may add that the programme was lightened but the movement was enough to be given a new direction by imposing a temporary ban on aggressive activity so that the temper of the nation could be effectively sustained and collected.

Second, Mahatma's belief that he would rather be content with a few hundred workers "fully following the programme" than have a hundred million movement undertaken in order to trouble the British. Yet just the opposite of it is concluded when it is converted frequently by friends that Mahatma would have adopted the programme of Non-cooperation as a new strategy rather by breaking down into called rightly as for lowering and reducing the "many hundred million of members" early to take in as many as to his movement as he could. It was the goal and the winning chain of his personality

